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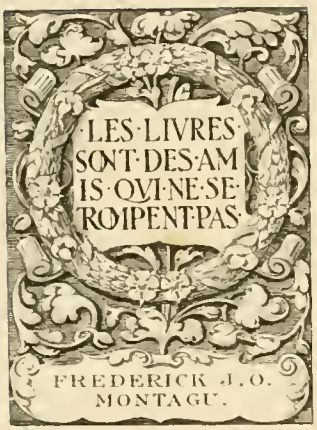

THE

WORKS

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND

WILLIAM WARBURTON,

LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE THIRD.

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THE

DIVINE LEGATION

OF

MOSES.

IN NINE BOOKS.

VOLUME THE THIRD:

CONTAINING

BOOKS V. VI. and IX.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE FIFTH BOOK.

BOOK V.

THE *nature of the* Jewiſh *Theocracy explained: And the Doctrine of a future State proved not to be in, nor to make part of, the* Moſaic *Diſpenſation*, p. 1—231.

SECT. I.

LITTLE light to be got from the ſyſtems of Chriſtian *writers,—or the objections of Deiſts,—or from the Rabbins,—or from the Cabaliſts, concerning the true nature of the* Jewiſh *Republic.——The* Hebrew *People ſeparated from the reſt of mankind not as favourites, but to preſerve the knowledge of the true God amidſt an idolatrous world,—Vindicated from the calumnious falſhoods of the Poet Voltaire*, p. 1—16.

SECT. II.

PROVES the Jewiſh *Government to be a* Theocracy.—*This form ſhewn to be neceſſary: There being no other, by which opinions could be juſtly puniſhed by civil Laws: And without ſuch Laws againſt idolatry, the* Moſaic *Religion could not be ſupported.—The equity of puniſhing opinions under a* Theocracy, *explained. Bayle cenſured.——Foſter confuted.—The* Theocracy *eaſily introduced, as founded on a prevailing notion of tutelary Deities.——An objection of Mr. Collins to the truth of Revelation examined and confuted.—The eaſy introduction of the* Theocracy, *it is ſhewn, occaſioned as eaſy a defection from the Laws of it.—The inquiry into the reaſon of this leads to an explanation of the nature of the Jewiſh idolatry.—Lord Bolingbroke's accuſation of the Law of Moſes examined and expoſed*, p. 16—69.

SECT.

SECT. III.

TREATS of the Duration of the Theocracy.—*Shewn to have continued till the coming of* CHRIST.—*The arguments of Spencer and Le Clerc to the contrary examined.—The Prophecy of* Shiloh *explained: the Biſhop of London's diſcourſe upon it examined and confuted,* p. 69—98.

SECT. IV.

THE Conſequences of a Theocracy *conſidered.—Shewn that it muſt be adminiſtered by an extraordinary Providence, equally diſpenſing temporal Rewards and Puniſhments, both to the Community and to Particulars.——That Scripture gives this repreſentation of* GOD's *government.—And that there are many favourable circumſtances in the character of the Jewiſh People, to induce an impartial Examiner to believe that repreſentation to be* true, p. 98—131.

SECT. V.

SHEWS, that as temporal *Rewards and Puniſhments were the proper* ſanction *of the Jewiſh Law, ſo, there were no other; Moſes entirely omitting the Doctrine of a future State.—That this* omiſſion *was not accidental, but deſigned; and of a thing well known by him to be of high importance to Society.—Proved from ſeveral circumſtances in the book of Geneſis,——and from the Law of puniſhing the crimes of Parents on their Poſterity, which was to ſupply the want of the Doctrine of a future State.—The nature and equity of this Law explained, and defended againſt Unbelievers.—It is then ſhewn that as Moſes taught not the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Puniſhments, ſo neither had the ancient* Jews *any knowledge of it.—Proved from the books of the Old Teſtament,* p. 131—154.

SECT. VI.

PROVES the ſame point from the books of the New Teſtament.——What notion the early Jews had concerning the Soul, explained, p. 154—167.

APPENDIX *and* NOTES *to the* FIFTH BOOK, p. 167—231.

CON-

CONTENTS

OF

THE SIXTH BOOK.

BOOK VI.

CONTAINS an Examination of all the Texts brought from the Old and New Teſtaments *to prove a future State of Rewards and Puniſhments did make part of the Moſaic Diſpenſation,* p. 233—586.

SECT. I.

STATES the Queſtion,——ſhews the Adverſaries of this Work to have much miſtaken it.—And that the true ſtate of the queſtion alone is a ſufficient anſwer to all objections, p. 233—240.

SECT. II.

ENTERS on an examination of the Texts brought from the Old Teſtament ;——*firſt from the book of* JOB——*which is proved to be an allegoric Poem, written on the return from the Captivity, and repreſenting the Circumſtances of the People of that time.—The famous words,* I know that my Redeemer liveth, *&c. ſhewn to ſignify, in their literal ſenſe, the hopes of a temporal deliverance only,* p. 240—316.

SECT. III.

CONTAINS an examination of the reſt of the Texts urged from the Old Teſtament, p. 317—344.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

CONTAINS an examination of the Texts produced from the New Teſtament, *in which the nature of the Apoſtolic Reaſonings againſt the Errors of Jewiſh Converts is explained and illuſtrated*, p. 344—368.

SECT. V.

THE agreement of the Propoſition of no future State in the Moſaic Diſpenſation, with the VIIth *Article of the Church of England evinced.——That the* Old Fathers looked for more than tranſitory Promiſes, *illuſtrated in the famous caſe of* ABRAHAM,——*where it is proved that the command to offer Iſaac was merely an information, in a repreſentative Action inſtead of Words, of the Redemption of Mankind by the great Sacrifice of* CHRIST.——*Shewn how this Intrepretation overturns all the infidel objections againſt the truth of this part of Abraham's hiſtory*, p. 369—412.

SECT. VI.

TO ſupport the foregoing Interpretation, The Original, Nature, and Uſe of TYPICAL RITES *and* SECONDARY SENSES *in Prophecies are inquired into.—In the courſe of which Inquiry, the Principles of Mr. Collins's book concerning the* Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion *are examined and confuted,———and likewiſe the Reaſoning of Dr. Sykes againſt all double Senſes of Prophecies in his book intituled,* The Principles and Connexion of Natural and Revealed Religion, *&c.———The Uſe and Importance of theſe Queſtions to the ſubject of* The Divine Legation *explained,——The* CONCLUSION *of the argument,—with a recapitulation of it*, p. 413—506.

APPENDIX *and* NOTES *to the* SIXTH BOOK, p. 507—586.

THE

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK V.

SECT. I.

HAVING now examined the CHARACTER of the Jewiſh People, and the TALENTS of their Lawgiver, I come next to conſider the NATURE of that Policy, which by his miniſtry was introduced amongſt them. For in theſe two enquiries I hope to lay a ſtrong and laſting foundation for the ſupport of the third general propoſition, *That the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is not to be found in, nor did make part of the Moſaic Diſpenſation.*

We find amongſt this people a Policy differing from all the Inſtitutions of mankind; in which the two Societies, civil and religious, were perfectly incorporated, with GOD ALMIGHTY, AS A TEMPORAL GOVERNOR, at the head of both.

The peculiar adminiſtration attending ſo ſingular a frame of Government hath always kept it from the knowledge of ſuperficial obſervers. Chriſtian writers, by conſidering Judaiſm as a Reli-

gious policy only, or a Church; and Deiſts, as a Civil policy only, or a State; have run into infinite miſtakes concerning the reaſon, the nature, and the end of its laws and inſtitutions. And, on ſo partial a view of it, no wonder that neither have done juſtice to this amazing Oeconomy. Let us ſuppoſe, the famous picture of the female centaur by Zeuxis, where two different Natures were ſo admirably incorporated, that the paſſage from one to the other, as Lucian tells us*, became inſenſible; let us, I ſay, ſuppoſe this picture to have been placed before two competent judges, yet in ſuch different points of view, that the one could ſee only the *brutal*, the other the *human* part; would not the firſt have thought it a beautiful horſe, and the ſecond, as beautiful a woman; and would not each have given the creature ſuppoſed to be repreſented ſuch functions as he judged proper to the ſpecies in which he ranked it? But would not both of them have been miſtaken; and would not a ſight of the whole have taught them to rectify their wrong judgments? as well knowing that the functions of ſuch a compounded animal, whenever it exiſted, muſt be very different from thoſe of either of the other, ſingly and alone. From ſuch partial judges of the LAW therefore, little aſſiſtance is to be expected towards the diſcovery of its true nature,

Much leſs are we to expect from the Jewiſh Doctors: who, though they ſtill keep ſheltered, as it were, in the ruins of this auguſt and awful Fabric; yet patch it up with the ſame barbarity of taſte, and impotence of ſcience, that the preſent Greeks are wont to hide themſelves amongſt the mouldering monuments of Attic power and politeneſs. Who, as our travellers inform us, take a beggarly pride in keeping up their claim to theſe wonders of their Anceſtors magnificence, by white-waſhing the Parian marble with

* Τὴν Θήλειαν δὲ ἵππῳ γε τῆς καλλίσης, οἵαι μάλισα αἱ Θετταλαί εἰσιν, ἀδμῆτες, ἔτι καὶ ἄβαλοι· τὸ δ' ἄνω ἡμίτομον, γυναικὸς, πάγκαλον, — καὶ ἡ μίξις δὲ, καὶ ἡ ἁρμογὴ τῶν σωμάτων, καθὸ συνάπλεται καὶ συνδεῖται τῷ γυναικείῳ τὸ ἱππικὸν, ἠρέμα, καὶ ἐκ ἀθρόως μεταβαίνουσα, καὶ ἐκ προσαγωγῆς τρεπομένη, λανθάνει τὴν ὄψιν ἐκ θαλέρου, εἰς τὸ ἕτερον ὑπαλομένη. Zeuxis, c. 6. tom. I. p. 843. Edit. Reitzii, Amſt. 4°, 1743.

chalk,

chalk, and incruſting the porphyry and granate with tiles and potſherds.

But leaſt of all ſhall we receive light from the fantaſtic viſions of our Engliſh *Cocceians* *; who have ſublimed the crude nonſenſe of the Cabaliſts, ſo long buried in the dull amuſement of picking Myſteries out of letters, into a more ſpiritual kind of folly; a quinteſſence well defecated from all the impurities of ſenſe and meaning.

Therefore, to underſtand the nature of the Jewiſh Oeconomy, we muſt begin with this truth, to which every page of the five books of Moſes is ready to bear witneſs, *That the ſeparation of the Iſraelites was in order to preſerve the doctrine of the* UNITY, *amidſt an idolatrous and polytheiſtic World.* The neceſſity of this proviſion ſhall be ſhewn at large hereafter †. At preſent we only deſire the Deiſt would be ſo civil as to ſuppoſe there might poſſibly be a ſufficient cauſe.

But now, becauſe it is equally true, that this *ſeparation* was fulfilling the promiſe made to ABRAHAM their Father; theſe men have taken occaſion to repreſent it as made for the ſake of a FAVOURITE PEOPLE ‡. And then again, ſuppoſing ſuch a partial diſtinction to be inconſiſtent with the divine attributes, have ventured to arraign the LAW itſelf of impoſture.

But this repreſentation of the fact is both unjuſt and abſurd. They cannot deny but it might be GOD's purpoſe, at leaſt, that it became his goodneſs, to preſerve the doctrine of the UNITY amidſt an idolatrous world. But this (we know by the event) could never be effected but by a *ſeparation* of one part from the reſt. Nor could ſuch a ſeparation be made any otherwiſe than by bringing that part under GOD's peculiar protection: The conſequence of which were GREAT TEMPORAL BLESSINGS. Now as ſome one People muſt needs be ſelected for this purpoſe, it ſeems moſt agreeable to our ideas of divine Wiſdom, which commonly effects many ends by the ſame means, to make the *bleſſings* attendant on ſuch a *ſelection*, the

* The followers of Hutchinſon. † In the ninth book.

‡ See the firſt volume of the Divine Legation.

reward of ſome high exalted virtue in the progenitors of the choſen People. But therefore to object that they were choſen as FAVOURITES, is both unjuſt and abſurd. The *ſeparation* was made for the ſake of Mankind in general; though one People became the honoured inſtrument, in reward of their Forefathers' virtues. And this is the language of thoſe very Scriptures which, as they pretend, furniſh the objection. Where God, by the Prophet Ezekiel, promiſes to reſtore the Iſraelites, after a ſhort diſperſion through the Countries, to their own land, he declares this to be the end of their ſeparation: "Therefore ſay unto the houſe of Iſrael, Thus ſaith the "LORD GOD, I DO NOT THIS FOR YOUR SAKES, O HOUSE OF "ISRAEL, BUT FOR MINE HOLY NAME'S SAKE, which ye have pro- "faned among the heathen, whither ye went. And I will ſanctify "my great name which was profaned amongſt the heathen, which "ye have profaned in the midſt of them; and the heathen ſhall "know that I am the LORD, ſaith the LORD GOD, when I ſhall be "ſanctified in you before their eyes *." What GOD himſelf ſays of the PEOPLE, St. Paul ſays of their LAW: "Wherefore then "ſerveth the Law? IT WAS ADDED BECAUSE OF TRANSGRESSIONS; "till the ſeed ſhould come, to whom the promiſe was made †." *It was added*, ſays the Apoſtle. To what? To the patriarchal Religion of the UNITY ‡. To what end? *Becauſe of tranſgreſſions*, i. e. the tranſgreſſions of polytheiſm and idolatry; into which, the reſt of mankind were already abſorbed, and the Jews at that time, haſtening apace; and from which, there was no other means of reſtraining them, than by this ADDITION; an addition that kept them ſeparate from all others, and preſerved the doctrine of the UNITY till the *coming of the promiſed ſeed*.

But another thing offends the Deiſts: they cannot underſtand, let the end of this choice be what it would, why GOD ſhould prefer ſo perverſe and ſottiſh a People, to all others. One reaſon hath been given already; that it was for the ſake of their Forefathers, and to

* Ezek. xxxvi. 22, 23. † Gal. iii. 19.

‡ See note [A], at the end of this Book.

fulfill

fulfill the promiſe made to the Patriarchs. But others are not wanting; and thoſe very agreeable to the ideas we have of infinite Wiſdom; ſuch, for inſtance, as this, That the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, by which they were bleſſed and protected, might become the more viſible and illuſtrious. For had they been endowed with the ſhining qualities of the more poliſhed nations, the effects of that providence might have been aſcribed to their own power or wiſdom. Their impotence and inability, when left to themſelves, is finely repreſented in the Prophet Ezekiel, by the ſimilitude of the vine-tree: *Son of man, what is the vine-tree more than any tree, or than a branch which is amongſt the trees of the foreſt? Shall wood be taken thereof to do any work? or will men take a pin of it to hang any veſſel thereon?—Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, As the vine-tree amongſt the trees of the foreſt* *, &c. For as the vine, which, with cultivation and ſupport, is the moſt valuable of all trees, becomes the moſt worthleſs, when left neglected in its own natural ſtate: ſo the Jews, who made ſo ſuperior a figure under the particular protection of GOD, when, for their ſins, that protection was withdrawn, became the weakeſt and moſt contemptible of all tributary nations.

The Poet VOLTAIRE indeed has had a different revelation. "The "pride of every individual amongſt the Jews (ſays he) is intereſted "in believing, that it was not their DETESTABLE POLICY, their "ignorance in the arts, and their unpoliteneſs, which deſtroyed "them; but that it is GOD's anger which yet purſues them for "their idolatries †." This DETESTABLE POLICY (for ſo, with the free inſolence of impiety, characteriſtic of theſe times, he calls the MOSAIC INSTITUTION) was a principle of independency: this *ignorance in the arts* prevented the entrance of luxury; and this *unpoliteneſs* hindered the practice of it. And yet parſimony, frugality, and a ſpirit of liberty, which naturally preſerve other States, all tended,

* Chap. xv. ver. 3.

† L'orgueil de chaque Juif eſt intéreſſé à croire que ce n'eſt point ſa DETESTABLE POLITIQUE, ſon ignorance des arts, ſa groſſiereté, qui l'a perdu; mais que c'eſt la colere de Dieu qui le punit. Rem. ix. ſur les penſées de Paſcal.

in the ideas of this wonderful Politician, to deſtroy the Jewiſh. Egypt was long loſt for want of a ſpirit of independency; Greece ſunk by its knowledge in the arts; and Rome was ruined by its politeneſs: yet Judæa ſuffered for the want of all theſe cauſes of deſtruction. Is not this more than a thouſand topical arguments, to prove, that they were ruined by nothing but by their idolatries, which brought down God's vengeance upon them? But any contrivance will ſerve a Poet, any argument will ſatisfy a Freethinker, to keep a God and his providence at a diſtance. And that the People were as DETESTABLE as their Policy, the ſame Poet, the virtuous Voltaire aſſures us—"We do not find (ſays he) throughout the "whole annals of the Hebrew people one generous action. They "are utter ſtrangers both to hoſpitality, to beneficence, and to cle- "mency. Their ſovereign-good is the practice of Uſury, with all "but their own nation. And this diſpoſition, the principle of all "baſeneſs, is ſo inrooted in their hearts, that *Uſury* is the conſtant "object of the figures they employ in that ſpecies of eloquence "which is peculiar to them. *Their glory is to lay waſte with fire "and ſword, ſuch paltry villages as they were juſt able to ſtorm: They "cut the throats of the old men and children, and reſerve from ſlaugh- "ter only the marriageable virgins. They aſſaſſinate their maſters when "they are ſlaves. They are incapable of pardoning when they conquer.* "They are the foes of all mankind *."

Such is the ſtrong colouring of our moral painter. He has dipt his pencil in ſulphur to delineate with horns and tails, theſe choſen inſtruments of God's vengeance on a devoted Nation, over-

* On ne voit dans toutes les Annales du peuple Hebreu aucune action genéreuſe. Ils ne connaiſſent ni l'hoſpitalité, ni la liberalité, ni la clémence. Leur ſouverain bonheur eſt d'exercer l'uſure avec les étrangers; et cet eſprit de uſure, principe de toute lacheté, eſt tellement enracine dans leurs coeurs, que c'eſt l'object continuel des figures, qu'ils employent dans l'eſpece d'eloquence, qui leur eſt propre. Leur gloire eſt de mettre à feu & à ſang les petits villages, dont ils peuvent s'emparer. Ils égorgent les vieillards & les enfans; ils ne réſervent que les filles nubiles; ils aſſaſſinent leurs Maitres quand ils ſont eſclaves; ils ne ſavent jamais pardonner quand ils ſont Vainqueurs; ILS SONT LES ENNEMIS DU GENRE HUMAIN. Addit. à l'Hiſt. Generale, p. 30.

run

run with UNNATURAL LUST and brutiſh Idolatry; for to their deſtruction, the murders, the rapine, and the violations here charged upon the *Hebrew People*, allude. For the reſt, it is ſo much below all criticiſm, that one is almoſt aſhamed to touch upon it. Otherwiſe, we might obſerve, that, in his rage, he hath confounded the character of the ancient HEBREWS with that of the modern JEWS, two people as much unlike as the ancient Franks to modern Frenchmen.—We might be merry with the nonſenſe, of *Uſury's being the object of their figures of eloquence*; which yet is not more ridiculous in the thought than abſurd in the expreſſion; his meaning, I ſuppoſe, being, that their figures of eloquence are formed from, and allude to, the circumſtances attending their practice of *Uſury*.

But the affair grows more ſerious, as we proceed with our *General Hiſtorian*; and we ſhall find that this unhappy People, however they may ſtand with their *God*, certainly, at preſent, for ſome reaſon or other, lye under the *Poet's curſe*. And from his uncommon knowledge of their *Uſury* and their *eloquence*, I ſhould ſuſpect, he had lately been tranſacting ſome money-matters with them, and had been not only out-witted but out-talked too into the bargain.

As to their HATRED OF ALL MANKIND, (the chopping-block of infidelity) we have it over again, and more at large, in another place. "You are (ſays he to his reader) ſtruck with that hatred "and contempt, which all people have always entertained for the "Jewiſh Nation. It is the unavoidable conſequence of THEIR LE-"GISLATION; which reduced things to the neceſſity, that either "the Jews muſt enſlave the whole world, or that they, in their "turn, muſt be cruſhed and deſtroyed. IT WAS COMMANDED "THEM to hold all other People in abhorrence, and to think themſelves polluted if they had eat in the ſame diſh which belonged to "a man of another religion. BY THE VERY LAW ITSELF, they "at length found themſelves the natural enemies of THE WHOLE "RACE OF MANKIND*."

I believe

* — Vous etes frappés de cette haine & de ce mepris que toutes les nations ont toujours

I believe it will not be eaſy to find, even in the dirtieſt ſink of Freethinking, ſo much falſhood, abſurdity, and malice heaped together in ſo few words. He ſays, *There was an inevitable neceſſity, ariſing from the very genius of the Law itſelf, either that this people ſhould enſlave the whole world, or that they, in their turn, ſhould be cruſhed and deſtroyed.*

It might be thought unreaſonable to expect that a Poet ſhould read his Bible: but one might be allowed to ſuppoſe that he had heard at leaſt of its general contents. If he ever had, could he, unmaſked, and in the face of the ſun, have ſaid, "That the MOSAIC LAW "directed or encouraged the Jewiſh people to attempt extenſive con- "queſts?" That very LAW, which not only aſſigned a peculiar and narrow diſtrict for the abode of its followers; but, by a number of Inſtitutions, actually confined them within thoſe limits: Such as the ſtated diviſion of the land to each Tribe; the prohibition of the uſe of horſes; the diſtinction of *meats* into clean and unclean; the yearly viſit of each individual to Jeruſalem, with many others. The Poet, who appears throughout his whole hiſtory to be a much better Muſſulman than a Chriſtian, was ſurely, when he ſaid this, in ſome pious meditation on the ALCORAN; which indeed, by *the inevitable conſequence of its Legiſlation*, muſt either ſet the Saracens upon enſlaving all mankind, or all mankind on extirpating ſo pernicious a crew of miſcreants.

But *the Jews*, he tells us, were COMMANDED *to hold all other People in abhorrence.* If he had ſaid, *to hold their* IDOLATRIES *in abhorrence*, he had ſaid *true*; but that was ſaying nothing. To tell the world that *the Jews were commanded to hold the* PERSONS *of Idolaters in abhorrence*, was done like a Poet.

But when he goes on to ſay, that *The Jews found*, BY THE VERY CONSTITUTION OF THE LAW ITSELF, *that they were the* NATURAL

toujours eu pour la Nation Juive. C'eſt la ſuite inevitable de LEUR LEGISLATION; il falait, ou que ce Peuple ſubjuguât tout, ou qu'il fut ecraſé. Il lui fut ordonné d'avoir, les nations en horreur, & de ſe croire ſouillés s'ils avaient mangé dans un plat, qui eût appartenu à un homme d'un autre Loi—ils ſe trouvèrent PAR LEUR LOI MEME enfin Ennemis naturels du GENRE HUMAIN. Add. à l'Hiſt. Generale, p. 174.

ENEMIES

ENEMIES *of all mankind*, this was not like a Poet, being indeed a tranſgreſſion of the PROBABLE; for by the *conſtitution of the Law itſelf*, every Jew that could read, found all mankind to be his BRETHREN. For Moſes, to prevent any ſuch eſtrangement, which ſome other parts of his Inſtitution, if abuſed, might occaſion, was careful to acquaint the choſen Family with the origin of the human race, and of their deſcent from one man and woman; and, in order to impreſs this ſalutary truth more ſtrongly on their minds, he draws out an exact genealogy from Adam, not only of the direct line which was to inhabit the land of Judea, but of all the collateral branches by which the whole earth was peopled.

So that were our Poet to turn *Lawgiver*, (which he might as well do, as GENERAL HISTORIAN) and ſit down to contrive a method by which brotherly love and affection might be beſt eſtabliſhed amongſt the ſons of men, one might defy him, with all his poetical or hiſtorical invention, to hit upon any more efficacious than that which Moſes has here employed. St. Paul, when he would enlarge the affections of the Athenians (to whom all other nations, as well as the Jews, were become BARBARIANS) to that extent which Chriſtian benevolence requires, employed no other topic than this, that GOD HAD MADE OF ONE BLOOD ALL NATIONS OF MEN: and from thence inferred, that they all ſtand in the relation of BRETHREN to one another.

But it may be aſked, What are we then to think of that ODIUM HUMANI GENERIS, with which the ancient Pagans charged the Jews? I have ſhewn, in the firſt volume of this work, that there was not the leaſt ſhadow from *fact* to ſupport this calumny; and that it was merely an imaginary conſequence, which they drew from the others declared hate and abhorrence of the Idols of Paganiſm, and firm adherence to the ſole worſhip of the *one true God*. But beſides this original, the *Principles and Doctrine*, there was another, the *Rites and Ceremonies* of the Moſaic Religion; either of them ſufficient alone to perpetuate this wretched calumny amongſt ignorant

and prejudiced men. That the *Doctrine* was worthy of its original, the enemies of Revelation confeſs; That the eſtabliſhment of the *Ceremonies*, as they were neceſſary to ſupport the *Doctrine*, were of no leſs importance, I ſhall now ſhew our Poet.

To ſeparate one people from all others, in order to preſerve the doctrine of the *Unity*, was a juſt purpoſe.

No ſeparation could be made but by a ceremonial Law.

No ceremonial Law could be eſtabliſhed for this purpoſe, but what muſt make the Gentiles be eſteemed unclean by the ſeparated People.

The conſequence of an eſtimated *uncleanneſs*, muſt be the avoiding it with horror: which, when obſerved by their enemies, would be maliciouſly repreſented to ariſe from this imaginary *odium humani generis*. What idea then muſt we needs entertain, I will not ſay of the Religion, but of the common honeſty of a modern Writer, who, without the leaſt knowledge of the Jewiſh Nation or their Policy, can repeat an old exploded calumny with the aſſurance of one who had diſcovered a newly acknowledged truth? But the Pagans were decent when compared to this rude Libertine. They never had the inſolence to ſay, that this pretended *hate of all mankind* was COMMANDED BY THE LAW ITSELF. They had more ſenſe as well as modeſty. They reverenced the great Jewiſh Lawgiver, who, they ſaw, by his account of the origin of the human race, had laid the ſtrongeſt foundation amongſt his people of brotherly love to all men. A foundation, which not one of the moſt celebrated Lawgivers of Antiquity had either the wit to inforce, or the ſagacity to diſcover.

Well, but if the Jews were indeed that DETESTABLE *People* which the Poet Voltaire repreſents them to be, they were properly fitted however with a *Law*, which, he aſſures us, was full as DETESTABLE. What pity is it that he did not know juſt ſo much of his Bible however, as might ſerve to give ſome ſmall countenance at leaſt to his impieties! We might then have had the *Prophet* to ſupport the *Poet*, where, ſpeaking in the name of God, he ſays,—*I gave*

*gave them Statutes that were not good, and Judgments whereby they ſhould not live**. But to leave this to his maturer projects; and go on with him, in his pious deſign of *eradicating* this devoted People; for he aſſures us, we ſee, that unleſs they be rooted out, their DETESTABLE POLICY will ſet them upon enſlaving all mankind.

He hath ſhewn the PEOPLE to be *deteſtable*, and their LAW to be *deteſtable*; and well has he provided for the reception of both, a moſt *deteſtable* COUNTRY. You may, if you pleaſe, ſuppoſe all this done in vindication of the good providence of the God of Iſrael; for a *People* ſo bad, certainly deſerved neither a better *Government* nor *Habitation*. No, he had a nobler end than this; it was to give the lye to the Legate of the God of Iſrael, who promiſed to them in his Maſter's name, *A land flowing with milk and honey, the glory of all lands*. Having gotten Moſes at this advantage, by the aſſiſtance of Servetus and his followers, (for he always ſpeaks from good authority) he draws this delightful picture of the HOLY LAND.—"All of "it which is ſituated towards the ſouth, conſiſts of DESERTS OF "SALT SANDS on the ſide of the Mediterranean and Egypt; and of "HORRID MOUNTAINS all the way to Eſiongaber, towards the "Red-Sea. Theſe ſands, and theſe rocks, at preſent poſſeſſed by a "few ſtraggling Arabian Robbers, were the ancient patrimony of "the Jews †."

Now admitting this account to be true: 1. In the firſt place, we may inform our Poet, that, from the face of a country lying deſert, there is no ſafe judgment to be made of the degree of its fertility when well cultivated; eſpecially of ſuch a one as is here deſcribed, conſiſting of rugged mountains and ſandy plains, which, without culture, indeed, produce nothing, but which, by human induſtry in a happy climate, may be made to vie with ſoils naturally the moſt

* Ezekiel. See p. 79, &c ſeq.

† Tout ce qui eſt ſitué vers le midi conſiſte en deſerts de ſables ſalés du côté de la Mediterranée & de l'Egypte, & en montagnes affreuſes juſqu'à Eſiongaber vers la Mer Rouge. Ces ſables & ces rochers, habités aujourd-hui par quelques Arabes Voleurs, ſont l'ancienne patrie des Juifs. Add. à l'Hiſt. Generale, p. 83.

proliſic. 2. It appears from the vaſt numbers which this country actually ſuſtained, in the moſt flouriſhing times of the Theocracy, that it well anſwered the character their Lawgiver had beſtowed upon it, *of a land flowing with milk and honey*. 3. The Iſraelites, when they took poſſeſſion of it, certainly found it to come up to the character which Moſes had given them, of a place where they ſhould find *great and goodly Cities which they had not builded, houſes full of good things, which they had not filled; wells digged which they had not digged, and vineyards and olive trees which they had not planted* *. If, I ſay, they had not found it ſo, we ſhould ſoon have heard of it, from the moſt turbulent and diſſatisfied people upon earth. And it was no wonder they found it in this condition, ſince they had wreſted it from the hands of a very numerous and luxurious People, who had carried arts and arms to ſome height, when they, in any ſenſe, could be ſaid to have *Cities fenced up to Heaven*. But the Poet has a ſolution of this difficulty; for to the Iſraelites, juſt got out of their forty years captivity in the Wilderneſs, this miſerable country muſt needs appear a paradiſe, in compariſon of the Deſerts of Param and Cadiſh Barnea †. Now it is very certain, that no *Deſert* thereabout, could be more horrid or forbidding than that of Judea, as the Poet has here drawn the landſcape. But does he think they had quite forgot the fertile plains of Egypt all this time? And if they *compared* the promiſed Inheritance to the Wilderneſs on the one hand, would they not be as apt to *compare* it to Egypt on the other? And what Judea gained by the firſt, it would loſe by the ſecond. But he will ſay, *that Generation* which came out of Egypt, *fell in the Wilderneſs*. What if they did? they left their fondneſs for its fleſh pots behind them, as we are ſufficiently informed from the exceſſive attachment of their poſterity for Egyptian luxury of every kind. 4. But let us admit his account of the ſterility of the promiſed Land, and then ſee

* Deut. vi—viii.

† —Ce pais fut pour eux une terre delicieuſe en comparaiſon des Déſerts de Param & de Cades-Barné. Ib.

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how the pretenſions of the Moſaic Miſſion will ſtand. We will conſider this ſterility in either view, as *corrigible*, or as *incorrigible*.

If *corrigible*, we cannot conceive a properer region for anſwering the ENDS of Providence, as Moſes has delivered them unto us, with regard to this People. The firſt great bleſſing beſtowed on mankind, was to be particularly exemplified in the poſterity of Abraham, which was to be *like the ſand on the ſea-ſhore for multitude:* and yet they were to be confined within the narrow limits of a ſingle diſtrict: ſo that ſome proportionate proviſion was to be made for its numerous Inhabitants. Affluence by commerce they could not have; for the purpoſe of their ſeparation required, that Idolaters ſhould no more be permitted to come and pollute them, than that they ſhould go amongſt Idolaters to be polluted by them: And accordingly, a ſufficient care was taken, in the framing of their Laws, to hinder this communication at either end. Thus the advantages from commerce being quite cut off, they had only agriculture to have recourſe to, for ſubſiſtance of their multitudes. And the natural ſterility of the land would force them upon every invention to improve it. And artificial culture produces an abundance, which unaſſiſted nature can never give to the moſt fruitful ſoil and moſt benignant climate. Add to this, that a People thus ſequeſtered, would, without ſuch conſtant attention to the art, and application to the labour, which the meliorating of a backward ſoil requires, ſoon degenerate into barbarous and ſavage manners; the firſt product of which has been always ſeen to be a total oblivion of a God.

But if we are to ſuppoſe what the Poet would ſeem to inſinuate, in diſcredit of the Diſpenſation, that the ſoil of Judea was abſolutely *incorrigible*; a more convincing proof cannot be given of that EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE which Moſes promiſed to them. So that if the *corrigibility* of a bad ſoil perfectly agreed with the END of the Diſpenſation, which was a ſeparation, the *incorrigibility* of it was as well fitted to the MEAN, which was an *extraordinary Providence*. For the fact, that Judea did not ſupport thoſe vaſt multitudes, being unqueſtionable, and the natural incapacity of the country ſo to

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do being allowed, nothing remains but that we muſt recur to that *extraordinary Providence*, which not only was promiſed, but was the natural conſequence of a *Theocratic* form of government. But I am inclined to keep between the two contrary ſuppoſitions, and take up the premiſſes of the one, and the concluſion of the other: to hold that the ſterility of Judea was very corrigible; but that all poſſible culture would be inadequate to the vaſt numbers which it ſuſtained, and that therefore its natural produce was ſtill further multiplied by an *extraordinary bleſſing* upon the land.

To ſupport this ſyſtem, we may obſerve, that this extraordinary aſſiſtance was beſtowed more eminently, becauſe more wanted, while the Iſraelites remained in the *Wilderneſs*. Moses, whoſe word will yet go as far as our *General Hiſtorian's*, ſays, that when God took Jacob up, to give him his Law, he *found him indeed in a deſert Land, and in the waſte howling wilderneſs*; but it was no longer ſuch, when now God had the leading of him. "*He led him about*," [i. e. while he was preparing him for the conqueſt of the promiſed "Land] *He inſtructed him*," [i. e. by the Law, which he there gave "him] *He kept him as the apple of his eye*," [i. e. he preſerved him there by his extraordinary Providence;] the effects of which he deſcribes in the next words,—"He made him ride on the high places of the earth," [i. e. he made the Wilderneſs to equal, in its produce, the beſt cultivated places] "that he might eat the increaſe of the "fields; and he made him to ſuck honey out of the Rock, and oil "out of the flinty Rock: Butter of kine, and milk of ſheep, with "fat of lambs, and rams of the breed of Baſhan" [i. e. as large as that breed] "and goats, with the fat of kidneys of wheat," [i. e. the flour of wheat] "and thou didſt drink the pure blood of the "Grape."

That this was no fairy-ſcene, appears from the effects.—"Jeſhu-"run waxed fat, and kicked: thou art waxen fat, thou art grown "thick, thou art covered with fatneſs; then he forſook God which "made him, and lightly eſteemed the Rock of his ſalvation*, &c."

* Deut. chap. xxxii. ver. 10. & ſeq.

This

This ſevere reproof of Moſes certainly did not put the Iſraelites in an humour, to take the wonders in the foregoing account on his word, had the facts he appeals to been the leaſt equivocal.

On the whole, we can form no conception how God could have choſen a People, and aſſigned them a land to inhabit, more proper for the diſplay of his almighty Power, than the People of Iſrael and the land of Judea. As to the People, the PROPHET in his *Parable* of the Vine-tree, informs us, that they were naturally, the weakeſt and moſt contemptible of all nations: and as to the land, the POET, in his *great Fable*, which he calls a General Hiſtory, aſſures us, that Judea was the vileſt and moſt barren of all countries. Yet ſomehow or other this *choſen People* became the Inſtructors of mankind, in the nobleſt office of humanity, the ſcience of true Theology: and the *promiſed Land*, while made ſubſervient to the worſhip of one God, was changed, from its native ſterility, to a region *flowing with milk and honey*; and, by reaſon of the incredible numbers which it ſuſtained, deſervedly entitled the GLORY OF ALL LANDS.

This is the ſtate of things which SCRIPTURE lays before us. And I have never yet ſeen thoſe *ſtrong reaſons*, from the ſchools of Infidelity, that ſhould induce a man, bred up in any ſchool at all, to prefer their logic to the plain facts of the Sacred Hiſtorians.

I have uſed their teſtimony to expoſe one, who, indeed, renounces their authority: but in this I am not conſcious of having tranſgreſſed any rule of fair reaſoning. The *Freethinker* laments that there is no contemporary Hiſtorian remaining, to confront with the Jewiſh Lawgiver, and detect his impoſtures. However, he takes heart, and boldly engages his credit to confute him from his own hiſtory. This is a fair attempt. But he prevaricates on the very firſt onſet. The Sacred Hiſtory, beſides the many *civil* facts which it contains, has many of a *miraculous* nature. Of theſe, our Freethinker will allow the firſt only to be brought in evidence. And then bravely attacks his adverſary, who has now one hand tied behind him: for the civil and the miraculous facts, in the Jewiſh Diſpenſation, have the ſame, nay, a nearer relation to each other, than the two hands of

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the ſame body; for theſe may be uſed ſingly and independently, though to diſadvantage; whereas the civil and the miraculous facts can neither be underſtood nor accounted for, but on the individual inſpection of both. This is confeſſed by one who, as clear-ſighted as he was, certainly did not ſee the * conſequence of what he ſo liberally acknowledged. "The miracles in the Bible" (ſays his philoſophic Lordſhip) "are not like thoſe in Livy, detached pieces, "that do not diſturb the civil Hiſtory, which goes on very well "without them. But the miracles of the Jewiſh Hiſtorian are inti- "mately connected with all the civil affairs, and make a neceſſary "and inſeparable part. The whole hiſtory is founded in them; it "conſiſts of little elſe; and if it were not an hiſtory of them, it "would be a hiſtory of nothing †."

From all this, I aſſume that where an Unbeliever, a Philoſopher if you will, (for the Poet Voltaire makes them convertible terms) pretends to ſhew the falſhood of Moſes's miſſion from Moſes's own hiſtory of it; he who undertakes to confute his reaſoning, argues fairly when he confutes it upon facts recorded in that hiſtory, whether they be of the miraculous or of the civil kind: ſince the two ſorts are ſo inſeparably connected, that they muſt always be taken together, to make the hiſtory underſtood, or the facts which it contains intelligible.

SECT. II.

ALLOWING it then, to have been God's purpoſe to perpetuate the knowledge of himſelf amidſt an idolatrous World, by the means of a ſeparated People; let us ſee how this deſign was brought about, when the Family, he had choſen, was now become numerous enough to ſupport itſelf under a *ſeparation*; and Idolatry, which was grown to its moſt gigantic ſtature ‡, was now to be repreſſed.

* See the View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philoſophy, p. 192. & ſeq. of the third edition.

† Bolingbroke's Poſthumous Works, vol. III. p. 279.

‡ See note [B], at the end of this Book.

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The Iſraelites were, at this time, groaning under the yoke of Egypt; whither the all-wiſe providence of God had conducted them, while there where yet few in number, and in danger of mixing and confounding themſelves with the reſt of the Nations. In this diſtreſs, one of their own brethren is ſent to them with a meſſage from GOD, by the name and character of the GOD OF THEIR FATHERS, whoſe virtues GOD had promiſed to reward with diſtinguiſhed bleſſings on their Poſterity. The meſſage, accompanied with *ſigns and wonders*, denounced their ſpeedy deliverance from Egyptian bondage, and their certain poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, the ſcene of all the promiſed bleſſings. The People hearken, and are delivered. They depart from Egypt; and in the third month from their departure, come to Mount Sinai. Here GOD firſt tells them by their Leader, MOSES, that, *if they would obey his voice indeed, and keep his Covenant, then they ſhould be a* PECULIAR TREASURE *to him above all people, for that the* WHOLE EARTH *was his* *. Where we ſee an example of what hath been obſerved above, that whenever an Inſtitution was given to this People, in compliance with the notions they had inbibed in Egypt, a corrective was always joined with it to prevent the abuſe. Thus God having here told them, that if they would *obey his voice* they ſhould be *his peculiar treaſure above all people*, (ſpeaking in the character of a *tutelary God*;) to prevent this compliance from falling into abuſe, as the diviſion of the ſeveral regions of the earth to ſeveral celeſtial rulers was inſeparably connected with the idea of a *tutelary Deity*, he adds, as a reaſon for making this People his Peculiar, a circumſtance deſtructive of that pagan notion of tutelary Gods—*for that the* WHOLE EARTH *was his.* Well. The people conſent †; and GOD delivers the Covenant to them, in the words of the two Tables ‡.

But this promiſe, of their being received for GOD's *peculiar treaſure*, could be viſibly performed no otherwiſe than by their ſeparation

* Exod. xix. 5. † Ver. 8. ‡ Chap. xx.

from the reſt of mankind. As on the other hand, their ſeparation could not have been effected without this viſible protection. And this, Moſes obſerves in his interceſſion for the people: *For wherein ſhall it be known here, that I and thy people have found grace in thy ſight? Is it not in that* THOU GOEST WITH US? *So ſhall we be* SEPARATED, *I and thy people, from all the people that are upon the face of the earth* *. The better, therefore, to ſecure this ſeparation, GOD propoſes to them, to become their KING. And, for reaſons that will be explained anon, condeſcends to receive the Magiſtracy, on their free choice.—*And ye ſhall be unto me a kingdom of prieſts* †, *and an holy nation.—And all the people anſwered together and ſaid, All that the Lord hath ſpoken we will do* ‡. GOD then delivers them a Digeſt of their civil and religious Laws, and ſettles the whole Conſtitution both of Church and State. Thus the Almighty becoming their KING, in as real a ſenſe as he was their GOD, the republic of the Iſraelites was properly a THEOCRACY; in which the two Societies, civil and religious, were of courſe intirely incorporated. A thing neither attended to nor underſtood. The name indeed is of familiar uſe: but how little men mean by it, is ſeen from hence, that thoſe who, out of form, are accuſtomed to call it a *Theocracy*, yet, in their reaſonings about it, conſider it as a mere Ariſtocracy under the Judges; and as a mere Monarchy under the Kings: whereas, in truth, it was neither one nor the other, but a real and proper THEOCRACY, under both.

Thus was this famous SEPARATION made. But it will be aſked, Why in ſo extraordinary a way? A way, in which the ſagacious Deiſt can diſcover nothing but the marks of the Legiſlator's fraud, and the People's ſuperſtition.—As to what a mere human Lawgiver could gain by ſuch a project, will be ſeen hereafter. At preſent, it will be ſufficient, for the removal of theſe ſuſpicions, to ſhew, that

* Exod. xxxiii. 16.

† For where *God* is *King*, every *ſubject* is, in ſome ſenſe or other, a *prieſt*; becauſe in that caſe, civil obedience muſt have in it the nature of religious miniſtration.

‡ Exod. xix. 6—8.

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a THEOCRACY WAS NECESSARY, as the *ſeparation* could not be effected any other way.

It appears, from what hath been ſhewn above, that the Iſraelites had ever a violent propenſity to mix with the neighbouring Nations, and to devote themſelves to the practices of idolatry: this would naturally, and did, in fact, abſorb large portions of them. And the ſole human means which preſerved the remainder, was the ſeverity of their civil Laws againſt idolatry *. Such Laws therefore were neceſſary to ſupport a *ſeparation*. But penal Laws, inforced by the ordinary Magiſtrate, for matters of opinion, are manifeſtly unjuſt. Some way therefore was to be contrived to render theſe Laws equitable. For we are not to ſuppoſe GOD would ordain any thing that ſhould violate the rule of natural juſtice. Now theſe penal laws are equitable only in a Theocracy: therefore was a THEOCRACY NECESSARY.

That the puniſhment of opinions, by civil Laws, under a THEOCRACY, is agreeable to the rules of natural juſtice, I ſhall now endeavour to prove.

Unbelievers and intolerant Chriſtians have both tried to make their advantage of this part of the Moſaic inſtitution. The one uſing it as an argument againſt the divinity of the Jewiſh Religion, on preſumption that ſuch Laws are contrary to natural equity; and the other bringing it to defend their intolerant principles by the example of Heaven itſelf. But they are both equally deceived by their ignorance of the nature of a *Theocracy:* which, rightly

* "If there be found amongſt you, within any of thy gates which the LORD thy "GOD giveth thee, man or woman that hath wrought wickedneſs in the ſight of the "LORD thy GOD in tranſgreſſing his covenant, and hath gone and ſerved other Gods, "and worſhipped them, either the ſun, or the moon, or any of the hoſt of heaven, "which I have not commanded; and it be told thee, and thou haſt heard of it, and "inquired diligently, and behold it be true, and the thing certain, that ſuch abomi-"nation is wrought in Iſrael; then ſhalt thou bring forth that man or that woman "(which have committed that wicked thing) unto thy gates, even that man or that "woman, and ſhalt ſtone them with ſtones till they die." Deut. xvii. 2, 3, 4, 5.

underſtood, clears the Jewiſh Law from an embarraſſing objection, and leaves the rights of mankind inviolate.

Mr. Bayle, in an excellent treatiſe for Toleration, when he comes to examine the arguments of the Intolerants, takes notice of that which they bring from the example in queſtion. "The fourth "objection (ſays he) may ariſe from hence, that the Law of Moſes "gives no toleration to idolaters, and falſe prophets, whom it "puniſhes with death; and from what the Prophet Elijah did to "the Prieſts of Baal, whom he ordered to be deſtroyed without "mercy. From whence it follows, that all the reaſons I have "employed, in the firſt part of this *commentary*, prove nothing, "becauſe they prove too much; namely, that the literal ſenſe of "the Law of Moſes, as far as relates to the puniſhment of opinions, "would be impious and abominable. Therefore, ſince God could, "without violating the eternal order of things, command the Jews "to put falſe prophets to death, it follows, evidently, that he could, "under the Goſpel alſo, command orthodox believers to inflict the "ſame puniſhment upon heretics.

"I am not, if I rightly know myſelf, of that temper of mind, "ſo thoroughly corrupted by the contagion of Controverſy, as to "treat this objection with an air of haughtineſs and contempt; as "is the way when men find themſelves incapable of anſwering to "the purpoſe. I ingenuouſly own the objection to be ſtrong; and "that it ſeems to be a mark of God's ſovereign pleaſure, that we "ſhould not arrive at certainty in any thing, ſeeing he hath given "exceptions in his holy word to almoſt all the common notices "of reaſon. Nay I know ſome who have no greater difficulties to "hinder their believing that God was the author of the Laws of "Moſes, and of all thoſe Revelations that occaſioned ſo much "ſlaughter and devaſtation, than this very matter of intolerance, "ſo contrary to our cleareſt ideas of natural equity *."

* Voions preſentement cette iv. objection. On la peut tirer de ce que la loi du Moïſe, &c. Commentaire Philoſophique, Part ii. Chap. 4.

Whether

Whether Mr. Bayle himſelf was one of theſe backward believers, as by ſome of his expreſſions he gives us reaſon to ſuſpect, is not material. That he dwelt with pleaſure on this circumſtance, as favouring his beloved ſcepticiſm, is too evident. But ſure he went a little too far when he ſaid, GOD's *word contains exceptions to almoſt all the common notices of reaſon* *. I hope to ſhew, before I have done with Infidelity, that it contains exceptions to none. Our excellent countryman Mr. LOCKE, who wrote about this time on the ſame ſubject, and with that force and preciſion which is the character of all his writings, was more reaſonable and modeſt in his account of this matter. *As to the caſe* (ſays he) *of the Iſraelites in the Jewiſh Commonwealth, who being initiated into the Moſaical rites, and made citizens of the commonwealth, did afterwards apoſtatize from the worſhip of the* GOD *of Iſrael; theſe were proceeded againſt as traitors and rebels, guilty of no leſs than high treaſon. For the commonwealth of the Jews, different, in that, from all others, was an abſolute* THEOCRACY; *nor was there, nor could there be, any difference between the Commonwealth and the Church. The Laws eſtabliſhed there concerning the worſhip of the one inviſible Deity were the civil Laws of that people, and a part of their political Government, in which* GOD *himſelf was the Legiſlator* †. This he ſaid; but it being all he ſaid,

I ſhall endeavour to ſupport his ſolution by ſuch other reaſoning as occurs to me. It will be neceſſary then to obſerve, that GOD, in his infinite wiſdom, was pleaſed to ſtand in two *arbitrary* relations towards the Jewiſh People, beſides that *natural* one, in which he ſtood towards them and the reſt of mankind in common. The firſt was that of a *tutelary Deity*, *gentilitial* and *local*; the GOD of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, who was to bring their poſterity into the land of Canaan, and to protect them there, as his peculiar People. The ſecond was that of *ſupreme Magiſtrate and Lawgiver*. And in both theſe relations he was pleaſed to refer it to the people's

* — par les exceptions qu'il a miſes dans ſa parole à preſque toutes les notions communes de la raiſon.

† Letter concerning Toleration, p. 37. Ed. 1689.

free

free choice, whether or no they would receive him for their God and King. For a tutelary Deity was ſuppoſed by the Ancients to be as much matter of election as a civil Magiſtrate. The People, therefore, thus ſolemnly accepting him, theſe neceſſary conſequences followed from the Horeb contract.

I. Firſt, that as the national God and civil Magiſtrate of the Jews centered in one and the ſame object, their civil Policy and Religion muſt be intimately united and incorporated *; conſequently, their religion had, and very reaſonably, a public part, whoſe ſubject was the Society as ſuch: though this part, in the national pagan Religions, which had it likewiſe, was extremely abſurd, as hath been ſhewn more at large in the firſt volume †.

II. Secondly, as the two Societies were thoroughly incorporated, they could not be diſtinguiſhed; but muſt ſtand or fall together. Conſequently the direction of all their civil Laws muſt be for the equal preſervation of both. Therefore, as the renouncing him for King was the throwing him off as God; and as the renouncing him for God was the throwing him off as King; idolatry, which was the rejecting him as God, was properly the crimen læſæ majeſtatis; and ſo juſtly puniſhable by the civil Laws. But there was this manifeſt difference in theſe two caſes, as to the effects. The renouncing God as civil Magiſtrate might be remedied without a total diſſolution of the Conſtitution; not ſo, the renouncing him as tutelary God: becauſe, though he might, and did ‡ appoint a deputy, in his office of King, amongſt the Jewiſh tribes; yet he would have no ſubſtitute, as God, amongſt the pagan Deities. Therefore, in neceſſity as well as of right, idolatry was puniſhable by the civil Laws of a Theocracy; it being the greateſt crime that could be committed againſt the State,

* Such a kind of union and incorporation was moſt abſurdly affected by Mahomet in imitation of the *Jewiſh* Oeconomy; whence, as might be expected, it appears that neither he nor his aſſiſtants underſtood any thing of its true nature.

† See Divine Legation, B. II. Sect. 1. p. 136.

‡ The kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah* being, as we ſhall ſhew, indeed no other.

as

as tending, by unavoidable conſequence, to diſſolve the Conſtitution. For the one GOD being the ſupreme Magiſtrate, it ſubſiſted in the worſhip of that GOD alone. Idolatry, therefore, as the renunciation of one GOD alone, was in a ſtrict philoſophic, as well as legal ſenſe, the crime of leſe-majeſty. Let us obſerve farther, that as, by ſuch INCORPORATION, religious matters came under civil conſideration, ſo likewiſe civil matters came under the religious. This is what Joſephus would ſay, where, in his ſecond book againſt Apion, ſpeaking of the Jewiſh Theocracy, he tells us that Moſes did not make *Religion a part of Virtue, but Virtue a part of Religion* *. The meaning is, that, as in all human Societies, obedience to the Law is moral Virtue; under a THEOCRACY, it is Religion.

III. The puniſhment of Idolatry, by Law, had this farther circumſtance of equity, that it was puniſhing the rebellion of thoſe who had choſen the Government under which they lived, when freely propoſed to them. Hence, in the Law againſt idolatry, the crime is, with great propriety, called the TRANSGRESSION OF THE COVENANT †.

Thus we ſee, the Law in queſtion ſtands clear of the cavils of Infidels, and the abuſe of Intolerants ‡.

But to this, the defender of *the common rights of ſubjects* may be apt to object, "that theſe penal laws were unjuſt, becauſe no "contract to give up the rights of conſcience can be binding."

To which I reply, with a plain and deciſive fact, That none of all the idolatrous worſhip the Jews ever fell into, from the time of giving the Law to the total diſſolution of the Republic, was MATTER OF CONSCIENCE; but always of convenience; ſuch as procuring ſome temporal good, which they wantonly affected, or averting ſome temporal evil, which they ſervilely feared. The truth of which appears from hence, that, in the midſt of all their

* Αἴτιον δ' ὅτι κ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς νομοθεσίας πρὸς τὸ χρήσιμον πάντων ἀεὶ πολὺ διήνεγκεν· ὁ γὰρ μέρος τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐποίησε τὴν ἐυσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτης τὰ μέρη τἄλλα συνεῖδε κ καλέσησε· λέγω δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, τὴν καρτερίαν, τὴν σωφροσύνην, τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλες ἐν ἅπασι συμφωνίαν. p. 483. Hav. Ed.

† Deut. xvii. 2.

‡ See note [C], at the end of this Book.

idolatries.

idolatries, the God of their Fathers, as we ſhall ſee, was ever owned to be the Creator and firſt Cauſe of all things; and the Religion taught by Moſes, to be a Revelation from heaven.

But it may be aſked, What if their commiſſion of idolatry had, at any time, proved matter of conſcience; i. e. ſuch an action as they thought they were obliged in duty to perform?

I reply, the queſtion would have weight, had the Law in diſpute been of human inſtitution. But as it was given by God, who knows the future equally with the paſt and preſent, and ſaw the caſe would not happen, it is altogether impertinent. The Queſtion, indeed, points out to us, the danger and abſurdity in any human legiſlature to make penal Laws for reſtraining the exerciſe of Religion, on any pretence whatſoever.

Thus it is ſeen, that a *ſeparation*, ſo neceſſary to preſerve the Unity, could not have been ſupported without PENAL LAWS againſt idolatry; and, at the ſame time, ſeen that ſuch penal laws can never be equitably inſtituted but under a Theocracy. The conſequence is, that A THEOCRACY WAS NECESSARY.

But this form of Government was highly convenient likewiſe. The Iſraelites, on their leaving Egypt, were ſunk into the loweſt practices of idolatry. To recover them, therefore, by the diſcipline of a *ſeparation*, it was neceſſary that the idea of God and his attributes ſhould be impreſſed upon them in the moſt *ſenſible* manner. But this could not be done, commodiouſly, under his character of God of the Univerſe: under his character of KING of Iſrael it well might. Hence it is, we find him in the Old Teſtament ſo frequently repreſented with affections analogous to human paſſions. The Civil relation, in which he ſtood to theſe people, made ſuch a repreſentation natural; the groſſneſs of their conceptions made the repreſentation neceſſary; and the guarded manner in which it was always qualified, prevented it from being miſchievous. Hence, another inſtance of the wiſdom of this Oeconomy; and of the folly of Spinoza, and others, who would conclude from it, that Moſes and the Prophets had themſelves groſs conceptions of the Deity. Nor ſhould the

the indiſcretion of thoſe Divines paſs uncenſured, who have taught that GOD, in the Old Teſtament, looks on man with a leſs gracious and benign aſpect, than in the New. An error, which at one time gave birth to the moſt abſurd and monſtrous of the ancient hereſies; and hath at all times furniſhed a handle to infidelity *. But GOD, whenever he repreſents himſelf under the idea of Lord of the Univerſe, makes one uniform revelation of his nature, throughout all his Diſpenſations, *as gracious and full of compaſſion; as good to* ALL, *and whoſe tender mercies are* OVER ALL HIS WORKS: yet condeſcending to become the tutelary God, and civil Magiſtrate of the Jews, it cannot but be, that he ſhould be conſidered as having his peculiar inſpection attached to this People, and as puniſhing their tranſgreſſions with ſeverity.

Theſe appear to me the true reaſons of the *Theocratic* form of government. With ſuch admirable wiſdom was the Jewiſh Oeconomy adapted, to effect the ends it had in view! Yet, notwithſtanding the ſplendour of divinity which ſhines through every part of this Theocratic form, Mr. Foſter, a diſſenting preacher, tells us roundly, that it is all an idle dream; and that he will undertake to defend the Law, which puniſhes idolatry with death, "not on "*dark and imaginary*, but on *clear and ſolid* principles; I therefore "add, (ſays he) ſuppoſing the THEOCRATIC form of government "amongſt the Jews to be a point inconteſtable, it *ſeems ſcarce* "capable of affording a *full and ſatisfactory* anſwer to the objection "raiſed againſt the Hebrew Law for devoting idolaters to death. "For when the people of Iſrael, fond of novelty, and of imi-"tating the cuſtoms of other nations, were ſtubbornly and inflexi-"bly reſolved, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances of the Prophet "Samuel to the contrary, to have a viſible and mortal King; God "upon this occaſion declared, that they had *rejected him that he*

* *It muſt be owned* (ſays Tyndal) *that the ſame ſpirit* (*I dare not call it a ſpirit of cruelty*) *does not alike prevail throughout the Old Teſtament: the nearer we come to the times of the Goſpel, the milder it appeared.* Chriſtianity as old as the Creation, p. 141. See too Lord Bolingbroke's poſthumous works throughout.

"*ſhould not reign over them:* and as his former political reign is "founded on a ſuppoſed compact between the Almighty Sovereign "and his people, that *original compact* being now ſolemnly "renounced on the part of the people, there muſt of courſe be a "diſſolution or end of the Theocracy *."

He begins with calling the Theocracy *a dark principle*. And yet, the account he gives of it ſhews, that he did not find it *dark*; and, what was worſe, could not, with all his endeavours, make it ſo. He calls it *imaginary*; and yet the very Hiſtory he quotes to prove its ſhort duration, ſhews, even by his own proof, it was *not imaginary*, but real.

Indeed, if that civil Government, which is founded on ORIGINAL COMPACT, were diſſolvable at pleaſure, that is, as ſoon as one of the contracting parties was grown weary of it (which this Decider on Government and Laws expreſsly ſays it is), then Government, on its moſt legitimate foundation, would be the moſt *dark and imaginary* of all things. When the Parliament roſe up in arms againſt Charles I. they wanted juſt ſuch a Preacher as this (and yet they had many precious ones), to aſſure them, that *their renouncing* the King's Authority had fairly diſſolved the Monarchy, and brought it to a lawful end. For the Leaders of that body, it is plain, knew nothing of this ſecret, and were therefore at a great deal of pains to prove, and at laſt could hardly get themſelves believed, that Charles himſelf had broken the *original Compact*. But unleſs this *Compact* ſtands upon a different footing from all other compacts in the world, we may ſafely pronounce, that a bargain or agreement, which has been made between two parties, can never be diſſolved but by the conſent of both of them; or by a fundamental miſdemeanour in one; if the other party chuſes to exact the forfeiture. Now, in the caſe of the Jews under Samuel, there was a *renunciation*, it is true, on the part of the People, or, in plainer Engliſh, a REBELLION. But God did not give way to it; he would not (as on the principles of civil juſtice he might) exact the forfeiture; which

* Sermons, vol. iii. p. 373, 374.

was,

was, the withdrawing his protection. All this will be proved at large in its place. The *Theocracy*, therefore, ſtill continued under their Kings; which were indeed no other than the *anointed*, or the Viceroys of GOD.—Such is our Preacher's ſucceſs in attempting to ſhew Mr. Locke's principle to be *dark and imaginary*. Let us ſee next whether he has better fortune in proving his own to be *clear and ſolid*.

Now his way of juſtifying the Law, which puniſhed idolatry with death, without the aid of the *theocratic principle*, is this.—"As the end for which the civil conſtitution of the Jews was "formed, *viz.* to prevent their being over-run with idolatry, "(which, as it prevailed amongſt the neighbouring nations, cor- "rupted their internal ſenſe of the difference of good and evil, and "baniſhed humanity and decency, and many of the moſt conſi- "derable and important of the ſocial virtues, by introducing "ſhameful impurities and human ſacrifices, quite deteſtable to "nature) as the end, I ſay, for which the civil conſtitution of "the Jews was formed, appears, when thus explained, and "abſtracted from all conſideration merely religious, to be wiſe and "gracious in itſelf; and as the judicial Laws in that ſcheme of "Government were admirably adapted to ſubſerve and advance this "wiſe and gracious end; it neceſſarily follows, that idolatry, which "would have fruſtrated the whole deſign of the Conſtitution, and "have entirely diſſolved and deſtroyed it, muſt, upon the ſame "reaſons that are allowed to be juſt in all other Policies, have "deſerved capital puniſhment *."

Here we ſee our Preacher approves himſelf juſt as ſkilful in the *end* of Civil-government, as he did before, in its *nature and eſſence*. He appears not to know (what he might have ſeen proved in the firſt volume of this work) that civil Society muſt have one particular, diſtinct, and appropriated end; and that this end can be no other than ſecurity to the temporal liberty and property of man; becauſe (as is there ſhewn) all other ends may be attained without civil

* Page 375, 376.

Society. This then is the only proper end of Government. Yet our Preacher falls into that exploded conceit, which makes any attainable end, ſo it be a good one, the legitimate buſineſs of civil Society, as ſuch: which confounds this Society with all others, there being no way to keep the Civil diſtinct but by aſſigning it an end peculiar to itſelf. But his ſubject happening to be the *Jewiſh government*, it ſecured his reaſoning from the glare of the abſurdity. And his falſe and fallacious account of the *end* of its inſtitution, with which he introduces his reaſoning, gave a certain plauſibility to the nonſenſe which followed. It is in theſe words, *The end for which the civil conſtitution was formed, was to prevent their being over-run with idolatry*. Now, by *civil conſtitution*, a fair reaſoner ſhould mean (where the queſtion is concerning the efficacy of a *mere* civil Government, in contradiſtinction to the Religious) the civil conſtitution of the Jews as it was ſo diſtinguiſhed. But, in this ſenſe, the *end* of the *civil conſtitution* of the Jews was the ſame with all other, namely, ſecurity to men's temporal liberty and property. It is true, if by their *civil conſtitution*, he meant both civil and religious, which here indeed was incorporated, and went under the common name of LAW; then indeed its *end was to prevent idolatry*; but then this is giving up the point, becauſe that incorporation was the conſequence of the *Theocratic* form of Government, or, to ſpeak more properly, it was the THEOCRACY itſelf. Thus he comes round again to the place on which he had turned his back; and, before he knows where he is, eſtabliſhes the very doctrine he would confute. In a word, our Preacher was got out of his depth; and here I ſhall leave him to ſink or ſwim; only obſerving, that this great advocate of religious liberty has done his beſt (though certainly without deſign) to ſupport a principle the moſt plauſible of any that Perſecutors for opinions can catch hold on, to juſtify their iniquitous practice; namely, *that civil government was ordained for the procuring all the good of all kinds, which it is even accidentally capable of advancing*. And to make ſure work, he employs that adulterate gloſs, which They ſo artfully put upon their wicked practice; *viz.* that it is

for

for the ſupport of morality: for who is ſo purblind that he cannot ſpy *immoralities* lurking in all heretical opinions? And thus it is that our Preacher defends civil Government, in puniſhing opinions: *The idolatry of the neighbouring nations* (ſays he) *corrupted their internal ſenſe of the difference of good and evil, and baniſhed humanity and decency, and many of the moſt conſiderable and important of the ſocial virtues.* A reaſon conſtantly in the mouths, whatever hath been in the hearts of Perſecutors, from St. Auſtin to St. Dominic *.

II.

We come, in the next place, to ſhew, that this THEOCRACY, as it was NECESSARY, ſo it would have an eaſy reception; being founded on the flattering notion, at that time univerſally entertained, of TUTELARY DEITIES, *Gentilitial and Local.* Thus, to carry on his great purpoſe, the Almighty very early repreſented himſelf to this choſen race, as a *Gentilitial* Deity, The GOD of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob †: Afterwards, when he preferred Judea to all other countries for his perſonal reſidence (on this account called HIS LAND ‡), he came under their idea of a *Local* Deity: which notion was an eſtabliſhed principle in the Gentile world, as we have ſhewn above, from Plato. It was originally EGYPTIAN; and founded in an opinion that the earth was at firſt divided by its Creator, amongſt a number of inferior and ſubordinate Divinities. The Septuagint tranſlators appear to have underſtood the following paſſage, in the ſong of Moſes, as alluding to this opinion;—*When the Moſt High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he ſeparated the ſons of Adam, he ſet the bounds of the people* ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL. *For the Lord's portion is his people: Jacob is the lot of his inheritance* §: For, inſtead of, *according to the number of the children of Iſrael* (which

* See note [D], at the end of this Book.

† See Jer. x. 16. and li. 19.

‡ Levit. xxv. 23. Deut. xi. 12. Pſ. x. 16. Iſ. xiv. 25. Jer. ii. 7. Chap. xvi. ver. 18. Ezek. xxxv. 10. Chap. xxxvi. ver. 5, 20. Chap. xxxviii. ver. 16. Wiſd. of Sol. xii. 7.

§ Deut. xxxii. 8, 9.

if they found in the text, they underſtood no more than later critics) they wrote κατὰ ἀριθμὸν Ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ, ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THE ANGELS OF GOD. Which at leaſt is intelligible, as referring to that old notion, original to the country where this tranſlation was made. And Juſtin Martyr tells us*, that in the beginning, GOD had committed the government of the world to angels, who, abuſing their truſt, were degraded from their regency. But whether he learnt it from this tranſlation, or took it from a worſe place, I ſhall not pretend to determine.

The Land, thus ſelected by GOD for his perſonal reſidence, he beſtows upon his choſen People. *Behold* (ſays he) *the land of Canaan which I give unto the children of Iſrael for a poſſeſſion* †. This too was according to the common notions of thoſe times. Thus Jephthah, who appears to have been half paganized by a bad education, ſpeaks to the King of the Ammonites, *Wilt not thou poſſeſs that which Chemoſh thy* GOD *giveth thee to poſſeſs? So, whomſoever the Lord our* GOD *ſhall drive out from before us, them will we poſſeſs* ‡.

It was no wonder, therefore, when GOD was thus pleaſed, for the wiſe ends of his providence, to be conſidered, by a prejudiced people, in this character, that all the pagan nations round about ſhould regard the GOD OF ISRAEL no otherwiſe than as a local tutelary Deity; too apt, by their common prejudices, to ſee him only under that idea. Thus he is called the GOD *of the Land* §,—*the* GOD *of the Hills* ||, *&c.* And it is expreſsly ſaid, that *they ſpoke againſt the* GOD *of Jeruſalem, as againſt the Gods of the people of the earth, which were the work of the hands of man* **. By which is meant, that they treated him as a local tutelary Deity, of a confined and bounded power: for it was not the old pagan way to ſpeak againſt one another's Gods, in diſcredit of their Divinity: and this circumſcribed dominion was eſteemed, by them, no diſcredit to it: But, by the Jews, the worſhippers of the true GOD, it was juſtly held

* Apologet. i.
† Deut. xxxii. 49.
‡ Judg. xi. 24.
§ 2 Kings xvii. 26. Chap. xviii. ver. 33, & ſeq.
|| 1 Kings xx. 23.
** 2 Chron. xxxii. 19.

to

to be the greateſt. Therefore, to call the GOD of Iſrael *the God of the hills, and not of the plain, was ſpeaking againſt him.*

For, here again we muſt obſerve, that when GOD, agreeably to the whole method of this Diſpenſation, takes advantage of, or indulges his people in, any habituated notion or cuſtom, he always interweaves ſome characteriſtic note of difference, to mark the inſtitution for his own. Thus in this indulgence of their prejudices concerning a tutelary GOD,

1. He firſt inſtitutes, upon it, a *Theocracy*; a practice juſt the reverſe of Paganiſm: for there Kings became Gods; whereas here GOD condeſcended to become King *.

2. Secondly, he forbids all kind of community or intercourſe between the GOD of Iſrael and the Gods of the Nations, either by joining their worſhip to his, or ſo much as owning their Divinity. Thus were the Iſraelites diſtinguiſhed from all other people in the moſt effectual manner; for, as we have often had occaſion to obſerve, there was a general intercommunity amongſt the Gods of paganiſm: They acknowledged one another's pretenſions; they borrowed one another's titles; and, at length, entered into a kind of partnerſhip of Worſhip. All the Pagan nations, we ſee, owned the GOD of Iſrael for a tutelary Deity †. But His followers were not permitted to be ſo complaiſant. There was to be no fellowſhip between GOD and Belial; though a good underſtanding always ſubſiſted between Belial and Dagon.

But, amidſt a vaſt number of characteriſtic circumſtances proving the origin of the MOSAIC RELIGION to have been different from that of every other nation, there is none more illuſtrious than this, *That the Moſaic religion was built upon a former*, namely the PATRIARCHAL: whereas the various Religions of the Pagan world were all unrelated to, and independent of, any other ‡.

* See note [E], at the end of this Book.

† 2 Kings xviii. 25. Jer. iv. 2, 3.

‡ See volume I. book i.

And

And yet the famous Author of *The grounds and reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion* hath been hardy enough to employ one whole chapter to prove, that *this method of introducing Chriſtianity into the world, by building and grounding it on the Old Teſtament, is agreeable to the common method of introducing new Revelations, whether real or* PRETENDED, *or any changes in religion; and alſo the nature of things* *. "For if (ſays he) we conſider the various revolutions "and changes in religion, whereof we have any tolerable hiſtory, "in their beginning, we ſhall find them, for the moſt part, to be "grafted on ſome old ſtock, or founded on ſome preceding revela- "tions, which they were either to ſupply, or fulfil, or retrieve from "corrupt gloſſes, innovations, and traditions, with which by time "they were incumbered: and this, which MAY SEEM MATTER "OF SURPRISE TO THOSE, WHO DO NOT REFLECT on the change- "able nature of all things, hath happened; though the old revela- "tions, far from intending any change, ingraftment, or new "diſpenſation, *did for the moſt part declare they were to laſt for ever*, "and did forbid all alterations and innovations, they being the laſt "diſpenſation intended †."

Here are two things aſſerted: 1. That the building new Religions and new Revelations upon old was agreeable to the common method of the ancient world. 2. That it was agreeable to the nature of things. Theſe are diſcoveries one would little have expected.

I. Let us firſt examine his FACTS.—But to judge truly of their force, we muſt remember, that the obſervation is made to diſcredit what Believers call true Revelation, by ſhewing that all falſe Religions have taken the ſame method of propagation.

1. His firſt point is, *That this method was agreeable to the common practice of the ancient world.* Would not one expect now an inſtance of ſome confeſſedly falſe Religion, between the time of ABRAHAM and CHRIST, which pretended to be built on ſome preceding Reve-

* Grounds and Reaſons, &c. p. 20. † Page 21.

lation?

lation? Without doubt: If it were only for this, that there is no other way of proving the propoſition. Beſides, to ſay the truth, ſuch an inſtance would be well worth attending to, for its extreme curioſity. But he could not give the reader what was not to be had: and therefore he endeavours to make up this deficiency of *fact*, by ſhewing, 1. That the JEWISH Religion, like the CHRISTIAN, pretended to be built on a preceding. "Thus the miſſion of "Moſes to the Iſraelites (ſays he) ſuppoſed a former revelation of "God (who from the beginning ſeems to have been conſtantly "giving a ſucceſſion of diſpenſations and revelations) to their an-"ceſtors; and many of the religious precepts of Moſes were bor-"rowed, or had an agreement with the religious rites of the hea-"thens, with whom the Iſraelites had correſpondence, and parti-"cularly with the religious rites of the Egyptians, (who upon "that account ſeem confounded with the Iſraelites by ſome pagans, "as both their religious rites were equally, and at the ſame time, "prohibited by others) to whoſe religious rites the Iſraelites ſeem "to have been *Conformiſts* during their abode in Egypt *." Go thy way, for a good Reaſoner!—To prove that falſe revelations had the ſame pretenſions of dependency on a preceding, as the true have had, he ſhews that all the true had theſe pretenſions. But this is but half the atchievement. The beſt part is ſtill behind. 'Tis a rarity; a blunder ingrafted on a ſophiſm. He was not content to ſay that Moſes founded his Religion on the Patriarchal: He muſt needs go on,—*And many of the religious precepts of Moſes were borrowed, or had an agreement with the religious rites of the Heathens, with whom the Iſraelites had correſpondence, and particularly with the religious Rites of the Egyptians.* Now, how it comes to paſs that Moſes's borrowing from the religious Rites of the Egyptians, whoſe religion he formally condemned of falſhood, ſhould be metamorphoſed into an example of one Religion's being founded upon, or receiving its authority from, another, I confeſs, I cannot comprehend. If he were not at the head of the FREETHINKERS, I ſhould

* Page 22.

ſuſpect ſome ſmall confuſion in his ideas: and that this great Reaſoner was unable to diſtinguiſh between, *a Religion's ſupporting itſelf on one preceding, which it acknowledged to be true:* and *a Religion's complying, for the ſake of inveterate prejudices, with ſome innocent practices of another religion, which it was erected to overthrow, as falſe.*

2. He ſhews next, that thoſe falſe religions which came AFTER the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian, and are confeſſed to mimick their peculiarities, pretended to be built on preceding revelations.—"The "miſſion of Zoroaſter to the Perſians ſuppoſed the religion of the "Magians; which had been, for many ages paſt, the antient na-"tional religion of the Medes as well as Perſians. The miſſion of "Mahomet ſuppoſed Chriſtianity; as that did, Judaiſm *." This is ſtill better. The deſign of his general obſervation, *That it was the common method for new revelations to be built and grounded on preceding revelations*, was to ſhew that the revelations, which we call true, imitated the falſe. And he proves it,---by ſhewing that the falſe imitated the true. That Mahomet's did ſo, is agreed on all hands. And thoſe bewildered men who would have us credit the ſtory of a *late* Zoroaſter, do, and muſt ſuppoſe that he borrowed from Judaiſm. But the truth is, the whole is an idle tale, invented by Perſian writers under the early Califs. However, though the Zoroaſter of Hyde and Prideaux be a mere phantom, yet the Religion called by his name, was a real thing, and ſtarted up in the firſt ages of Mahometiſm, with a Bible to ſupport its credit, in imitation of, and to oppoſe to, the Alcoran. But this neat device unluckily detects the whole impoſture: For in the Age of Mahomet, and in the time of the firſt Commentators on the Alcoran, the Perſians were eſteemed by them as Idolaters, and without a Bible; (and they had good Opportunity, by their conſtant commerce thither, to be well informed:) Which is agreeable to every thing that the earlier and the later Greek Writers unanimouſly deliver of the Perſian Religion. But that, on the appearance of Mahometaniſm, the Perſians ſhould

* Page 23.

do

do what the Greeks did on the firſt appearance of Chriſtianity, refine their old idolatrous worſhip, till they brought it to what Hyde and Prideaux obſerve it is at this day, amongſt the remainder of the Magian ſect in Perſia and India, is nothing ſtrange. The wonder is, that theſe learned men ſhould have ſwallowed ſo groſs a cheat, on the teſtimony of later Mahometan Writers; who had ſo many motives to ſupport it, and ſo ſlender abilities to detect it; whoſe propenſity to fabling is ſo great as even to diſcredit any truth that reſts on their authority; and whoſe talents in the art of lying are ſo little proportioned to their inclination to exerciſe it, that they never fail of defeating their own impoſitions. This argument, therefore, was in all reſpects worthy the Author of *The Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion.*

3. Laſtly, he tells us, that "the Siameſe and Brachmans both "pretend that they have had a *a ſucceſſion of incarnate deities* amongſt "them, who at due diſtances of time have brought new Revela-"tions from heaven; each ſucceeding one depending on the for-"mer; and that religion is to be conveyed on, in that way, for "ever *."—He promiſed to prove a ſucceſſion of Religions in the ancient world, the later founded and depending on the preceding: And he proves—*a ſucceſſion of incarnate deities*, talked of amongſt the MODERN pagans of India and Siam; and, from this ſucceſſion concludes for a ſucceſſion of DEPENDING RELIGIONS, of which they have no kind of notion. Nor are theſe extravagancies, which their prieſts do indeed talk of, any other than late inventions of their prieſts, to oppoſe to Mahometan and Chriſtian Miſſionaries. But a *ſucceſſion of incarnate deities* was ſo arch a ridicule on the myſteries of our holy faith, that it was to be brought in at any rate. But now the joke is over, let me tell him, he need not have gone ſo far for it. Were not Cœlus, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, &c. *a ſucceſſion of incarnate deities?* yet were any of the Religions, which had thoſe Gods for their author or object, FOUNDED or DEPENDENT on (though they ſucceeded to) one another? Here again, our ſagacious Freethinker

* Page 23.

was at a fault; and, with all his logic, could not diſtinguiſh between *one Religion's being built upon another*, and *one Religion's ſimply ſucceeding another*.

II. He comes next to the NATURE OF THINGS. The reader has ſeen how ſhort he falls of his reckoning from *fact*: But let him fairly make up his accounts, and we ſhall not differ with him about his way of payment; but willingly receive his deficiencies of Fact, in Reaſon.——"If we conſider (ſays he) the *nature of things*, we "ſhall find that it muſt be difficult, if not impoſſible, to introduce "amongſt men (who in all civilized countries are bred up in the be- "lief of ſome revealed religion) a revealed religion wholly new, or "ſuch as has no reference to a preceding one: for that would be "to combat all men in too many reſpects, and not to proceed on a "ſufficient number of principles neceſſary to be aſſented to by "thoſe, on whom the firſt impreſſions of a new religion are pro- "poſed to be made*."

Here his head was full of the theologic ideas of modern times; where one Religion is maintained and propagated on the deſtruction of all the reſt. And that indeed would be *combating all men in too many reſpects*, without good evidence in the Religion thus propoſed. But had he had the leaſt knowledge of Antiquity, he would have known that the Gentile religions of thoſe times were founded on different principles, and propagated on different practices. Not one of thoſe numerous Religions ever pretended to accuſe another of falſhood; and therefore was never itſelf in danger of being ſo accuſed. They very amicably owned one another's pretenſions; and all that a new Religion claimed, was to be let into partnerſhip with the reſt, whoſe common practice was to trade in ſhares†. Yet, according to this great Philoſopher, *it was difficult, if not impoſſible—it was combating all men in too many reſpects.—It was not proceeding on a ſufficient number of principles neceſſary to be aſſented to*, &c. But

* Page 23, 24.

† See the firſt volume, Book II. p. 429, & ſeq.

he

he can make Men, as well as Religions, change their natures when he wants them for ſome glorious miſchief. It is his more uſual way, and ſo it is of all his fellows, to make the People (the groſs body of mankind) run headlong into Religion, without the leaſt inquiry after evidence. But here we are told it *is very difficult, if not impoſſible*, to induce them to think well of a Religion which hath not the moſt plauſible evidence for its ſupport: That the not giving them this, is *not proceeding on a ſufficient number of principles*, but *combating all men in too many reſpects*, &c.

And this is all we can get out of him, FROM THE NATURE OF THINGS. But as he has raiſed a curioſity which he knew not how to gratify, I ſhall endeavour to ſupply his ignorance; and from this *nature of things*, ſhew the reader, 1. How the Religions of MOSES and JESUS muſt NECESSARILY SUPPOSE a *dependency* on ſome preceding. 2. How the ancient Religions of paganiſm muſt NECESSARILY NOT SUPPOSE any ſuch *dependency*; and 3. How it came to paſs, that more modern impoſtors, riſen ſince the coming of Chriſtianity, imitated the true, rather than the falſe Religions of ancient times, in this pretence to *dependency*.

I. The PATRIARCHAL, the JEWISH, and the CHRISTIAN Religions, all profeſſed to come from the only one GOD, the Creator of all things. Now as the whole race of mankind muſt be the common object of its Creator's care, all his Revelations, even thoſe given only to a part, muſt needs be thought ultimately directed to the intereſt of the whole: conſequently every later Revelation muſt ſuppoſe the TRUTH of the preceding. Again, when ſeveral ſucceſſive Revelations are given by him, ſome leſs, ſome more extenſive, we muſt conclude them to be the parts of ONE ENTIRE DISPENSATION; which, for reaſons beſt known to infinite Wiſdom, are gradually enlarged and opened: conſequently every later muſt not only ſuppoſe the TRUTH of every preceding Revelation, but likewiſe their mutual RELATION and DEPENDENCY. Hence we ſee, there may be weighty reaſons, why *God, from the beginning, ſhould have been conſtantly giving a ſucceſſion.*

ſucceſſion of Diſpenſations and Revelations *; as this Author, with a lewd ſneer, ſeems to take a pleaſure in obſerving. If therefore, what we call the true Revelation came from God, theſe Religions muſt needs be, and profeſs to be, dependent on one another.

II. Let us ſee next how the caſe ſtood in the ancient Pagan world. Their pretended Revelations were not from the ONE GOD; but all from local tutelary Deities; each of which was ſuppoſed to be employed in the care of his own Country or People, and unconcerned in every Other's department. Conſequently, between earlier and later Revelations of this kind, there could be no more dependency, than there was oppoſition: But each ſtood on its own foundation, ſingle, unrelated, and original.

III. But when, by the propagation of the Goſpel, the knowledge of the ONLY ONE GOD was ſpread abroad over the whole earth, and the abſurdities of Polytheiſm fully underſtood by the people, an Impoſtor, who would now obtrude a new Religion on the world, muſt of neceſſity pretend to have received it from that *only one God*. But the probability of his giving a Revelation now, being ſeen greatly to depend on his having given one before, our Impoſtor would be forced to own the truth of thoſe preceding Religions, which profeſſed to come from that GOD. And as the credit of the new Religion was beſt advanced by its being thought a finiſhing part of an incomplete Diſpenſation, he would, at the ſame time, bottom it on the preceding. Beſides, as an Impoſtor muſt needs want that neceſſary mark of a divine Miſſion, the power of Miracles, he could cover the want no otherwiſe than by a pretended relation to a Religion which had well eſtabliſhed itſelf by Miracles. And thus, in fact, MAHOMET framed the idea of his impoſture. He pretended his new Religion was the completion of Chriſtianity, as Chriſtianity was the completion of Judaiſm; for that the world not being to be won by the mild and gentle invitations of Jeſus, was now to be *compelled to enter in* by Mahomet. And ſo again, to

* Page 22.

complete

complete the imitation, this laſt and greateſt Prophet, as his followers believe him to be, is pretended to be foretold in the New Teſtament, as the Meſſiah was in the Old.

Thus this notable obſervation, from whence the Author *of the Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion* endeavoured to deduce ſo diſcrediting a likeneſs between all *falſe* religion, and what we believers hold to be the *true*, comes, we ſee, juſt to nothing.

But he has yet another flagrant mark of *likeneſs*, in reſerve: And thus he goes on, from diſcovery to diſcovery.—*In building thus upon* PROPHECY (ſays he) *as a principle, Jeſus and his Apoſtles had the concurrence of all ſects of Religion amongſt the Pagans.* Is it poſſible? Yes. *For the Pagans univerſally built their Religion on* DIVINATION*. As much as to ſay, the people of Amſterdam, in building their town-houſe upon piles, had (in the mode of laying a foundation) the concurrence of all the cities in England; who build theirs upon ſtone, or clay, or gravel. In the Jewiſh writings there are Prophecies of a future and more perfect Diſpenſation; which, Jeſus claiming to belong to HIS, his Religion was properly built upon PROPHECIES. The Heathens made Gods of their dead benefactors, and then conſulted them at their ſhrines, as Oracles; they inſpected the entrails of beaſts; they obſerved the flight of birds; they interpreted dreams and uncommon phænomena; and all theſe things they called DIVINATION. But what likeneſs is there between theſe things and Prophecies, the Prophecies on which Jeſus founded his Religion? Juſt as much as there is between TRUTH and what theſe men call, FREE-THINKING. But he has found a device to bring them related. 'Tis a maſter-piece; and the Reader ſhall not be robbed of it. *They* [the Pagans], ſays he, *learnt that art* [Divination] *in ſchools, or under diſcipline, as the Jews did propheſying in the ſchools and colleges of the Prophets; where, the learned Dodwell ſays, the candidates for prophecy were taught the rules of divination practiſed by the Pagans, who were ſkilled therein, and in poſſeſſion of the art long before them* †. This idle whimſy of

* Grounds and Reaſons, &c. p. 27, 28.

† See vol. II. book iv. § 6.

the

the *learned Dodwell* concerning the ſchools of the Prophets has been expoſed, as it deſerves, already *. But for the ſake of ſo extraordinary an argument (an *impiety*, grafted on its proper ſtock an *abſurdity*), it deſerves to be admitted, though it be but for a moment. The reaſoning then ſtands thus: Divination was an art learnt in the ſchools; ſo was one kind of Prophecy, or the Jewiſh art of Divination: thoſe who learnt this Jewiſh art of divination were taught the rules of pagan divination: THEREFORE pagan divination and ANOTHER kind of Prophecy, ſuch as foretold the coming of the Meſſiah, were things of the ſame kind. Incomparable reaſoner! and deſervedly placed at the head of modern Free-thinking! But his learning is equal to his ſenſe, and his premiſes juſt as true as his concluſion: *The Pagans univerſally built their Religion on divination.* I believe there are few ſchool-boys, who would not laugh at his blunder, and tell him it was juſt otherwiſe, *that the Pagans univerſally built divination on their Religion.* All that was ever *built on divination* was now and then a Shrine or a Temple. To return:

III.

But theſe prejudices, concerning local tutelary Deities, which made the introduction of a Theocracy ſo eaſy, occaſioned as eaſy a defection from the Laws of it.

1. For theſe tutelary Deities owning one another's pretenſions, there was always a friendly intercourſe of mutual honours, though not always of mutual worſhip. For at firſt, each God was ſuppoſed to be ſo taken up with his own people, as to have little leiſure or inclination to attend to the concerns of others.—Now this prejudice was the *firſt* ſource of the Jewiſh idolatry.

2. But the pretenſions of theſe Gods being thus reciprocally acknowledged; and Some, by the fortunate circumſtances of their followers, being riſen into ſuperior fame, the Rites uſed in their Worſhip were eagerly affected. And this was the *ſecond* ſource of

* See vol. II. book iv. § 6.

the

the Iſraelites' idolatry; exemplified in the erection of the GOLDEN CALF, and their fondneſs for all Egyptian ſuperſtitious in general.

3. But of theſe tutelary deities their being two ſorts, GENTILITIAL and LOCAL; the one ambulatory, and the other ſtationed; the latter were fixed to their poſts, as a kind of *heir-loom*, which they who conquered and poſſeſſed the country were obliged to maintain in their accuſtomed honours. And whatever *gentilitial* Gods a People might bring with them, yet the *local* God was to have a neceſſary ſhare in the religious Worſhip of the new Comers. Nay it was thought impiety, even in foreigners, while they ſojourned only in a ſtrange Country, not to ſacrifice to the Gods of the place. Thus Sophocles makes Antigone ſay to her father, that a ſtranger ſhould both venerate and abhor thoſe things which are venerated and abhorred in the city where he reſides*. Celſus gives the reaſon of ſo much complaiſance.—"Becauſe (ſays he) the ſeveral parts of the world were, from the beginning, diſtributed to ſeveral powers, each of which has his peculiar allotment and reſidence†." And thoſe who were loth to leave their paternal Gods when they ſought new ſettlements, at leaſt held themſelves obliged to worſhip them with the Rites, and according to the uſages of the Country they came to inhabit. Againſt this more qualified principle of Paganiſm, Moſes thought fit to caution his People, in the following words: *When the Lord thy* GOD *ſhall cut off the nations from before thee, whither thou goeſt to poſſeſs them, and thou ſucceedeſt them and dwelleſt in their land; take heed to thyſelf that thou be not ſnared by following them, after that they be deſtroyed from before thee, and that thou* ENQUIRE NOT AFTER THEIR GODS, *ſaying,* HOW *did theſe*

* Τόλμα ξυῶν
Ἐπὶ ξένης, ὦ τλᾶμον, ὅ,τι
Καὶ πόλις τέτροφεν ἄφιλον
Ἀποστυγεῖν τὸ φίλον σέβισθαι. Act. i. Oedip. Colon.

† —ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι, ὡς εἰκὸς, τὰ μέρη τῆς γῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄλλα ἄλλοις ἐποπῖαι, νενεμημένα καὶ καθά τινα ἐπωφαίσεις διειλημμένα, ταύτη καὶ διοικεῖται. καὶ δὴ τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις ὁρῶν ἂν παράπολλο ταύτη ἄγοιτο, ὅπη ἐκείνοις φίλον, παραλύειν δὲ οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλὰ τύπῳ νενομισμένα. Orig. cont. Celſ. lib. v. p. 247. See the paſſage, from Plato, p. 230, 231.

nations ſerve their Gods? even so will I do *likewiſe* *. But the adoption of theſe new Gods, as well as of their Rites, was ſo general, that David makes his being unjuſtly driven into an idolatrous land, the ſame thing as being forced to ſerve idolatrous Gods. For thus he expoſtulates with his perſecutor, "Now "therefore I pray thee let my lord the king hear the words of "his ſervant: If the Lord have ſtirred thee up againſt me, let him "accept an offering: but if they be the children of men, curſed "be they before the Lord; for they have driven me out this day "from abiding *in the inheritance of the Lord, ſaying*, Go serve "other Gods †." To the ſame principle Jeremiah likewiſe alludes, in the following words, *Therefore will I caſt you out of this land, into a land that ye know not, neither ye nor your fathers: and* there shall ye serve other Gods *day and night, where I will not ſhew you favour* ‡. By which is not meant that they ſhould be *forced*, any otherwiſe than by the ſuperſtitious dread of divine vengeance for a ſlighted worſhip: for at this time civil reſtraint in matters of religion was very rare.

But the imaginary vengeance which the tutelary God was ſuppoſed to take on thoſe, who, inhabiting his Land, yet ſlighted his Worſhip, was at length really taken on the Idolatrous Cutheans, when they came to cultivate the land of Iſrael. For the Almighty having, in condeſcenſion to the prejudices of the Iſraelites, aſſumed the title of a tutelary local God, and choſen Judea for his peculiar regency; it appeared but fit that he ſhould diſcharge, in good earneſt, the imaginary function of thoſe tutelary Gods, in order to diſtinguiſh himſelf from *the lying Vanities* of that infatuated age. Therefore when ſo great a portion of his Choſen people had been led captive, and a mixt rabble of Eaſtern idolaters were put into their place, he ſent plagues amongſt them for their profanation of the holy Land. Which calamity their own principles eaſily enabled them to account for. The ſtory is told in theſe words: "And the king of Aſſyria brought men

* Deut. xii. 29, 30. † 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. ‡ Chap. xvi. ver. 13.

"from

" from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Ava, and from " Hamath, and from Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities " of Samaria, inſtead of the children of Iſrael; and they poſſeſſed " Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof. And ſo it was, at the " beginning of their dwelling there, that they feared not the Lord; " therefore the Lord ſent lions amongſt them which ſlew ſome of " them. Wherefore they ſpake to the king of Aſſyria, ſaying, " The nations which thou haſt removed, and placed in the cities " of Samaria, KNOW NOT THE MANNER OF THE GOD OF THE " LAND: therefore he hath ſent lions amongſt them; and behold " they ſlay them, becauſe they know not the manner of the God " of the land. Then the king of Aſſyria commanded, ſaying, " Carry thither one of the Prieſts—and let him teach them " *the manner of the God of the land.*—Then one of the Prieſts came " and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they ſhould fear the " Lord. Howbeit every nation made Gods of their own—every " nation in their cities wherein they dwelt.—So theſe nations " feared the Lord, and ſerved their graven images, both their chil- " dren and their childrens children, as did their fathers, ſo do they " unto this day *."

But leaſt this account of the miraculous interpoſition ſhould be miſunderſtood as an encouragement of the notion of local Gods, or of *intercommunity* of worſhip, rather than a vindication of the ſanctity of that Country, which was conſecrated to the God of Iſrael, the ſacred Hiſtorian goes on to acquaint us with the perverſe influence this judgment had on the new inhabitants, ſo contrary to the divine intention. " They feared the Lord, and " ſerved their own Gods after the manner of the nations, whom " they carried away from thence. Unto this day, they do after the " former manners: they fear not the Lord, neither do they after " their ſtatutes, or after their ordinances, or after the Law and " Commandment which the Lord commanded the children of " Jacob whom he named Iſrael †.' *They feared the Lord, and ſerved*

* 2 Kings xvii. 24. et ſeq. † Ver. 33, 34.

their own Gods; that is, they feared the vengeance impending on the excluſion of the Worſhip of the God of Iſrael. But *they feared not the Lord, neither did after their Statutes.* That is, they tranſgreſſed the Commandment which they found ſo frequently repeated in the Pentateuch, of joining no other Worſhip to that of the God of Iſrael.

And this was the true reaſon why the Kings of Perſia and Syria (when Judea afterwards became a province to them) ſo frequently appointed ſacrifices to be offered to the *God of the land*, at Jeruſalem, in behalf of themſelves and families. Nor was the practice diſuſed when the Jews fell under the Roman yoke; both Julius Cæſar and Auguſtus making the ſame proviſion for the *felicity* of the Empire.

Hence therefore the *third* ſource of the Jewiſh idolatries. It was this ſuperſtitious reverence to local Deities within their own departments, which made them ſo devoted, while in Egypt, to the Gods of that Country; and when in poſſeſſion of their own land, to the tutelary Gods of Canaan.

But this *intercommunity* of Worſhip, begun by the migration of People and Colonies from one country to another, grew more general, as thoſe migrations became more frequent. 'Till at length the frequency, aided by many other concurrent cauſes (occaſionally taken notice of in ſeveral places of this work), made the *intercommunity* univerſal. And this was the *laſt* ſource of Jewiſh idolatries. This drew them into the ſervice of every God they heard of; or from whom they fancied any ſpecial good might be obtained; eſpecially the Gods of all great and powerful Nations. Theſe prejudices of opinion, joined to thoſe of practice which they had learnt in Egypt, were the true cauſes of their ſo frequent lapſe into idolatry.

From all this it appears, that their defection from the God of Iſrael, wicked and abominable as it was, did not however conſiſt in the rejecting him as a falſe God, or in renouncing the Law of Moſes as a falſe Religion; but only, in joining foreign Worſhip and idolatrous Ceremonies to the Ritual of the true God. Their

bias

bias to the idolatries of Egypt was inveterate cuſtom; their inclination for the idolatries of Canaan was a prevailing principle that the tutelary God of the place ſhould be worſhipped by its inhabitants; and their motive for all other idolatries, a vain expectation of good from the guardian Gods of famous and happy Nations.

Theſe were all inflamed by that common ſtimulation of a debauched People, the luxurious and immoral rites of Paganiſm; for it is to be obſerved that theſe defections generally happened amidſt the abuſes of proſperity. There is a remarkable paſſage in the Book of Joſhua which ſets this matter in a very clear light. The Iſraelites having lapſed into idolatry, Joſhua drew together their Heads and Rulers at Shechem, in order to a reformation. And the topic, he inſiſts upon for this purpoſe, is not, that the God of Iſrael was the only true God, the Maker of all things; but that he was the family-God of the race of Abraham, for which he had done ſo great things. And this he proſecutes from the 2d verſe of the xxiv. chap. to the 13th. His concluſion from all is, "Now "therefore fear the Lord, and *ſerve him in ſincerity, and in truth*, and "put away the Gods which your Fathers ſerved on the other ſide of "the flood and in Egypt *." However (continues he) at leaſt make your choice, and either ſerve the Lord, or ſerve the Gods of other People. "*And the people anſwered, God forbid we ſhould forſake the* "*Lord to ſerve other Gods* †: for we acknowledge him to be that "God who has done ſo great things for us." To this Joſhua replies, "*Ye cannot ſerve the Lord; for he is an holy God: he is a* "*jealous God, he will not forgive your tranſgreſſions, nor your* "*ſins* ‡." From all this, it appears, that the point debated between Joſhua and his People, was not whether the Iſraelites ſhould return to God, whom they had rejected and forſaken; but whether they ſhould ſerve him ONLY, or, as Joſhua expreſſes it, *ſerve him in ſincerity and in truth*. For on their exclaiming againſt the impiety of rejecting God,—"*God forbid, we ſhould forſake the Lord*; we "will ſtill ſerve him;" meaning along with the other Gods,—

* Ver. 14. † Ver. 16, 17. ‡ Ver. 19.

their

their Leader replies, *Ye cannot ſerve the Lord, for he is an* HOLY *God: he is a* JEALOUS *God. i. e.* As a *holy God*, he will not be ſerved with the lewd and polluted Rites of the Nations; and as a *jealous God*, he will not ſuffer you to ſerve Idols of wood and ſtone with his Rites. The conſequence is, You muſt ſerve him alone, and only with that worſhip which he himſelf hath appointed.

That this was the whole of their Idolatry, is farther ſeen from the accounts which the holy Prophets give us of it, in their reproofs and expoſtulations.

ISAIAH ſays, *To what purpoſe is the multitude of your Sacrifices unto me, ſaith the Lord: I am full of the Burnt-offerings of Rams, and the Fat of fed Beaſts*, &c.*. To whom are theſe words addreſſed? To thoſe who, beſides their numerous Immoralities, there reckoned up at large, delighted in idolatrous worſhip in *Groves* and *high Places*. For the Denunciation is thus continued: *They ſhall be aſhamed of the* OAKS *which ye have deſired, and ye ſhall be confounded for the* GARDENS *that ye have choſen* †. He deſcribes them again in this manner: *A People that provoketh me to Anger continually* TO MY FACE, *that ſacrificeth in Gardens, and burneth Incenſe upon Altars of Brick* ‡. Yet, at the ſame time, theſe men gloried ſo much in being the peculiar People of the Lord, that they ſaid, *Stand by thyſelf, come not near to me, for I am holier than thou* §.

JEREMIAH draws them in the very ſame colours: *Though they ſay, The Lord liveth, ſurely they ſwear falſly* ||, i. e. vainly, idolatrouſly. Why? The Reaſon is given ſoon after; they ſwore likewiſe by their idols: *How ſhall I pardon thee for this? thy Children have forſaken me, and* SWORN BY THEM THAT ARE NO GODS ¶. Again, *Will ye ſteal, murder, and commit adultery, and* SWEAR FALSLY *and* BURN INCENSE UNTO BAAL, *and walk after other Gods that ye know not* [i. e. ſtrange Gods]; *and come and* STAND BEFORE

* Chap i. ver. 11. † Ver. 29. ‡ Chap. lxv. ver. 3.
§ Ver. 5. || Chap. v. ver. 2. ¶ Ver. 7.

ME

ME IN THIS HOUSE, *which is called by my Name, and ſay, We are delivered to do all theſe abominations* * ? And in another place we find them thus expoſtulating with the Prophet,—*Wherefore hath the Lord pronounced all this Evil againſt us? or what is our Iniquity, or what is our Sin that we have committed againſt the Lord our* GOD †? and the Prophet anſwering them in this manner,—*becauſe your Fathers have forſaken me, ſaith the Lord, and walked after other Gods, and have ſerved them, and have worſhipped them, and have forſaken me, and have not kept my Law: And ye have done worſe than your Fathers* ‡. But is it poſſible they could be ſo exceeding ſtupid or impudent as to talk at this rate, had they ever renounced the RELIGION, or the GOD of their Forefathers?

EZEKIEL, likewiſe, ſhews plainly that their idolatries conſiſted in polluting the Religion of Moſes with foreign worſhip: "Son of "man, theſe men have ſet up their idols in their heart, and put "the ſtumbling-block of their iniquity before their Face: SHALL "I BE INQUIRED OF *at all by them?* Therefore ſpeak unto them, "and ſay unto them, Thus ſaith the Lord GOD, Every man of the "houſe of Iſrael that putteth up his idols in his heart, and putteth "the ſtumbling-block of iniquity before his face, and *cometh to* "*the Prophet*, I the Lord will anſwer him that cometh according to "the multitude of his idols §, &c." And again: *As for you, O houſe of Iſrael, Thus ſaith the Lord God, Go ye, ſerve ye every one his idols, and hereafter alſo, if ye will not hearken unto me: but* POLLUTE YE MY HOLY NAME NO MORE *with your gifts and with your idols* ‖, i. e. with gifts offered up to me with idolatrous Rites. In another place he giveth a terrible inſtance of this horrid mixture: "They have committed adultery, and blood is in their hands, "and with their idols have they committed adultery, and have "alſo cauſed their ſons, whom they bare unto me, to paſs for them "through the fire to devour them. Moreover this they have done "unto me: THEY HAVE DEFILED MY SANCTUARY IN THE SAME

* Chap. vii. ver. 9, 10. † Chap. xvi. ver. 10. ‡ Ver 11, 12.
§ Chap. xiv. ver. 3, 4. ‖ Chap. xx. ver. 39.

"DAY,

" DAY, and have profaned my Sabbaths. For when they had ſlain " their Children to their idols, then THEY CAME THE SAME DAY " INTO MY SANCTUARY to profane it; and lo, thus have they done " in the midſt of mine houſe *." Theſe, and innumerable other paſſages in the Prophets to the ſame purpoſe, evidently ſhew, that this defection from the God of Iſrael conſiſted not in a rejection of Him, or of his Law.

This appears ſtill more evident from the following conſiderations:

1. That, in the courſe of their idolatries, they abuſed the memorials of their own Diſpenſation to ſuperſtitious Worſhip. Such as the *Brazen Serpent* of Moſes; to which, in the time of their kings, they paid divine honours †. And I am much miſtaken if the monument of *Twelve ſtones*, taken out of Jordan, and pitched in Gilgal for a memorial of their miraculous paſſage ‡, was not equally abuſed. What induces me to think ſo, is the following paſſage of ISAIAH: " Draw near hither, ye ſons of the ſorcereſs, " the ſeed of the adulterer and the whore. Againſt whom do yo- " ſport yourſelves?—enflaming yourſelves with idols under every " green tree, ſlaying the children in the valleys under the clifts of " the rocks? AMONG THE SMOOTH STONES OF THE STREAM IS " THY PORTION; they, they are thy lot: EVEN TO THEM HAST " THOU POURED A DRINK-OFFERING, thou haſt offered a meat- " offering. Should I receive comfort in theſe §?"

2. The Iſraelites were moſt prone to idolatry in PROSPEROUS TIMES; and generally returned to the God of their fathers in ADVERSITY, as appears from their whole hiſtory. Againſt this impotence of mind they were more than once cautioned, before they entered into the Land of Bleſſings, that they might afterwards be left without excuſe. " And it ſhall be (ſays Moſes) when the " Lord thy GOD ſhall have brought thee into the land which " he ſware unto thy fathers, to Abraham, to Iſaac, and to

* Chap. xxiii. ver. 37—39.

† 2 Kings xviii. 4.

‡ Joſh. iv. 3. 20, 21, 22.

§ Iſaiah lvii. 3. et ſeq.

" Jacob,

" Jacob, to give thee great and goodly cities which thou buildedſt " not, and houſes full of all good things which thou filledſt not, " and wells digged which thou diggedſt not, vine-yards and olive- " trees which thou plantedſt not, when thou ſhalt have eaten and " be full; then beware leſt thou forget the Lord which brought " thee forth out of the Land of Egypt from the houſe of bondage. " Thou ſhalt fear the Lord thy GOD and ſerve him, and ſhalt ſwear " by his name. Ye ſhall not go after other Gods, of the Gods of " the people which are round about you *." However Moſes himſelf lived to ſee an example of this perverſity, while they remained in the Wilderneſs: *But Jeſhurun* (ſays he) *waxed fat, and kicked: Thou art waxed fat, thou art grown thick, thou art covered with fatneſs; then he forſook God which made him, and lightly eſteemed the Rock of his Salvation* †. And the Prophet HOSEA aſſures us, that the Day of proſperity was the conſtant ſeaſon of their idolatry: *Iſrael is an empty vine, he bringeth forth fruit unto himſelf:* ACCORDING TO THE MULTITUDE OF HIS FRUIT, HE HATH INCREASED THE ALTARS; ACCORDING TO THE GOODNESS OF HIS LAND THEY HAVE MADE GOODLY IMAGES ‡. And again: *According to their paſture ſo were they filled*; THEY WERE FILLED, AND THEIR HEART WAS EXALTED: *therefore have they forgotten me* §. This, therefore, is a clear proof that their defection from the God of Iſrael was not any doubt of his goodneſs or his power, but a wanton abuſe of his bleſſings. Had they queſtioned the truth of the Law, their behaviour had been naturally otherwiſe: they would have adhered to it in times of proſperity; and would have left it in adverſity and trouble. This the Deiſts would do well to conſider.

3. The terms, in which God's warnings againſt this defection are expreſſed, plainly ſhew that their lapſe into Idolatry was no rejection of him: he will have no FELLOWSHIP OF COMMUNION with falſe Gods. The names employed to deſign their idolatries are ADULTERY and WHOREDOM. And God's reſentment of their defection is

* Deut. vi. 10. et ſeq. and chap. viii. ver. 11. et ſeq.

† Deut. xxxii. 15. ‡ Chap. x. ver. 1. § Chap. xiii. ver. 6.

perpetually expreſſed by the ſame metaphor: which ſhews that his right over them was ſtill acknowledged, juſt as an adulterous wife owns the huſband's right, amidſt all her pollutions with ſtrangers. Where we may obſerve, that though their idolatry is ſo conſtantly ſtyled ADULTERY, yet that of the Pagans never is; though it is very often called WHOREDOM. The reaſon of this diſtinction is plainly intimated in the following words of Ezekiel: "How weak "is thine heart, ſaith the Lord God, ſeeing thou doſt all theſe "things, the work of an imperious whoriſh woman? In that thou "buildeſt thine eminent place in the head of every way, and makeſt "thine high place in every ſtreet, and haſt NOT BEEN AS AN HAR-"LOT (in that thou ſcorneſt hire), but AS A WIFE that committeth "ADULTERY, which taketh ſtrangers inſtead of her huſband*." The Jews had entered into a covenant with God, which had made them his Peculiar: and when they had violated their plighted faith, they ſtood in that relation to him which an ADULTRESS does to her injured huſband. The Gentiles, on the contrary, had entered into no *excluſive* engagements with their Gods, but the practice of *intercommunity* had proſtituted them, as a common HARLOT, to all comers.

Thus much, however, muſt be confeſſed, that though the very worſt of their idolatry conſiſted only in mixing foreign Worſhip with their own; yet, in their mad attention to thoſe abominable things, God's Worſhip was often ſo extremely neglected, that He ſays, by the Prophet, *They have forſaken me, the fountain of living waters*, juſt as the Saint-worſhippers in the Church of Rome forſake God, when in their private devotions the Vulgar think only of their tutelary Saints.

The ſeveral principal parts, therefore, of the Iſraelitiſh idolatry were theſe,

1. Worſhipping the true GOD under an image, ſuch as the *golden Calves*, 1 Kings xii. 28.

* Chap. xvi. ver. 30, 31, 32.

2. Wor-

2. Worſhipping him in Places forbidden, as in *Groves*, 2 Kings xviii. 22. Iſ. xxxvi. 7.

3. And by idolatrous Rites, ſuch as *cutting themſelves with knives*, Jer. xli. 5.

4. By profaning the houſe of GOD with *idolatrous images*, Jer. xxxii. 34.

5. By worſhipping the *true* GOD *and Idols together*.

6. And laſtly, by worſhipping *idols alone*, Jer. ii. 13. Yet by what follows, ver. 35, it appears, that even this was not a total apoſtacy from God.

If the Reader would know what uſe I intend to make of this account of the Jewiſh idolatry, to the main Queſtion of my Work, I muſt crave his patience till we come to the laſt Volume. If he would know what other uſe may be made of it, he may conſider what hath been ſaid above; and be farther pleaſed to obſerve, that it obviates the objection of a ſort of men equally unſkilled in ſacred and profane Antiquity (of whom more by and by), who, from this circumſtance of the perpetual defection of the Jews into idolatry, would conclude that the Diſpenſation of GOD to them could never have been ſo illuſtrious as their hiſtory hath repreſented it. The ſtrength of which objection reſts on theſe two ſuppoſitions, that their idolatry conſiſted in renouncing the Law of Moſes: And renouncing it as diſſatisfied of its truth. Both which ſuppoſitions we have ſhewn to be falſe: the neglect of the law, during their moſt idolatrous practice, being no other than their preferring impure novel Rites (which moſt ſtrongly engage the attention of a ſuperſtitious people) to old ones, whoſe ſanctity has no carnal allurements. As to its original from GOD, they never entertained the leaſt doubt concerning it; or that the GOD of Iſrael was the Creator of the Univerſe: They had been better inſtructed.—*Thus ſaith the Lord*, the HOLY ONE OF ISRAEL and HIS MAKER *.—As much as to ſay, the tutelary God of Iſrael is the Creator of the Univerſe: Indeed, in the period juſt preceding their Captivity, when the *extraordinary* providence was

* Iſaiah xlv. 11.

gradually withdrawing from them (a matter to be conſidered hereafter more at large), they began to entertain ſuſpicions of God's farther regard to them, *as his choſen people*. But that nothing of this ever contributed to their idolatry is plain from what we have ſhewn above, of its being a wanton defection in the midſt of peace, proſperity, and abundance (the confeſſed effects of the *extraordinary* providence of the God of Iſrael), and of their conſtantly returning to him in times of difficulty and diſtreſs.

It is true, that this ſtate of the caſe, which removes the infidel objection, at the ſame time diſcovers a moſt enormous perverſity in that People; who, although convinced of the truth of a Religion forbidding all *intercommunity*, was for ever running aſtray after foreign Worſhip. However, would we but tranſport ourſelves into theſe times, and remember what hath been ſaid of that great principle of INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; and how early and deeply the Jews had imbibed all the eſſential ſuperſtitions of Paganiſm; we ſhould not only abate of our wonder, but ſee good cauſe to make large allowances to this unhappy People.

But there is another circumſtance in this affair too remarkable to be paſſed by in ſilence. As fond as the Jews were of borrowing their Neighbours' Gods, we do not find, by any hints in ancient hiſtory, either profane or ſacred, that their Neighbours were diſpoſed to borrow theirs. Nay, we are aſſured, by Holy Writ, that they did not. God, by the Prophet Ezekiel, addreſſing himſelf to the Jews, ſpeaks on this wiſe:—*And the contrary is in thee from other women in thy* WHOREDOMS, WHEREAS NONE FOLLOWETH THEE TO COMMIT WHOREDOMS: *and in that thou giveſt a reward, and no reward is given to thee; therefore thou art contrary* *. I have ſhewn, elſewhere, that, by this, is meant, that no Gentile nation borrowed the Jewiſh Rites of Worſhip, to join them to their own. For as to Proſelytes, or particular men converted to the ſervice of the true God, we find a prodigious number in the Days of David and Solomon †. So again, in the Prophet Jeremiah, HATH A NATION

* Chap. xvi. ver. 34. † 2 Chron. ii. 17.

CHANGED

CHANGED THEIR GODS, WHICH ARE YET NO GODS? *But my people have changed their glory for that which doth not profit* *; *i. e.* Hath any of the nations brought in the God of Iſrael into the number of their *falſe* Gods, as the Iſraelites have brought in theirs to ſtand in fellowſhip with the *true?* For that the Nations frequently changed their tutelary Gods, or one idol for another, is too notorious to need any proof.

This then is remarkable. The two principal reaſons of the contrariety, I ſuppoſe, were theſe:

1. It was a thing well known to all the neighbouring Nations, that the God of Iſrael had an abhorrence of all *community* or alliance with the Gods of the Gentiles. This unſociable temper would deter thoſe people (who all held him as a tutelary Deity of great power) from ever bringing him into the fellowſhip of their country Gods. For, after ſuch declarations, they could not ſuppoſe his company would prove very propitious. And in truth, they had a ſingle inſtance of his ill neighbourhood, much to their coſt; which brings me to the ſecond reaſon.

2. The devaſtation he brought upon the Philiſtines, while the ARK reſted in their quarters. For they having taken it from the Iſraelites in battle, carried it, as another *Palladium* †, to Aſhdod, and placed it in the temple of their God Dagon; who paſſed two ſo bad nights with his new Gueſt, that on the ſecond morning he was found pared away to his *fiſhy ſtump* ‡: And this diſaſter was followed with a deſolating peſtilence. The people of Aſhdod, who hitherto had intended to keep the Ark as one of their Idol-protectors, now declare *it ſhould not abide with them, for that the hand of the* GOD OF ISRAEL *was ſore upon them, and upon Dagon their God* §. They ſent it therefore to Gath, another of their cities; and theſe having carried it about in a religious proceſſion, it made the ſame havock amongſt them ‖. It was then removed a third time, with an intent to ſend it to Ekron; but the men of that city, terrified with the two pre-

* Chap. ii. ver. 11. † See note [F], at the end of this Book.

‡ 1 Sam. v. 4, 5. § Ver. 7. ‖ Ver. 9.

ceding

ceding calamities, refuſed to receive it, ſaying *they had brought the Ark of the God of Iſrael, to ſlay them and their people* *. At length the Philiſtines by ſad experience were brought to underſtand, that it was the beſt courſe to ſend it back to its owners: which they did with great honour; with gifts and treſpaſs-offerings, to appeaſe the offended Divinity †. And from this time we hear no more of any attempts amongſt the Gentile Nations to join the Jewiſh Worſhip to their own. They conſidered the God of Iſrael as a tutelary Deity, abſolutely UNSOCIABLE; who would have nothing to do with any but his own People, or with ſuch Particulars as would worſhip him alone; and therefore, in this reſpect, different from all other tutelary Gods; each of which was willing to live in community with all the reſt. This, the hiſtorian Joſephus underſtood to be their ſentiment, when he makes the Midianitiſh women addreſs the young men of Iſrael in the following manner: *Nor ought you to be blamed for honouring thoſe Gods which belong to the Country where you ſojourn* ‡. *Beſides, our Gods are* COMMON TO ALL THE NATIONS, *yours to* NONE OF THEM §.

And thus the matter reſted, till occaſion requiring that God ſhould vindicate his property in that Country which he had choſen for his peculiar reſidence, as a tutelary Deity. He then drove the Pagan inhabitants of Samaria into his worſhip, juſt as he had driven the Philiſtines from it: and, in both caſes, hath afforded to his ſervants the moſt illuſtrious proofs of divine wiſdom, in his manner of conducting this wonderful Oeconomy to its completion.

But from this circumſtance of the inability of the Law to prevent the Iſraelites from falling thus frequently into idolatry, a noble Writer ‖ has thought fit to ground a charge of impoſture againſt

* 1 Sam. ver. 10. † Chap. vi. ver. 3.

‡ See what hath been ſaid above concerning this imaginary obligation.

§ Μέμψαιο δ' ἂν εἰ γῆς εἰς ἣν ἀφῖχθε τὰς ἰδίους αὐτῆς Θεοὺς προσέποισθε· καὶ ταῦτα. τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων κοινῶν ὄντων πρὸς ἅπαντας, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα πρὸς μηδένα τοιοῦτο τυγχάνοντα. Antiq. Jud. l. iv. c. 6. Sect. 8.

‖ Lord Bolingbroke.

the

the Lawgiver. It would therefore look like prevarication to let ſo fair an opportunity paſs by without vindicating the Truth from his miſrepreſentations; eſpecially when the nature and cauſes of that idolatry, as here explained, tend ſo directly to expoſe all his pompous ſophiſtry.

" One of the moſt conceivable perfections of a law is (ſays his " Lordſhip), that it be made with ſuch a foreſight of all poſſible " accidents, and with ſuch proviſions for the due execution of it in " all caſes, that the law may be effectual to govern and direct theſe " accidents, inſtead of lying at the mercy of them. Such a law " would produce its effect, by a certain moral neceſſity reſulting " from itſelf, and not by the help of any particular conjuncture. " We are able to form ſome general notions of laws thus perfect; " but to make them, is above humanity.——To apply theſe re- " flections to the Law of Moſes—We cannot read the Bible without " being convinced, that no law ever operated ſo weak and uncertain " an effect as the Law of Moſes did. Far from prevailing againſt " accidents and conjunctures, the leaſt was ſufficient to interrupt " the courſe and to defeat the deſigns of it; to make that people " not only neglect the Law, but ceaſe to acknowledge the Legiſla- " tor. To prevent this, was the firſt of theſe deſigns; and if the " ſecond was, as it was, no doubt, and as it is the deſign or pre- " tence of all laws, to ſecure the happineſs of the people, THIS " DESIGN WAS DEFEATED AS FULLY AS THE OTHER; for the " whole hiſtory of this people is one continued ſeries of infractions " of the Law, and of national calamities. So that this law, con- " ſidered as the particular law of this nation, has proved more in- " effectual than any other law perhaps that can be quoted. If this " be aſcribed to the hardneſs of heart and obſtinacy of the people, in " order to ſave the honour of the Law, this honour will be little " ſaved, and its divinity ill maintained. This excuſe may be ad- " mitted in the caſe of any human law; but we ſpeak here of a law " ſuppoſed to be dictated by divine Wiſdom, which ought, and " which would have been able, if it had been ſuch, to keep, in a

" ſtate

" ſtate of ſubmiſſion to it, and of national proſperity, even a people " rebellious and obſtinate enough to break through any other. If " it be ſaid the Law became ineffectual by the fault of thoſe who " governed the people, their Judges and their Kings, let it be re- " membered that their Judges and their Kings were of God's ap- " pointment, for the moſt part at leaſt; that he himſelf is ſaid to " have been their King during ſeveral ages; that his preſence re- " mained amongſt them, even after they had depoſed him; and " that the High Prieſt conſulted him, on any emergency, by the " Urim and Thummim. Occaſional miracles were wrought to " inforce the Law; but this was a ſtanding miracle, that might ſerve " both to explain and inforce it, by the wiſdom and authority of the " Legiſlator, as often as immediate recourſe to him was neceſſary. " Can it be denied that the moſt imperfect ſyſtem of human laws " would have been rendered effectual by ſuch means as theſe *?"

I. The ſum of his Lordſhip's reaſoning amounts to this, " that the Jewiſh Law being ordained for a certain end, it betrays its impoſture by never being able to attain that end. For, firſt, if *infinite Wiſdom* framed the Law, it muſt be moſt perfect; and it is eſſential to the perfection of a mean, for a Law is nothing but a mean, that it attain its end. Secondly, if *infinite Power* adminiſtered it, that Power muſt have rendered even the moſt imperfect ſyſtem effectual to its purpoſe."

Thus, we ſee, his argument, when reduced to order, divides itſelf into theſe two branches; Conſiderations drawn, firſt, from the *Wiſdom*, and, then, from the *Power* of the Deity, to diſcredit his workmanſhip.

1. We will take him at his beſt, with the improvement of order; and firſt examine his concluſions from the circumſtance of *infinite Wiſdom's framing the Law*.

Let us admit then for a moment, that his repreſentation of the *end* of the Law is exact; and that his aſſertion of its never gaining its end, is true: I anſwer, that this objection to the divine original

* Lord Bolingbroke's Works, vol. iii. p. 292, 293, 294. Quarto Edition.

of

of the JEWISH LAW holds equally againſt the divine original of that Law of Nature, called the MORAL LAW. Now his Lordſhip pretends to believe that the *Moral Law* came from GOD: nay, that He was ſo entirely the Author and Creator of it, that if he had ſo pleaſed, he might have made it eſſentially different from what it is. But yet the experience of all ages hath ſhewn, that this Law *prevailed* ſtill leſs *againſt accidents and conjunctures* than the Moſaic. For if the Jews were always tranſgreſſing their Law till the Captivity, yet after that diſaſter they as ſcrupulouſly adhered to it; and in that attachment have continued ever ſince: whereas, from the day the MORAL LAW was firſt given to mankind, to this preſent hour, *the leaſt accident was ſufficient to interrupt the courſe*, and to *defeat the deſigns of it.* How happened it, therefore, that this acknowledged Law of GOD did not *govern and direct accidents*, *inſtead of lying at the mercy of them?* Was it leſs *perfect* in its kind than the Moſaic? Who will pretend to ſay That, who believes the Moral Law came directly from GOD, and was delivered intimately to Man, for the ſervice of the whole Species; while the Jewiſh Law came leſs directly from him, as being conveyed through the miniſtry of Moſes, for the ſole uſe of the Jewiſh People?

To theſe queſtions his Lordſhip would be ready to anſwer, "That it is neceſſary for the ſubjects of a moral law to be endowed with free Will: That free Will may be abuſed; and that ſuch abuſes may render the moſt *perfect* ſyſtem of Laws ineffectual." But this anſwer turns upon his Lordſhip, when applied to the defence of the Moſaic Law; and turns with redoubled force.

We ſee then how much he was miſtaken in concluding, that, becauſe *perfection in its kind* is one of the eſſential qualities of a divine Law, therefore ſuch a law muſt of *neceſſity* produce its effect. His beſt reaſon for this fancy is, that *he is able to form ſome general notions of Laws thus perfect.* Which is no more than telling us (notwithſtanding his parade of inſinuated ability), that he is able to conceive how the Will may be controlled, and how Man may be transformed

into a Machine. It is true, he owns, that this fact, viz. *to make laws thus perfect, is above humanity.* It is so; and let me add, as much *below the Divinity*; whose glory it is to draw his reasonable creatures with the *cords of a man.* A Law then, which produces its effects by a *certain necessity*, must do it by a necessity which is *physical*, and not *moral*; it being the quality of *physical*, not of *moral necessity*, that its effects cannot possibly be *defeated.*

Thus, we see, all there is of truth in his Lordship's assertion, of its being *essential to the perfection of a mean that it attain its end*, amounts only to this, A capacity in such a *mean* to attain its end, naturally and of itself. And this, we say, was the condition of the Mosaic Law; whatever might be the actual success.

The qualities of a Law capable of producing its effect, are to be sought for *à priori*, as the Schools speak, and not *à posteriori:* And if here we find intrinsic marks of excellence in the particular Laws; of consummate wisdom in the general Frame and Constitution of them; and can likewise discover those *accidents*, which, at some periods of the Dispensation, hindered the *effect*; we have done all that human reason can require, to vindicate this divine Law, from his Lordship's imputations of imposture.

To treat this matter as it deserves, would require a volume, though not so large as his Lordship's. But a few words will suffice to give the reader a general idea of the truth. And a general idea will be sufficient to shew the futility of the objection.

The admirable provision made by the Jewish Law for preventing idolatry, may be seen in the following instances.

1. That each specific Rite had a natural tendency to oppose, or to elude, the strong propensity to idolatrous Worship, by turning certain Pagan observances, with which the People were besotted, upon a proper object.—Hence that CONFORMITY between Jewish and Pagan Ceremonies, which so vainly alarms, and so vainly flatters, both the friends and enemies of Revelation.

2. That by their multiplicity, and the frequent returns of their celebration, they kept the People constantly busied and employed; so

ſo as to afford ſmall time or leiſure for the running into the forbidden ſuperſtitions of Paganiſm.

3. That the immediate benefits which followed the punctual obſervance of the Law had a natural tendency to keep them attached to it.

4. But laſtly, and above all, that the admirable coincidency between the *Inſtitute of Law*, and the *Adminiſtration of Government* (whereby the Magiſtrate was enabled to puniſh idolatry with death, without violating the rights of mankind), went as far towards the actual prevention of idolatrous Worſhip, as, according to human conceptions, CIVIL LAW, whether of human or divine original, could poſſibly go. And reſting the matter here, I ſuppoſe, one might ſafely defy his Lordſhip, with all his legiſlative talents, and his vain boaſt of them, *to form any general notions of a law more perfect*.

But this reaſoning on the natural efficacy of the Moſaic Law, by its innate virtue, to prevent and to reſtrain Idolatry, which it did not at all times, in fact, prevent and reſtrain, will be further ſupported by this conſideration: That the circumſtance which, from time to time, occaſioned a defection from the Law, was neither an indiſpoſition to its eſtabliſhment; nor any incoherence in its general Frame and Conſtitution; nor averſion to any particular part, nor yet a debility or weakneſs in its Sanctions. The ſole cauſe of the defection was an inveterate prejudice, exterior and foreign to the Law. The Iſraelites, in their houſe of bondage, had been brought up in the principles of LOCAL AND TUTELARY DEITIES and INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP; principles often referred to, on various occaſions, in the courſe of this work, for the illuſtration of the moſt important truths. In theſe Principles, they ſaw the whole race of mankind agree: and, from the Practice of them, in the worſhip of tutelar Deities, they thought they ſaw a world of good ready to ariſe. But not only the hope of good, but the fear of evil drew them ſtill more ſtrongly into this road of folly. Their Egyptian education had early impreſſed that bugbear-notion of a ſet of *local*

Deities, who expected their dues of all who came to inhabit the country which they had honoured with their protection *; and severely resented the neglect of payment on all new comers. This will easily account for the frequent defections of the Israelites in the divided service of the Gods of Canaan.—But it is difficult for men fixed down to the impressions of modern manners, to let themselves into distant times; or to feel the force of motives whose operations they have never experienced: Therefore, to convince such men that the early Jewish defections were not owing to any want of force or virtue in the Law, but to the exterior violence of an universal prejudice, it may be proper to observe, that, from the Babylonian Captivity to this very time, the Jews have been as averse to Idolatry under every form and fashion of it, as before they were propense unto it. If it be asked, what it was that occasioned so mighty a change? I answer, It was in part, the severity of that punishment which they had felt; and in part, the abatement of that foolish prejudice which they had favoured, of INTERCOMMUNITY OF WORSHIP: This, though still as general as ever in the Pagan world, had yet lost greatly of its force amongst the Jews, since they became acquainted with the principles of Gentile Philosophy; the sounder parts of which being found conformable to the *reasonable* doctrines of their Religion, were applied by them to the use of explaining the Law. An use which this Philosophy was never put to in the place of its birth, on account of the *absurdities* of Pagan worship; for this kept the principles of Philosophy and the practices of Religion at too great a distance to have any influence on one another. Such was the advantage the followers of the Jewish Law reaped from the Greek Philosophy; an advantage peculiar to them; and which made some amends for the many superstitions of another kind, which the mixing Philosophy with Religion introduced into the practice of the Law: superstitions which depraved, and at length

* See what has been said on this matter just above, in the case of the *Cutheans*, inhabiting Samaria.

totally

totally deſtroyed the noble ſimplicity of its nature and genius.—But I anticipate a ſubject for which I ſhall find a much fitter place.

At length then we ſee, that the Law of Moſes was, indeed, ſuch a one as his Lordſhip would require in a LAW OF DIVINE ORIGINAL, namely, that *it produced its effect*, if not by a *phyſical* neceſſity which bears down all obſtruction before it, yet by a *moral*, which conſtantly kept operating when no foreign impediment ſtood in the way! So falſe is his Lordſhip's aſſertions, that *the* WHOLE *hiſtory of this people is one continued ſeries of infractions of the Law.* If, by the *whole*, he means (as his argument requires he ſhould mean) the whole both of their ſacred and merely civil hiſtory; and, by *one continued ſeries of infractions of the Law*, their lapſes into Idolatry; it is the groſſeſt miſrepreſentation: the far greater part of their duration as a diſtinct People was free from idolatry; and an authentic account of this freedom is recorded in their Annals. But if by *their whole hiſtory*, he means (as his cauſe might neceſſitate him to mean) only the ſacred books; and, by *their infraction of the Law*, only tranſgreſſions in leſſer matters, it is illuſory and impertinent.

2. We have ſeen the force of his Lordſhip's concluſion from the circumſtance—*of infinite Wiſdom's framing the Law:* We come next to the other circumſtance, from which he deduceth the ſame concluſion, namely *infinite Power's adminiſtering the Law.*

"Let it be remembered (ſays his Lordſhip) that GOD himſelf is "ſaid to have been their King during ſeveral ages; that his preſence "remained amongſt them, even after they had depoſed him; and "that the High Prieſt conſulted him, on any emergency, by the "Urim and Thummim. OCCASIONAL MIRACLES were wrought "to inforce the Law; but this was a ſtanding miracle that might "ſerve both to explain and inforce it, by the wiſdom and authority "of the Legiſlator, as often as immediate recourſe to him was "neceſſary. *Can it be denied that the moſt imperfect ſyſtem of human "Laws would have been rendered effectual by ſuch means as theſe?*"

This bad reaſoning ſeems to be urged with much good faith, contrary to his Lordſhip's uſual cuſtom; and ariſes from his igno-

rance,

rance of a *Theocratic* adminiſtration, as the nature of the adminiſtration may be collected from the common principles of the Law of Nature and Nations.

Let us conſider the affair diſpaſſionately. God, in giving laws to his choſen people, was pleaſed, *more humano*, to aſſume the title of King, and to adminiſter their civil affairs by a *Theocratic* mode of Government. Every ſtep in this eſtabliſhment evinces, that it was his purpoſe to interfere no otherwiſe than in conformity to that political aſſumption. He proceeded on the moſt equitable grounds of civil Government: he became their *King* by free choice. It muſt needs therefore be his purpoſe to confine himſelf to ſuch *powers of legiſlation*, as human Governors are able to exert; though he extended the *powers of adminiſtration* far beyond the limits of humanity. His Lordſhip's ignorance of ſo reaſonable a diſtinction occaſioned all this pompous Fallacy. He found in the Moſaic Diſpenſation OCCASIONAL MIRACLES pretended: and he imagined that, conſiſtently with this pretence, *Miracles* ought to operate throughout, rather than that the *end* of the Law ſhould be defeated. But, I preſume, GOD could not, conformably to his purpoſe of erecting a THEOCRACY, and adminiſtering it MORE HUMANO, exert miraculous powers in *legiſlating*, though he very well might, and actually did exert them, in *governing:* becauſe, in legiſlation, a *miracle*, that is, a ſupernatural force added to the Laws, to make them conſtantly obeyed, could not be employed without putting a force upon the Will; by which God's Laws would indeed *produce their effect*, but it would be by the deſtruction of the ſubject of them. The caſe was different in adminiſtering the Laws made: here God was to act *miraculouſly*; often out of wiſe choice, to manifeſt the nature of the Government, and the reality of his *regal* character; ſometimes out of neceſſity, for the carrying on of that Government on the Sanctions by which it was to be diſpenſed: and all this he might do without the leaſt force upon the Will.

This is ſufficient to expoſe the futility of his Lordſhip's concluſion from the circumſtance of *infinite Power's adminiſtring the Law*; it

it being eſſential to the Law, that *infinite Power adminiſtring it*, ſhould reſtrain itſelf within ſuch bounds as left the Will perfectly free. But *infinite Power*, reſtrained within ſuch bounds, might ſometimes meet with unſurmountable obſtructions in the courſe of its direction, under a Theocracy adminiſtered *more humano*.

II. We have ſeen how weak his Lordſhip's reaſoning is in itſelf: Let us now ſee how much weaker he makes it by ill management; till at length it comes out a good argument againſt his own objection.

" The Law of Moſes (ſays his Lordſhip) was ſo far from pre-
" vailing over accidents and conjunctures, that the leaſt was ſuffi-
" cient to interrupt the courſe and defeat the deſign of it, to make
" that people not only neglect the Law, BUT CEASE TO ACKNOW-
" LEDGE THE LEGISLATOR. To prevent this, was the *firſt of theſe*
" *deſigns:* and if the *ſecond* was (as it was, no doubt) and as it is
" the deſign or pretence of all Laws, to ſecure the happineſs of
" the people, THIS DESIGN WAS DEFEATED AS FULLY AS THE
" OTHER: for the whole hiſtory of this people is one continued
" ſeries of INFRACTIONS OF THE LAW, AND OF NATIONAL
" CALAMITIES."

To paſs by that vulgar miſtake (which has been ſufficiently expoſed above) that the Jews *ever ceaſed to acknowledge their Legiſlator*; let me obſerve it to his Lordſhip's credit, that he appears to have underſtood ſo much at leaſt of the Moſaic Inſtitution, as to ſee that the *firſt end* of it was peculiar to itſelf; and that that which is common to all civil Communities was but the *ſecond end* of This.

But is it not ſtrange, when he ſaw ſo far into the nature of the Jewiſh Conſtitution, that he ſhould not ſee that this *ſecond end* was entirely dependent on what he himſelf makes the principal; namely, to preſerve the Iſraelites from idolatry; but ſhould argue againſt the divinity of the Law, as if theſe ends were independant one of another; and that one might be obtained without the other?

For,

For, to aggravate the imbecillity of the Law, he informs us in the paſſage laſt quoted, " that it was not only unable to gain its firſt end, but its ſecond likewiſe: *that the one deſign was defeated as fully as the other*; that the people were not only idolaters in ſpiritual matters, but poor, miſerable, and calamitous in their civil intereſts." Strange! that he could not ſee, or would not acknowledge, that the Law denounces their happineſs and miſery as citizens, in exact proportion to their adherence to, or their defection from, that Law; when he ſaw and confeſſed (what their History records), that this was their invariable fortune. *The whole hiſtory of this people* (ſays his Lordſhip) *is one continued ſeries of infractions of the Law, and of national calamities.* Now if the whole frame of the Moſaic Law was ſo compoſed, as to do that by *poſitive* inſtitute which the Moral Law does by *natural*, viz. reward the obedient, and puniſh the diſobedient (and it certainly was ſo compoſed, if a *continued ſeries of infractions* was followed by a *continued ſeries of calamities*), we muſt needs conclude that we have here the ſtrongeſt proof of that divine Wiſdom in the Conſtitution, which this great modern Law-giver pretends to ſeek, but aſſures us he is not able to find; and yet, at the ſame time, brings this convincing circumſtance of the *truth* of the Law;—*This deſign* (ſays he) *was defeated as fully as the other.* Here his rhetoric, as uſual, got the better of his reaſoning: Not content to ſay,—*the whole hiſtory of this People is one continued ſeries of infractions of the Law*,—he will needs add by way of exaggeration—AND OF NATIONAL CALAMITIES. Which has ſo perverſe an influence on the argument as to undo all he had been labouring to bring about, by diſcovering a connexion between *infractions* and *calamities*, which has all the marks of a divine contrivance.

Had it been the declared deſign of their Law-giver to *ſeparate* the two ends, and to form ſuch an Oeconomy as that the People under it might be flouriſhing in peace and affluence, while they were Idolaters in Religion; or, on the other hand, true Worſhippers and, at the ſame time, calamitous Citizens; then to find them

them neither religious nor proſperous, under a Law which pretended to procure truth without temporal felicity, or to eſtabliſh peace and proſperity in the midſt of error; this indeed (without taking in the perverſity of ſuch a Syſtem) would have fully diſcredited the pretended original. But when, in this Law, truth and happineſs, error and miſery, are declared to have an inſeparable connexion; the freethinking Politician, who ſhews from hiſtory that this connexion was conſtant and invariable, is intrapped by the retorſion of nature and reaſon, to prove againſt himſelf the Divinity of that Inſtitute he labours to diſcredit.

Still further: When, on reading the hiſtory of this extraordinary People, we find (as Joſephus well expreſſes it) that, *in proportion to the neglect of the Law, eaſy things became unſurmountable, and all their undertakings, how juſt ſoever, ended in uncurable calamities* *, we cannot but acknowledge the divine direction in every ſtage of ſuch a Diſpenſation. For, to comprehend the whole of the Hiſtorian's meaning, we muſt remember, that there were ſome Laws given purpoſely to manifeſt the divinity of their original: ſuch as that *againſt multiplying horſes*; which, when it was tranſgreſſed, *eaſy things became unſurmountable*; and that which moſt facilitates a victory, a ſtrong body of Cavalry intermixed with Foot, proved amongſt the Iſraelites a certain means of their defeat. So again, when they tranſgreſſed the Law which commanded *all the males to go annually to the temple*, the hiſtorian tells us, *their moſt juſt undertakings ended in incurable calamities*; and ſure nothing could be more *juſt* than to defend their borders from invaders; yet they were ſure to be moſt infeſted with them when they thought themſelves beſt ſecured: that is, while their males were at home, when they ſhould have been worſhipping at the Temple.

III. But it is now time to come a little cloſer to his Lordſhip. He has been all along arguing on a FALSE FACT, which his igno-

* —καθ' ὅσον δ' ἂν ἀποστῶσι τῆς τότων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἄπορα μὲν γίνεσθαι τὰ πάντα, τυγχάνειν δ' εἰς συμφορὰς ἀηκέστους, ὅτι ποτ' ἂν ὡς ἀγαθὸν δρᾶν σπουδάσωσιν. Antiq. v. I. p. 4.

rance of the nature of the Jewiſh Separation hindered him from ſeeing.

He underſtood, indeed, that this extraordinary Oeconomy had, for its *primary end*, ſomething very different from all other civil Policies; and that that which was the firſt (indeed the only end), in others, was but the ſecondary, end in this. Yet this primary end he ſaw ſo obſcurely, as not to be able to make it out. He ſuppoſed it was *to keep the Iſraelites from idolatry*; whereas it WAS TO PRESERVE THE MEMORY OF THE ONE GOD IN AN IDOLATROUS WORLD, till the coming of Chriſt: To *keep the Iſraelites from idolatry*, was but the *mean* to this *end*. Thus has our political Architect "miſtaken the ſcaffold for the pile," as his harmonious friend expreſſes it. And the miſtake is the more groſs, as the notion of the ultimate end's being to *keep the Iſraelites from idolatry*, is founded in that vain fancy of Jewiſh pride, that their Fathers were ſelected as the favorites of God, out of his fondneſs for the race of Abraham.

Under this rectified idea therefore let us conſider the truth of his Lordſhip's aſſertion, *That no Law ever operated ſo weak and uncertain an effect as the Law of Moſes did: far from prevailing againſt accidents and conjunctures, the leaſt was ſufficient to interrupt the courſe, and to defeat the deſigns of it.*

Now if we keep the true end of the Law in view, we ſhall ſee, on the contrary, that it prevailed conſtantly and uniformly, without the leaſt interruption, againſt the moſt violent *accidents*, and in the moſt unfavourable *conjunctures*; thoſe I mean, which happened when their propenſity to the practice of idolatry, and their prejudice for the *principle of intercommunity*, were at the height: for amidſt all the diſorders conſequent thereto, they ſtill preſerved the knowledge of the true God, and performed the Rites ordained by the Law. And the very calamities which followed the infraction of the Law, of which the neighbouring Nations occaſionally partook, were ſufficient to alarm theſe latter, when moſt at eaſe, amidſt the imaginary protection of their tutelary Gods, and to awaken them to the

awful

awful ſenſe of a BEING different, as well as ſuperior to their *National Protectors*. Which ſhews, that the Law ſtill *operated its effect*, ſtrongly and conſtantly; and ſtill *prevailed againſt accidents and conjunctures*, which it *governed and directed*, inſtead of *lying at the mercy of them*. But as it is very probable that the frequent tranſgreſſions, which thoſe *accidents and conjunctures* occaſioned, would in time have defeated the end of the Law, the tranſgreſſors were puniſhed by a ſeventy-years-captivity; the extraordinary circumſtances of which made ſuch an impreſſion on their haughty maſters as brought them to confeſs that the *God of Iſrael* was the *true God*; and was ſo ſeverely felt by them, that they had an utter averſion and abhorrence of Idolatry, or the worſhip of falſe Gods, ever after. So that from thence to the coming of Chriſt, a courſe of many ages, they adhered, though tributary and perſecuted, and (what has ſtill greater force than Perſecution, if not thoroughly adminiſtered) deſpiſed and ridiculed by the two greateſt Empires of the world, the Greek and Roman; and though ſurrounded with the pomp and ſplendour of Pagan idolatries, recommended by the faſhion of Courts, and the plauſible gloſſes of Philoſophers, they adhered, I ſay ſtrictly, and even ſuperſtitiouſly, to the letter of that Law, which allowed of no other Gods beſides the God of Iſrael. Now if this was not *gaining its end*, we muſt ſeek for other modes of ſpeech, and other conceptions of things, when we reaſon upon Government and Laws.

Yet this was not all. For the LAW not only gained its end, in delivering down the Religion of the TRUE GOD into the hands of the REDEEMER OF MANKIND; who ſoon ſpread it throughout the whole Roman Empire; but even after it had done its deſtined work, the vigour of the Moſaic Revelation ſtill working at the root, enabled a bold Impoſtor to extend the principle of the UNITY ſtill wider, till it had embraced the remoteſt regions of the habitable World: So that, at this day, almoſt all the Natives of the vaſt regions of higher Aſia, whether Gentiles, Chriſtians, or Mahometans, are the profeſſed worſhippers of the ONE ONLY GOD. How

much the extenſion of the principle of the *Unity* has been owing to this Cauſe, under the permiſſion and direction of that Providence, which is ever producing *good out of evil*, is known to all who are acquainted with the preſent ſtate of the Eaſtern world.

The reaſon why I aſcribe ſo much of this good, to the laſting efficacy of the Moſaic Law, is this: Mahumet was born and brought up an Idolater, and inhabited an idolatrous Country; ſo that had he ſeen no more of true Religion than in the ſuperſtitious practice of the Greek Church, at that time over-run with ſaint and image-worſhip, it is odds but that, when he ſet up for a Prophet, he might have made Idolatry the baſis of his new Religion: But getting acquainted with the Jews and their Scriptures, he came to underſtand the folly of Gentiliſm and the corruptions of Chriſtianity; and by this means was enabled to preach up the doctrine of the ONE GOD, in its purity and integrity. It is again remarkable, that to guard and ſecure this doctrine, which He made the fundamental principle of Iſhmaelitiſm, he brought into his Impoſture many of thoſe proviſions which Moſes had put in practice to prevent the contagion of idolatry.

But the great Man with whom we have to do, is ſo ſecure of his fact, namely that *the Law was perpetually defeated, and never gained its end*, that he ſuppoſes his Adverſaries, the DIVINES, are ready to confeſs it; and will only endeavour to elude his inference by throwing the ill ſucceſs of its operations on the *hardneſs of the People's hearts and the impiety of their Governors* *. And this affords him freſh occaſion of triumph.

I will not be poſitive that this ſpecies of Divines is intirely of his own invention, and that this their apology for Moſes is altogether as imaginary as their famous CONFEDERACY † againſt God; becauſe I know by experience that there are of theſe Divines, who, in ſupport of their paſſions and prejudices, are always ready (as I have amply experienced) to admit what Scripture oppoſes, and to oppoſe what it

* Page 293, 4. † Vol. v. p. 305—307. 393.

admits,

admits, in almoſt every page. But the beſt Apologies of ſuch men are never worth a defence, and indeed are rarely capable of any.

To conclude: Such as theſe here expoſed, are all the reaſonings of his Lordſhip's bulky volumes: And no wonder; when a writer, however able in other matters, will needs dictate in a Science of which he did not poſſeſs ſo much as the firſt principles.

SECT. III.

HAVING thus ſhewn the nature of this THEOCRACY, and the attendant circumſtances of its erection; our next enquiry will be concerning its DURATION.

Moſt writers ſuppoſe it to have ended with the JUDGES; but ſcarce any bring it lower than the CAPTIVITY. On the contrary, I hold that, in ſtrict truth and propriety, it ended not 'till the coming of CHRIST.

I. That it ended not with the Judges, appears evident for theſe reaſons:

1. Though indeed the People's purpoſe, in their clamours for a King, was to live under a Gentile Monarchy like their idolatrous neighbours (for ſo it is repreſented by God himſelf, in his reproof of their impiety *); yet in compaſſion to their blindneſs, he, in this inſtance, as in many others, indulged their prejudices, without expoſing them to the fatal conſequence of their project: which, if complied with, in the ſenſe they formed it, had been the withdrawing of his *extraordinary protection* from them, at a time when they could not ſupport themſelves without it. He therefore gave them a *King*; but ſuch an one as was only his VICEROY or Deputy; and who, on that account, was not left to the People's election, as he left his own Regality; but was choſen by himſelf: the only difference between God's appointment of the Judges and of Saul being this, that They were choſen by internal impulſe; He, by Lots, or external deſignation.

2. This king had an unlimited *executive* power; as God's Viceroy muſt needs have.

* 1 Sam. vii. 7.

3. He

3. He had no *legiſlative* power: which a Viceroy could not poſſibly have.

4. He was placed and diſplaced by God at pleaſure: of which, as Viceroy, we ſee the perfect fitneſs; but as Sovereign by the people's choice, one cannot eaſily account for; becauſe God did not chuſe to ſuperſede the natural Rights of his People, as appears by his leaving it, at firſt, to their own option whether they would have God himſelf for their King.

5. The very ſame puniſhment was ordained for curſing the King as for blaſpheming God, namely, ſtoning to death; and the reaſon is intimated in theſe words of Abiſhai to David, *Shall not Shimei be put to death for this, becauſe he curſed the* LORD'S ANOINTED *? This was the common title of the Kings of Iſrael and Judah, and plainly denoted their office of Viceroyalty: Improperly, and ſuperſtitiouſly transferred, in theſe later ages, to Chriſtian Kings and Princes.

From this further circumſtance, a *Viceroyalty* is neceſſarily inferred: The throne and kingdom of Judea is all along expreſſly declared to be God's throne and God's kingdom. Thus, in the firſt book of Chronicles, it is ſaid that *Solomon ſat on the* THRONE OF THE LORD, *as King, inſtead of David his father* †. And the queen of Sheba, who viſited Solomon, to be inſtructed in his wiſdom, and doubtleſs had been informed by him of the true nature of his kingdom, compliments him in theſe words: *Bleſſed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee to ſet thee on* HIS THRONE, TO BE KING FOR THE LORD THY GOD ‡. In like manner Abijah ſpeaks to the houſe of Iſrael, on their defection from Rehoboam: *And now ye think to withſtand the* KINGDOM OF THE LORD *in the hands of the ſons of David* §. And to the ſame purpoſe, Nehemiah: *Neither have our kings, our princes, our prieſts, nor our fathers, kept thy law, nor hearkened unto thy commandments, and thy teſtimonies wherewith thou didſt teſtify againſt them. For they have not ſerved thee in* THEIR KINGDOM ||. The ſenſe, I think, requires that the Septuagint

* 2 Sam. xix. 21. † Chap. xxix. ver. 23. ‡ 2 Chron. ix. 8.
§ 2 Chron. xiii. 8. || Chap. ix. 35.

reading

reading ſhould be here preferred, which ſays ΕΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ ΣΟΥ, IN THY KINGDOM. And this the Syriac and Arabic verſions follow. As Judea is always called *his kingdom*, ſo he is always called the *King of the Jews*. Thus the Pſalmiſt: *Thine Altars, O Lord of Hoſts, my* KING, *and my God* *. And again: *Let* Iſrael *rejoice in him that made him: let the children of* Zion *be joyful in their* KING †. *And* thus the Prophet Jeremiah: *The* KING, *whoſe name is the Lord of Hoſts* ‡.

7. The penal Laws againſt idolatry were ſtill in force during their Kings, and put in execution by their beſt rulers, and even by men inſpired. Which, alone, is a demonſtration of the ſubſiſtence of the THEOCRACY; becauſe ſuch laws are abſolutely unjuſt under every other form of Government.

As to the title of *King* given to theſe Rulers, this will have ſmall weight with thoſe who reflect that Moſes likewiſe, who was ſurely no more than God's deputy, is called King: *Moſes commanded us a Law; even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob. And he was* KING *in Jeſhurun, when the heads of the people, and the tribes of Iſrael, were gathered together* §.

Let us now ſee what the celebrated M. Le Clerc ſays in defence of the contrary opinion, which ſuppoſeth the THEOCRACY to have ended with the Judges. Father Simon of the Oratory had ſaid, that *the republic of the Hebrews never acknowledged any other* CHIEF *than God alone, who continued to govern in that quality, even during the time in which it was ſubject to Kings* ‖. This was enough to make his learned adverſary take the other ſide of the queſtion; who being piqued at Simon's contemptuous ſlight of his offered aſſiſtance in the project for a new Polyglott, revenged himſelf upon him in thoſe licentious ** Letters, intitled, *Sentimens de quelques*

* Pſalm lxxxiv. 3. † Pſalm cxlix. 2.

‡ Jer. li. 57. § Deut. xxxiii. 4 and 5.

‖ La Republique des Hebreux differe en cela de tous les autres états du monde, qu'elle n'a jamais reconnu pour chef que Dieu ſeul, qui a continué de la gouverner en cette qualité dans les tems mêmes, qu'elle a été ſoûmiſe à des rois. Hiſtoire Crit. de Vieux Teſt. p. 15. Ed. Rotterd. 1685.

** See note [G], at the end of this Book.

Theo-

Theologiens de Hollande, where his only buſineſs is to pick a quarrel. He therefore maintains againſt Simon, *That the theocracy ceaſed on eſtabliſhing the throne in the race of David* *. What he hath of argument to ſupport this opinion is but little; and may be ſummed up in the following obſervation, *That God did not* PERSONALLY *interfere with his directions, nor diſcharge the functions of a Magiſtrate after the eſtabliſhment of the Kings as he had done before* †. But this, inſtead of proving the abolition of the *Theocracy*, only ſhews that it was adminiſtered by a *Viceroy*. For in what conſiſts the office of a Viceroy but to diſcharge the functions of his Principal? He had been a cipher, had God ſtill governed *immediately* as before. Mr. Le Clerc could ſee that God acted *by the miniſtry of the Judges* ‡. If then the Theocratic function could be diſcharged by deputation, why might it not be done by Kings as well as Judges? The difference, if any, is only from leſs to more, and from occaſional to conſtant. No, ſays our Critic, the ceſſion was in conſequence of his own declaration to Samuel: *For they have not rejected thee, but they have* REJECTED ME, *that I ſhould not reign over them* §. This only declares the ſenſe God had of their mutinous requeſt; but does not at all imply that he gave way to it. For who, from the like words (which expreſs ſo natural a reſentment of an open defection) would infer in the caſe of any other monarch, that he

* Il paroît au contraire par l'Ecriture, que Dieu n'a gouverné la republique des Hebreux, en qualité de chef politique, que pendant qu'ils n'avoient point des rois, & peut-être au commencement que le rois furent etablis, avant que la famille de David fut affermie ſur le trône de Iſrael. Sentimens, &c. p. 78.

† —Pendant tout ce temps-la, Dieu fit les fonctions de roi, Il jugeoit des affaires—il repondoit par l'oracle—il regloit la marche de l'armée—il envoyoit même quelquefois un ange—On n'étoit obligé d'obeïr aveuglement, qu'aux ſeuls ordres de Dieu. Mais lors qu'il y eut des rois en Iſraël, & que le royaume fut attaché à la famille de David, les rois furent maîtres abſolus, & Dieu ceſſa de faire leurs fonctions. p. 78, 79.

‡ —au lieu qu'auparavant Dieu lui-même la faiſoit, *par le miniſtere des Juges*, qu'il ſuſcitoit de temps en temps au milieu d'Iſraël. Def. des Sent. p. 121.

§ —C'eſt pour cela que Dieu dit à Samuel, lors qu'Iſraël voulut avoir *un roi pour le juger à la maniére de toutes les nations: ce n'eſt pas toi qu'ils ont rejetté, mais moi, afin que je ne regne point ſur eux*, 1 Sam. viii. 7,

thereupon

thereupon ſtepped down from his throne, and ſuffered an uſurper to ſeize his place? This, we ſee, was poor reaſoning. But, luckily for his reputation, he had an Adverſary who reaſoned worſe.— However Simon ſaw thus much into Le Clerc's cavil, as to reply, *That all he had ſaid was quite beſide the purpoſe, for that the thing to be proved was, that, after the eſtabliſhment of the Kings, God was no longer the civil Chief* *. On which Le Clerc thus inſults him: *As much as to ſay, that in order to prove God was no longer Chief of the Hebrews after the election of a King, it is beſide the purpoſe to ſhew, he never afterwards diſcharged the functions of a Chief of the republic. It is thus this great Genius happily unravels matters, and diſcovers, in an inſtant, what is, and what is not to the purpoſe* †. Whether Simon indeed knew *why* Le Clerc's objection was nothing to the purpoſe, is to be left to God and his own conſcience, for he gives us no reaſons for the cenſure he paſſes on it: but that it was indeed nothing to the purpoſe, is moſt evident, if this propoſition be true, "That a King does not ceaſe to be King, when he puts in "a Viceroy, who executes the regal office by deputation."

Le Clerc returns to the charge in his *Defenſe of the Sentiments*:— "The Iſraelites did not reject God as Protector, but as civil Chief, "as I obſerved before. They would have a King who ſhould "determine ſovereignly, and command their armies. Which, "before this, God himſelf did by the miniſtry of the Judges, "whom he raiſed up, from time to time, from the midſt of "Iſrael. In this ſenſe we muſt underſtand abſolutely the words of

* Je paſſe ſous ſilence le long diſcours de Mr. le Clerc touchant le pouvoir de Dieu ſur les Iſraëlites avant l'etabliſſement des rois, d'où il pretend prouver que Dieu pendant tout ce temps-la fit la fonction de roi. Tout cela eſt hors de propos, puis qu'il s'agit de prouver, qu'apres ces temps la Dieu n'a plus été leur chef: & c'eſt ce qu'on ne prouvera jamais. Repoſe aux Sentimens de quelques Theol. de Hol. p. 52.

† — C'eſt à dire, que pour prouver que Dieu n'a pas été chef des Hebreux, après l'election des rois, il eſt hors de propos de prouver qu'il n'a plus fait les fonctions de chef de la republique. C'eſt ainſi que ce grand genie debrouille heureuſement les matieres, & découvre d'abord ce qui eſt hors de propos, de ce qui ne l'eſt pas. Defen. des Sentimens, p. 120.

"God, in Samuel, *that I ſhould not reign over them* *." It is indeed ſtrange, that, after writing two books, he ſhould ſtill inſiſt on ſo fooliſh a paralogiſm †, That God's *giving up* his office of civil Chief, was a neceſſary conſequence of the People's *demanding* it. For, that they did demand it, I acknowledge. Let us conſider then this whole matter a little more attentively.

Samuel (and I deſire the Deiſts would take notice of it) had now, by a wiſe and painful direction of affairs, reſtored the purity of Religion, and reſcued his Nation from the power of the Philiſtines, and their other hoſtile neighbours; againſt whom they were utterly unable to make head when he entered upon the public Adminiſtration. At this very time, the People, debauched, as uſual, by power and proſperity, took the pretence of the corrupt conduct of the Prophet's two ſons ‡, to go in a tumultuary manner, and demand a King. But the ſecret ſpring of their rebellion was the ambition of their leaders; who could live no longer without the ſplendour of a regal Court and Houſhold; GIVE ME (ſay they, as the Prophet Hoſea interprets their inſolent *demand)* A KING AND PRINCES §; where every one of them might ſhine a diſtinguiſhed Officer of State. They could get nothing when their affairs led them to their Judges' poor reſidence, in the *Schools of the Prophets*, but the GIFT *of the Holy Spirit* ‖; which a Courtier, I preſume, would not prize even at the rate Simon Magus held it, of a paultry piece of money.—This it was, and this only, that made their demand criminal. For the chuſing Regal rather than Ariſtocratic

* Les Iſraëlites ne rejetterent pas Dieu comme protecteur, mais comme chef politique, ainſi que je l'ai marqué. Ils voulurent un roi qui les jugeât ſouverainement, & qui commandât leurs armées, au lieu qu'auparavant Dieu lui-même le faiſoit, par le miniſtere des juges, qu'il ſuſcitoit de temps en temps au milieu d'Iſraël.—En ce ſens il faut entendre abſolument les paroles de Dieu dans Samuël, *afin que je ne regne point ſur eux*, p. 121.

† However, fooliſh as it is, the Reader hath ſeen, how a late Sermonizer has borrowed it, and how little force he has added to it.

‡ 1 Sam. viii. 5. and xii. 12. § Chap. xiii. ver. 10.

‖ Chap. x. 10. and chap. xix.

Viceroys

Viceroys was a thing plainly indulged to them by the Law of Moſes, in the following admonition: *When thou art come into the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, and ſhalt poſſeſs it, and ſhalt dwell therein, and ſhalt ſay, I will ſet a* KING *over me, like as the nations that are about me: Thou ſhalt in any wiſe ſet him King over thee, whom the* LORD THY GOD SHALL CHUSE: *one from amongſt thy Brethren ſhalt thou ſet King over thee: Thou mayeſt not ſet a Stranger over thee which is not thy brother* *. The plain meaning of which caution is, that they ſhould take care, when they demanded a King, that they thought of none other than ſuch a King who was to be GOD's DEPUTY. As therefore Court-ambition only was in the wicked view of the Ringleaders of theſe malecontents, and no fooliſh fears for the State, or hopes of bettering the public Adminiſtration; it is evident to all acquainted with the genius of this Time and People, that compliance with their demand muſt have ended in the utter deſtruction of the Moſaic RELIGION as well as LAW. But it was GOD's purpoſe to keep them SEPARATE, in order to preſerve the memory of himſelf amidſt an idolatrous World. And this not being to be done but by the preſervation of their Religion and Law, we muſt needs conclude that he would not give way to their rebellious demand.

And what we are brought to conclude from the *reaſon of the thing*, the *hiſtory* of this tranſaction clearly enough confirms. For it having now informed us how GOD conſented to give this People a King: To ſhew us, that he had not caſt off the Government, but only transferred the immediate Adminiſtration to a Deputy, and conſequently, that *their* King was *his* Viceroy; it tells us next, how He was pleaſed to bring them to repentance in an extraordinary way; the gracious method he commonly employed when he intended to pardon. Samuel aſſembled the People †; and to convince them of their crime in demanding a King, called down the preſent vengeance of their offended GOD in a ſtorm of *thunder and rain at the time of wheat-harveſt* ‡. This ſudden deſolation brings them to a ſenſe of

* Deut. xvii. 14, 15. † 1 Sam. xii. ‡ Chap. xii. 17, 18.

their guilt, and they implore mercy and forgiveneſs: "And all the "People ſaid unto Samuel, Pray for thy ſervants unto the Lord "thy God, that we die not; for we have added unto all our ſins "this evil, to aſk us a King. And Samuel ſaid unto the People, "fear not: (ye have done all this wickedneſs: yet turn not aſide "from following the Lord, but ſerve the Lord with all your heart; "and turn ye not aſide: for then ſhould you go after vain things, "which cannot profit nor deliver, for they are vain:) For the Lord "will *not forſake his People*, for his great Name's ſake: becauſe it "hath pleaſed the Lord to *make you his People* *." Here, we ſee, they repent, are pardoned, and received again into Grace, as appears by the concluding promiſe, that the *Theocratic* form ſhould be continued. They are ready to give up their King, and yet a regal character is inſtituted. The plain concluſion from all this is, that their King was given, and, now at leaſt, received as God's DEPUTY.

But Father Simon is at length provoked into a Reaſon, and that, to ſay the truth, no weak one. God, he obſerves, kept the election of their King in his own hands †. But *this*, Le Clerc ſays, *proves nothing*. How ſo? *Becauſe, according to this reaſoning, we ſhould be obliged to ſay that God oftener diſcharged the functions of civil Chief in the idolatrous realm of the ten Tribes than in that of Judah: for* that *was elective*, this, *hereditary* ‡. And what if we do? Where will be the harm of it? The two kingdoms made up but one Commonwealth; of which God, as Head, governed by two Viceroys. And if he oftener acted immediately in the kingdom of Iſrael, there was

* 1 Sam. xii. 19. & ſeq.

† Et une preuve même qu'il ne ceſſoit pas d'être leur chef par cette election, c'eſt qu'il s'en rend le maître. Reponſe aux Sentimens, p. 55.

‡ Pour ce que dit M. Simon, que Dieu *ſe rend maitre de l'election des Rois*, il ne s'enſuit nullement qu'il continuât d'être pour cela chef politique de la republique d'Iſraël; puiſque ſi cela étoit, il faudroit dire que Dieu faiſoit beaucoup plus ſouvent les fonctions de chef de l'état dans le royaume Idolatre des dix tribes, que dans celui de Juda. Car ce derniere royaume étoit hereditaire, & étoit poſſedé par la maiſon de David, ſans qu'il fut beſoin d'aucune election, au lieu qu'il le fit pluſieurs elections dans celui des dix tribes. Defenſe des Sentimens, p. 121, 122.

a plain

a plain reaſon for it; Its inhabitants were more given to idolatrous worſhip; and needed more the frequency of an extraordinary reſtraint. And, in effect, we find he did interfere greatly in other inſtances, as well as in the election of their Kings.

In truth, F. Simon ſeemed to ſee as little into the force of the obſervation *(that God reſerved the choice of their King to himſelf)* when he urged it, as M. Le Clerc did, when he deſpiſed it: yet it is ſtrongly concluſive for the continuation of the Theocracy. For had the viſible King which the Iſraelites demanded been granted to them, that is, a King in his own right, ſovereign, and at the head of a new Conſtitution, or indeed, any other than a Viceroy to the KING of the Theocracy, the choice of him would have been reſerved to the People. It was a natural right; and more than that, a right which God did not think fit to take from them, when he firſt accepted the regal office for himſelf. But if the People have, by natural Law, a right to chuſe their own King, that King hath, by civil Law, a prerogative to chuſe his own Deputy. When we ſee him therefore exerciſe this prerogative, we may be aſſured that the King choſen was no other than his Deputy, as SOVEREIGN of the Theocracy. But to return to the two Combatants.—Here the Diſpute ended; and for farther ſatisfaction, Le Clerc refers us to a book of Spencer's, written profeſſedly upon this very ſubject *. It is his tract *De Theocratia Judaica.* What is to be found there, beſides the arguments which Le Clerc has borrowed from it, and which have been conſidered already, I ſhall now with ſome reluctance inform the Reader.

This treatiſe is by no means in the number of thoſe on which Spencer raiſed his reputation. He goes on a wrong hypotheſis; he uſes weak arguments; and he is confuſed and inconſiſtent in his aſſertions.

* Il n'eſt pas neceſſaire que je m'arrête d'avantage à cela, après ce qu'en a dit le ſavant *Spencer* dans un traité qu'il a fait expres ſur cette matiere. Lib. i. de Legg. Heb. Ritual. Defenſe des Sent. p. 122.

1. He

1. He thinks the Theocracy was eſtabliſhed by degrees *, and abrogated by degrees †. A conceit highly abſurd, as God was the Lawgiver, and Supreme Magiſtrate of the Jews.—He thinks the firſt ſtep to its introduction was their protection at the Red Sea ‡; and the firſt ſtep to its abolition, their demand of a King §: That it was ſtill more impaired when Saul and David got poſſeſſion of the throne ||: That it approached much nearer to its end when it became hereditary, under Salomon **: and yet, for all this, he confeſſes that ſome obſcure footſteps of it remained even to the time of Christ ††.

2. In his reaſoning for the abolition of the Theocracy, inſtead of employing the general principles of civil Policy, which were the only means of coming to the truth, he inſiſts much on the diſuſe of Urim and Thummim, &c. which Le Clerc borrowed from him; and which hath been already conſidered. He brings the deſpotic power of the Kings ‡‡, as another argument; which, I think, proves juſt the contrary. For if ſo be, that theſe Kings were the Viceroys of God, whoſe power was deſpotic, their power muſt be deſpotic

* — Neminem in ſacris literis vel mediocriter verſatum latere poteſt *Theocratiam* in ipſo rerum Iſraeliticarum exordio aliquatenus obtinuiſſe, ad ἀκμὴν autem non niſi gradatim & poſt legem in Sinai datam perveniſſe. Vol. i. p. 239.

† Cum autem regiminis hujus, non ſimul & ſemel, ſed per gradus quoſdam, jacturam fecerint, placet hic veritatis fugientis veſtigia gradatim premere. Id. ib.

‡ Gradum primum ad poteſtatem regiam obtinendam feciſſe videtur Deus, cum gentem Iſraeliticam inſigni illo potentiæ & bonitatis ſuæ documento (Ægyptiorum in Mari Rubro ſubmerſione) ſibi devinxiſſet. Id. ib.

§ Primo itaque ad certum affirmo, quod Iſraelitæ, regem ſibi dari poſtulantes, gradum primum ad imperii hujus deſideratiſſimi ruinam feciſſe videantur. Id. ib.

|| Dei regimen multo magis imminutum eſt, cum Deus *Saulem* & *Davidem* ad rerum arbitrium evocaſſet. P. 240.

** Salomone rerum potito, Theocratia multo vicinior ἀφανισμῷ non immerito cenſeatur.

†† Judæi Theocratiæ veteris indicia & veſtigia quædam obſcuriora, ad extrema uſque politiæ ſuæ tempora retinuere—ipſo Domini noſtri ſeculo, Hieroſolyma *civitas magni regis* audiit. Ib.

‡‡ — adeo ut hinc conſtet, eos ſe pro regibus geſſiſſe, & poteſtatem arbitrariam exercuiſſe. Ib.

too,

too, i. e. independent on all but the SOVEREIGN. Not ſo, if they were Monarchs in their own right.

3. Though, as we obſerved, Spencer, in the ſecond ſection of his fourth chapter, ſuppoſes a gradual decay of the Theocracy; and that even ſome obſcure footſteps of it remained to the time of CHRIST; yet, in the following ſection, he, all the way, argues upon the ſuppoſition of an abſolute and entire abrogation * by the eſtabliſhment of the Kings †. To proceed.

II. That this Theocracy, the adminiſtration of which lay, as it were, in abeyance during the Captivity, was again exerciſed after the return from it, is evident from the expreſs declaration of the Almighty, by the Prophet Haggai: *Yet now be ſtrong, O Zerubbabel, ſaith the Lord, and be ſtrong, O Joſhua, Son of Joſedech the High Prieſt, and be ſtrong, all ye People of the Land, ſaith the Lord, and work: for I am with you, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts*; ACCORDING TO THE WORD THAT I COVENANTED WITH YOU WHEN YOU CAME OUT OF EGYPT, SO MY SPIRIT REMAINETH AMONGST YOU: *fear ye not* ‡. What was that *Covenant?* That Iſrael ſhould be his People, and He, their God and *King*. Therefore it cannot barely mean, that he would be their God, and they ſhould be his People; for this was but *part* of the *Covenant*. Nor can it mean that they ſhould be conducted by an extraordinary providence, as at their coming out of Egypt, and during the firſt periods of the Theocracy; for this was but *the effects* of the *Covenant*: and beſides, we know that that diſpenſation of Providence ſoon ceaſed after the Re-eſtabliſhment. The meaning therefore muſt be, that he would ſtill continue their KING as well as God. Yet at the ſame time, when this Theocracy was reſtored, it was both fit, on account of its own dignity, and neceſſary for the People's aſſurance, that it ſhould be attended with ſome unuſual diſplay of divine favour. Accordingly,

* — Regiminis hujus mutati vel abrogati cauſa principalis—De regiminis hujus abrogati effectu vel eventu breviter differendum eſt—&c. p. 241—243.

† See note [H], at the end of this Book.

‡ Chap. ii. ver. 4, 5.

Prophet-

Prophets were raiſed up; and an extraordinary Providence for ſome ſhort time adminiſtered, as appears from many places in thoſe Prophets *.

III. That the Theocracy continued even to the coming of CHRIST, may be ſeen from hence.—

1. Whenever it was abrogated, it muſt needs be done in the ſame ſolemn manner in which it was eſtabliſhed; ſo that the one might be as well known as the other: becauſe it was of the higheſt importance to a people ſo ſtrictly bound to obedience, not to be miſtaken concerning the power under which they lived. Natural equity requires this formality as a neceſſary concomitant in the impoſing and abrogating of all civil laws and inſtitutions whatſoever. Now the Theocracy having never been thus aboliſhed till the coming of Chriſt, we conclude that it continued to ſubſiſt till that time.

2. Nor indeed, could it have been aboliſhed without diſſolving the whole frame of the Republic; ſince all the Laws of it, whether as to their equity, force, or fitneſs, as well as the whole Ritual of Worſhip, reſpected, and referred to God as civil Governour. But neither by the declaration of any Prophet, nor by the act of any good King, did the Inſtitution ſuffer the leaſt change in any of its parts, from the time of its eſtabliſhment by Moſes to its diſſolution by JESUS CHRIST, either by addition, correction, or abrogation. Conſequently, the *Theocracy* was exiſting throughout that whole period: Nothing being more abſurd than to ſuppoſe that national Laws, all made in reference to the form of Government, ſhould remain unvariable, while the Government itſelf was changed. For what the Author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews ſays of the PRIEST (in a Conſtitution where the two Societies were incorporated) muſt be equally true of the KING.—THE PRIESTHOOD BEING CHANGED, THERE IS MADE ALSO, OF NECESSITY, A CHANGE OF THE LAW †. And now it was that JESUS, the MESSIAH, who is here ſpoken of as making

* Hag. i. 6—11. Chap. ii. ver. 16—19. Zech. viii. 12. Mal. iii. 10, 11.

† Chap. vii. ver. 12.

this

this change, in quality of PRIEST, made it likewiſe in quality of KING. For, as we learn from the hiſtory of his Miniſtry, he came as Heir of GOD, to ſucceed immediately without any interregnum, in his Father's kingdom: GOD having DELIVERED UP to his Son the kingdom, of which the Father was, till then, in poſſeſſion. And this change in the Government, from the *temporal Theocracy* of GOD the Father, to the *ſpiritual Kingdom* of GOD the Son, was made in the ſame ſolemn and authentic manner in which that Theocracy was introduced. GOD raiſed up from amongſt his choſen People, a *Prophet like unto Moſes*, who exerciſed the *Legiſlative* power, like Moſes; and aſſumed the *Regal* power, like GOD. He gave a NEW LAW to be adminiſtered in a NEW KINGDOM, and confirmed the divinity of the Diſpenſation by the moſt ſtupendous miracles. Thus, we find, the Theocracy did indeed ſubſiſt till the coming of Chriſt.

And this ABOLITION of it by the Son of GOD, I take to be the true completion of that famous PROPHECY of Jacob, of which ſo much hath been written and diſputed. THE SCEPTRE SHALL NOT DEPART FROM JUDAH, NOR A LAWGIVER FROM BETWEEN HIS FEET, UNTIL SHILOH COME *, i. e. the THEOCRACY ſhall continue over the Jews † until Chriſt come to take poſſeſſion of his Father's Kingdom: For there was never any *Lawgiver* ‡, in *Judah*, but GOD by the miniſtry of Moſes, until the coming of his SON.

JESUS the MESSIAH, the beſt interpreter of the Oracles of GOD, of which he himſelf is the capital ſubject, and for whoſe ſake the *chain of Propheſies* was ſo early drawn out, and extended to ſuch a length, ſeems to have paraphraſed and explained the words of Jacob

* Gen. xlix. 10.

† Who took their Name from the Tribe of *Judah*; the reſt being incorporated in that Tribe, or extinguiſhed in Captivity.

‡ *Mhhokek*, *Legiſlator*, aut *Legis interpres*. But the firſt is its original and proper Signification. And thus Iſaiah [chap. xxxiii. ver. 22.] "The Lord is our *Judge*, the Lord is our LAWGIVER [*Mhhokekenou*], the Lord is our *King*, he will ſave us." Where the word *Mhhokek* is uſed in its proper Signification of *Lawgiver*; the other Senſe of Diſpenſer or Interpreter of the Law being contained in the titles of *Judge* and *King*.

concerning the *departure of the Sceptre from Judah*, by his declaration recorded in St. Matthew, The Prophets and the Law prophesied till John *, i. e. " the Mosaic Law, and the Theocratic Government by which it was dispensed, continued in Being till the approach of this harbinger of Christ, John the Baptist; but was then superseded by the promulgation of a *new Law* and the establishment of a *new Kingdom*."

But as this interpretation is so different from the common, and understands the Prophesy as foretelling that the Jewish nation should not be bereft of Sovereign Power, by falling under a foreign Yoke, till the Advent of the Messiah, the Reader will excuse me, if I detain him a little longer on so important a subject.

The common notion of the *Sceptre of Judah*, is explained three different ways, each of which has it's particular Followers.

1. Some suppose the *Sceptre of Judah* to signify the sovereignty of the Jewish Nation at large.

2. Others again suppose it to signify the sovereignty of the tribe of Judah.

3. And a third sort contend that it signifies not a sovereign or regal, but a tribal Sceptre only.

In the Sense of a *Sovereignty in the Jewish people at large*, which is the most general interpretation, and, in my Opinion, the most natural of the three (as the whole People were long denominated from that tribe), the pretended Prophesy was not only never fulfilled, but has been directly falsified: because long before the *coming of Shilo*, or of Christ, the Sceptre or Sovereignty in the Jewish people was *departed*. During the Babylonian and Persian Captivity, and while afterwards they continued in a tributary dependence on the Greeks, they could, in no reasonable sense, be said to have retained their *Sceptre*, their Sovereignty, or independent Rule. But it may be replied, " that the Prophecy by *departure*, meant a final departure; and in these instances it was but temporary: for Cyrus restored the *Sceptre* to them; and when it was again lost in the Grecian Empire,

* Matth. xi. 13.

the

the MACCABEI recovered it for them." Though this be allowed, yet we muſt ſtill confeſs, that the Romans, who under Pompey reduced Judea to a dependent Province, effectually overthrew the Prophecy. POMPEY took Jeruſalem; and left to Hyrcanus, the laſt of the Aſmonean family, only the office of High-Prieſt. From this time, to the birth of Chriſt, it was ever in dependence on the Romans, who diſpoſed of all things at their pleaſure. The Senate gave the Government of Judæa to Antipater; and then to Herod his Son, under the title of King. And Archelaus, on the Death of his Father, did not dare to take poſſeſſion of this ſubject-kingdom, till he had obtained leave of Auguſtus; who afterwards, on complaint of the Jews againſt him, baniſhed him into the Weſt, where he died. Now the precarious Rule of a dependent Monarch could no more be called a *Sceptre* (which, in the figurative mode of all languages, ſignifies *Sovereignty*) than the condition of the Jews could be ſaid to be ſovereign, when this Archelaus was depoſed, and Coponius a Roman Knight made procurator of Judæa, at that time which the ſupporters of this interpretation fix for the *Departure of the Sceptre*.

I reckon for nothing another objection which has been made to the common interpretation, "That after the return from the Captivity, the Jews were, from time to time, under a form of Government reſembling rather the Ariſtocratic than the Monarchic;" becauſe the *Sceptre*, or Sovereignty, belongs equally to all thoſe Forms. This then makes no more againſt the common interpretation, than the other, I am now going to mention, makes for it, namely, that the Senate of Rome gave the Government of Judæa to Herod under the title of KING; ſince the dependent rule of this Roitelet was as certainly the *departure of a Sceptre*, as a Sovereignty under an ariſtocratic Government was the *continuance* of it.

The learned Father Tournemine was ſo embarraſſed with theſe difficulties, that in a diſſertation on *the Sceptre of Judah*, he endeavours to ſhew, that the proof of the predicted birth of Chriſt from this Propheſy ariſes not from the *departure of the Sceptre*, but from

its re-eſtabliſhment under the Meſſiah *. Which theſis (as the intelligent reader may obſerve) fairly put him in the road; and, had it been purſued, would have led him to the ſenſe I am here endeavouring to eſtabliſh.

The ſecond branch of the common interpretation is, That by the *Sceptre* is ſignified a *civil ſovereignty in the tribe of Judah.* This, in my opinion, has ſtill leſs of ſtability than the other. It ſuppoſes that the *Sceptre*, or the ſupreme rule of the Jewiſh People, remained in natives of that Tribe, from the time of David to the coming of Chriſt. But Petavius hath ſhewn, that from the giving of the Prophecy to the time of David (a Space of above ſix hundred Years), there was but one or two Rulers deſcended from the Tribe of Judah: And that from the death of Sedecias to the birth of Chriſt (a ſpace of near the ſame number of years) all the Rulers of the Jewiſh People were of other Tribes; the Aſmonean princes particularly being all of the tribe of Levi †. The Abbé de Houteville, who, at a very eaſy rate, hath obtained the reputation of an able defender of Revelation ‡, hath indeed invented a curious expedient to evade this difficulty. His ſyſtem is, that the rulers of the tribe of Levi (and ſo I ſuppoſe of the reſt) exerciſed this Sovereignty by leave, or deputation from the Tribe of Judah. To ſuch wretched ſhifts are learned men reduced, when they have reverſed the order of things, and made Truth to wait upon their Syſtems; inſtead of making their Syſtems ſubſervient to Truth.

* Journal de Trevoux, Mars 1705, & Feb. 1721.

† — At complures antiquorum recentiorumque qui in illa Jacobi ſententia *Judam* peculiari de tribu intellexerunt, id ſibi Patriarcham voluiſſe credunt, ex ſtirpe ac progenie *Judæ* filii ipſius perpetuo Judæis præfuturum aliquem eorumque fore principem, donec Chriſtus adveniat. Sed in hujus reddenda dicti ratione multum æſtuant, ſiquidem vetuſtatis omni teſte memoriâ refelluntur, quæ non ſolum ante Davidem unum alterumve duntaxat ex illa tribu rexiſſe populum oſtendit, annis circiter 675 ab edita prophetia; ſed etiam poſt Sedecias necem, occaſumque Urbis & Templi ad Chriſtum uſque de alia quam *Judæ* ſtirpe duces extitiſſe annis 588; etenim Machabæos conſtat ex Levitica et Sacerdotali progenie deſcendere. Ration. Temporum, Par. II. L. III. C. 16.

‡ See his book, intituled, *Religion prouvée par les Faits.*

Theſe

Theſe two ſenſes (by one or other of which the common interpretation hath been long ſupported) being found on a ſtricter ſcrutiny, to be untenable, men caſt about for a third; and a happy one it was thought to be, which contrived, that *Sceptre* ſhould ſignify a *domeſtic*, not a *civil* rule; a TRIBAL, not a SOVEREIGN *Sceptre*; and of which, they ſay, JUDAH, at the giving of the Prophecy, was already poſſeſſed. This expedient, the learned Dr. Sherlock, Biſhop of London, has honoured with his ſupport and protection *.

It would be want of reſpect to ſo eminent a Perſon, to paſs over this refinement with the ſame ſlight notice that has been given to the other two. I ſhall therefore do myſelf the honour to conſider his Lordſhip's reaſoning more at large.

His Lordſhip's firſt argument in ſupport of a *tribal Sceptre* is—That the *Sceptre's not* DEPARTING *from Judah* ſhews plainly that Judah had a Sceptre when the prophecy was given.—"Is there any "ſenſe (ſays his Lordſhip) in ſaying that a thing ſhall not *depart*, "which never was yet in *poſſeſſion?* The prophecy is not a *grant* "of the Sceptre, but a *confirmation* of it. Now a confirmation of "nothing is nothing: And, to make it ſomething, the *poſſeſſion* of "the thing *confirmed* muſt be ſuppoſed. I know not by what rules "of language or grammar, theſe words can be conſtrued into a "*grant* of the Sceptre. And though ſo many writers and inter-"preters have followed this ſenſe, yet I do not remember to have "ſeen one paſſage or parallel expreſſion from the Scripture, or any "other author, produced to juſtify the interpretation †."

Is there any Senſe (his Lordſhip aſks) *in ſaying a thing ſhall not* DEPART which *never was yet in poſſeſſion?* Yes certainly, a very good one, in a PROPHESY, where the ſubject is not of a preſent but of a future poſſeſſion; and where the Holy Spirit is wont to *call the things that are not, as though they were.* The Subject is a *Sceptre*, which could in no ſenſe, not even in the ſenſe of a *tribal ſceptre*, be in poſſeſſion of Judah before he became a *Tribe.* His Lordſhip, indeed, ſuppoſes he became a Tribe immediately after the death of

* Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, Differt. III. 5th Edit. 1749. † Page 326, 7.

Jacob.—

Jacob.—*This power in the hands of the Tribes took place immediately upon the death of Jacob* *. But if it did? Was not that acceſſion as properly *future*, as if it had been a thouſand years after? Judah then, at the time of this Prophecy, not being in poſſeſſion of his Sceptre, *a confirmation of nothing is nothing*, &c. ſo that all the abſurdities here imagined ſtick to his Lordſhip's Æra of the *Sceptre*, as well as to the common one. But let us ſuppoſe that Jacob's Prophecy and death were individual; and then ſee how he proves his aſſertion, that Judah and the Reſt became Tribes immediately on the death of Jacob. His proof is a little extraordinary—*When Moſes and Aaron led them into the Wilderneſs* (ſays his Lordſhip) *we hear of the* Elders *of the people, and the* Rulers *of the congregation* †. His aſſertion is, that the *tribal ſceptre* ſprung up from the aſhes of Jacob; and his proof, that it aroſe and flouriſhed in the Wilderneſs. This is indeed the truth; it was a Native of that place; as may be fairly *preſumed* from the occaſion which the Iſraelites had of a tribal rule (namely, to fit them for the warfare they were now about to undertake), and as may be fairly *proved* from the firſt chapter of the book of Numbers—"And the Lord "ſpake unto Moſes in the wilderneſs of Sinai: Take ye the ſum "of all the congregation of the Children of Iſrael, after their "families, by the houſe of their Fathers—*all that are able to go* "*forth to war in Iſrael*; Thou and Aaron ſhall number them with "their armies. And with you, there shall be a Man of every "tribe; every one Head of the house of his Fathers—and they "aſſembled all the congregation; and they declared their pedi-"grees, after their families, by the houſe of their Fathers—Theſe "were thoſe which were numbered: and the Princes of Israel "being twelve men, each one was for the house of his "Fathers. And the Children of Iſrael ſhall pitch their tents, "every man by his own camp, and every man by his own ſtandard, "throughout their Hoſts—And the Children of Iſrael did according "to all the Lord commanded them ‡." Then follows the order of

* Page 323. † Ibid. ‡ Numb. i. 4, 5. 18. 44. 52. 54.

the

the Tribes in their tents *. Now, ſurely, this detailed account of theſe *tribal Sceptres* hath all the mark of a new Inſtitution.

The Biſhop's hypotheſis therefore is without foundation: the *Sceptre* was ſomething in *reverſion*. Indeed the particular words, as well as the general nature of Propheſy, declare the ſubject to be of things future.—"And Jacob called to his ſons, and ſaid, *Gather* "*yourſelves together that I may tell you what ſhall befall you* IN THE "LAST DAYS†." The Biſhop owns, that *moſt of the Interpreters*, from theſe words, *take it for granted, and it is the common notion, that the Sceptre was not to be ſettled in Judah's family till ſome ages after the death of Jacob* ‡. I think they had not reaſon ſo to do. How does his Lordſhip prove they had? In this manner. "The obſervation, "when rightly applied, is right. And if the *continuance* of the "Sceptre of Judah be, as I ſuppoſe, the thing foretold, it extends "to the very laſt days of the Jewiſh State; and in this reſpect the "interpretation is juſtified §:" *i. e.* if you will agree that *futurity* refers to the *continuance*, and not to the *eſtabliſhment* of the Sceptre, his Lordſhip will ſhew you, how well he can evade this objection. But though we were inclined to be thus complaiſant, the book of Numbers would not ſuffer us: which informs us (we ſee) that even the *tribal Sceptre* was eſtabliſhed long after the death of Jacob. But to go no farther than the Propheſy. If each Tribe had a Sceptre then exiſting, how happened it that Judah's is only named, *by way of* CONFIRMATION, as his Lordſhip will have it. For, *by way of* GRANT, we find Dan too had a Sceptre—*Dan* SHALL *judge his People as one of the Tribes* [or SCEPTRES] *of Iſrael.* But then Dan's is a *reverſionary* Sceptre; and ſuch a one deſtroys all his Lordſhip has been erecting.

To proceed—*The Propheſy* (ſays the Biſhop) *is not a* GRANT *of a ſceptre, but a* CONFIRMATION. The Propheſy itſelf plainly intimates the contrary. Jacob having told his ſons that he would inform them *of what ſhould befall them in the laſt days*, when he

* Numb. chap. ii. † Gen. chap. xlix. ver. 1.

‡ Page 326. § Page 327.

comes

comes to Judah, he ſays, *Thy Father's Children ſhall bow down before thee* *. This, if it was any thing, was the promiſe of a future Sceptre; and conſequently it was the *grant*.

The Biſhop goes on — *Now a confirmation of nothing is nothing*. Without doubt. But he ſuppoſes (what I have ſhewn to be a miſtake), that there was no *grant*. If there were a *grant*, then the confirmation of it was the confirmation of *ſomething*. He ſeems to be apprehenſive of ſo obvious an anſwer, for he immediately adds — *I know not by what rules of language or grammar theſe words can be conſtrued into a* GRANT *of the Sceptre*. By the plaineſt *rule* in the world; that of *common ſenſe*, the firſt and capital *rule* in every Art as well as *grammar*. For if Jacob made a declaration concerning ſome future prerogative, as the words — *Thy father's Children ſhall bow down before thee* — prove he did; and that this was the firſt time that Judah heard of it, as the words — *I will tell you what ſhall befall you in the laſt days* — prove it was; What can this Prophecy be but *the* GRANT *of a Sceptre?*

"Though ſo many writers and interpreters (ſays the Biſhop) "have followed this ſenſe, yet I do not remember to have ſeen "one paſſage or parallel expreſſion from the Scripture or any "other writer produced to juſtify the interpretation." As for *any other Writers* than thoſe of Scripture, I know of none who have propheſied: and the language of propheſy hath peculiarities unknown to other Compoſitions. But a *Scripture-writer* I am able to produce; and the ſame who has recorded this Prophecy of Jacob. — On Abraham's departure out of Haran, he being then ſeventy-five years of age, *the Lord, as* Moſes tells us, *appeared unto him and ſaid — Unto thy* SEED *will I give this Land* †. Was this now a *grant*, or a *confirmation* only of SEED? "A confirmation only, ſays his Lordſhip: All the *grant* contained in theſe words is the grant of the LAND: and this ſhews (will he ſay) that the *Seed* was now exiſting: for a non-entity is incapable of receiving any grant or donation: beſides, *a confirmation of nothing is nothing*, and

* Gen. chap. xlix. ver. 8. † Chap. xii. ver. 7.

ſo

ſo on."—Notwithſtanding all this, it ſo happens that Abraham had then *no Seed*.

Here now is a *parallel expreſſion*, which holds *à fortiori*. For if it be a little anomalous to talk of a *thing's departing which was never yet in poſſeſſion*, it ſeems to be much more abſurd to talk of *giving* to perſons who were never yet in Being. Beſides, the promiſe of Rule actually accompanies the promiſe of its duration: but the expreſs promiſe of Seed does not accompany the promiſe of a proviſion for it: I ſuppoſe the reaſon of this difference of expreſſion in the two places is, becauſe to get a Son is a much commoner caſe than to get a Sceptre.

His Lordſhip having thus ſhewn, that Judah's Sceptre was a *Sceptre in poſſeſſion*, he will prove next, that it was not a *civil*, but a *tribal Sceptre*; which did not ſtretch its ſovereignty over a whole nation, but was confined to the œconomic rule of the ſingle tribe of Judah.—"Another thing ſuppoſed (ſays he) by moſt interpreters is, "that the *Sceptre*, here mentioned, is an emblem of Dominion "over all the tribes of Jacob. But how can that be? Had not "Jacob ſettled a *ſceptre* in every tribe? as is evident, ver. 16. *Dan "ſhall judge his people as one of the Sceptres of Iſrael.* Suppoſe a "Father has divided his eſtate amongſt twelve Sons, and ſhould "ſay of one of them, *The Eſtate ſhall not depart from John, for "many ages*; could you poſſibly ſuppoſe him to mean more than "the *ſhare* of the Eſtate given to John? Could you underſtand him "to mean that all the eſtate, the twelve ſhares, ſhould come to John "and continue in his family? The caſe is the ſame here. Twelve "Princes are created; Of one of them Jacob ſays, *the Sceptre ſhall not "depart from him until Shiloh come.* Is it not plain then, that the "Sceptres are diſtinguiſhed here; and that it is foretold of one, that "it ſhall long outlaſt the reſt?—conſequently the Sceptre here is an "emblem of Authority IN AND OVER ONE TRIBE ONLY*."

His Lordſhip's reaſoning, on which he grounds his parallel, ſtands thus—Judah's ſceptre was the ſame with Dan's: now Dan's

* Page 328, 9.

was a *tribal* Sceptre; therefore Judah's. But the very words of the Prophecy ſhew that the Sceptres were *ſpecifically* different. Of Dan it is ſaid, he ſhall judge his People AS ONE OF THE TRIBES OR SCEPTRES OF ISRAEL. Here is a *tribal* Sceptre marked out in expreſs and proper terms. But of Judah's Sceptre it is ſaid, THY FATHER'S CHILDREN SHALL BOW DOWN BEFORE THEE. Who were theſe *Children* but the eleven tribes? So that here a *civil* and a *ſovereign* Sceptre is as properly and expreſsly marked out for Judah, as before, a *tribal* one for Dan. This ſhall judge his own tribe; but the other ſhall, with his own tribe, judge the reſt alſo. And yet if you will rely on his Lordſhip's Authority, he has *a caſe in point*; and he aſſures us "that Judah's grant is the ſame as that of a Father's to his Son John, who when he had divided his eſtate amongſt his twelve Sons ſhould ſay of John's part, that it ſhould not depart for many ages."

He tells us next, "that the ſenſe of the word LAWGIVER will follow the fate of the word *Sceptre* *." In this, I perfectly agree with him. And therefore as his ſenſe of the word *Sceptre* is found to be erroneous, his ſenſe of the word *Lawgiver* muſt fall with it.

All that follows has nothing to do with the queſtion of a *tribal Sceptre* till we come to page 344. From thence to 350, he endeavours to take advantage of the hypotheſis, to ſhew that this *tribal Sceptre* never departed from Judah till the coming of Chriſt: And here he had an eaſy taſk. But unluckily confounding *œconomic* with *civil* Rule, he embaraſſes himſelf as much, to make out the completion of the Prophecy, as the ſupporters of the other two branches of the common interpretation are wont to do.—As where he talks of the Jews in Babylon *ordering all matters relating to their own* CIVIL *and* ECCLESIASTICAL *Affairs* †.—Their *coming back to their own Country as a People and a nation* GOVERNED BY THEIR OWN LAWS—*though never* SO FREE A PEOPLE *as they had been formerly. They lived under ſubjection to the Perſian Monarch, and under the empire of the Greeks and Romans* ‡.—*The Evangeliſts ſhew that they*

* Page 329. † Page 345. ‡ Page 347.

lived

lived under their OWN LAWS, *and* EXECUTED JUDGMENT *amongſt themſelves* *—*Had the exerciſe of* JUDICIAL AUTHORITY *amongſt themſelves* †. Thus, like the Succeſſors of Peter, who enlarged his *Rock* into a *Citadel*, his Lordſhip at laſt lengthens his *tribal* Sceptre into a *ſovereign*. But if here he extends it over a People and Nation, he contracts it as much by and by; and we ſee it ſhrink up into a mere philoſophical or Stoical Regality. His Lordſhip undertakes to prove that the Jews were a FREE PEOPLE, from their own conſciouſneſs of their free condition.—*When our Saviour* (ſays the Biſhop) *tells the Jews* "The truth ſhall make you free;" *they reply*, "We are Abraham's Children, and were never in bondage to any "man ‡." This his Lordſhip urges as a proof of their *Civil freedom*. But if the Jews, who expected a carnal Meſſiah to lead real armies againſt their enemies, could ſuppoſe that Jeſus made them an offer of ſending *Truth* in perſon, to execute this commiſſion for them, their ſtupidity muſt have exceeded every thing we have been told of it, by their Enemies. To be plain with his Lordſhip, the ſubject here debated, between Jeſus and his Adverſaries, is moſt foreign from his Lordſhip's purpoſe. Our bleſſed Saviour is here addreſſing himſelf to the PHARISEES, a rank of men not ignorant of the Greek philoſophy (though greatly miſtaking its uſe when they brought ſo much of it into the Law), and therefore, with a Stoical dignity, he tells them—*the truth ſhall ſet you free*. They anſwer him in the ſame tone, *We are Abraham's Children, and were never in bondage to any man*. That is, "Our principles are of divine extraction, and we never ſuffered ourſelves to be inſlaved to human deciſions." *Surely* (ſays his Lordſhip) *they had not forgot their captivity in Babylon*. Forgot! Why, Jeſus had ſaid nothing to put them in mind of it. The queſtion is not about their freedom from Babylon, but from Error.—*Much leſs* (ſays he) *could they be ignorant of the power of the Romans over them at that time, and yet we ſee they account themſelves free*. And why ſhould they not,

* Page 349. † Page 350. ‡ Page 349.

when the Queſtion between Jeſus and them was only who ſhould make them ſo, He or Abraham. Strange! that his Lordſhip's own account of their *civil condition* under the *power of the Romans* ſhould not have brought him to ſee, that the ſubject in hand was only of their *moral Condition*. Stranger ſtill! that his ſolution of this difficulty ſhould not have led him to diſcover that it was but imaginary—*they were free* (ſays his Lordſhip) *for they lived by their own Laws, and executed judgment among ſt themſelves.*—Had he added—*but, at the precarious nod of an arbitrary Tyrant*—it would doubtleſs have given great force to his obſervation: For, about this time, Coponius, a Roman Knight, was named Procurator of Judea. Nay, even the precarious privilege of puniſhing capitally was now taken from them: They had a pagan Governor: and Juſtice was adminiſtered, not by their own Forms of Law, but by the Roman. An admirable character of *civil Freedom!*

His Lordſhip ſeems to be no happier in anſwering others objections, than in urging his own proofs. "You will ſay (continues "he) why did not Jacob foretell alſo the continuance of the Sceptre "of Benjamin? For the tribe of Benjamin run the ſame fortune "with that of Judah: they went together into captivity: they "returned home together; and were both in Being when *Shiloh* "came *."

Upon my word, a ſhrewd objection. Let us ſee how his Lordſhips quits his hands of it. His firſt anſwer is,—*That from the diviſion of the Kingdom after the death of Solomon, the tribe of Benjamin and the remnant of Iſrael, that is, part of all the other tribes,* adhered to Judah as their head †.

Here his Lordſhip ſeems fairly to have given up the Cauſe; his anſwer proving, in ſo many words, that *Judah's Sceptre* was not *tribal*, but *civil*. Let us examine it ſtep by ſtep. *Benjamin and the remnants of all the other tribes adhered to Judah as their head.* Now ſuch an adherence can be no other than an acknowledgement of a *Civil Sceptre* in Judah. Yet his Lordſhip gives this as a reaſon

* Page 355. † Page 355, 6.

why.

why the continuance of Judah's Sceptre is foretold, and not Benjamin's. Therefore the Sceptre, whoſe continuance is foretold, was a *civil*, not a *tribal*, Sceptre, even on his own principles. If this needed a ſupport, the words of the Prophecy afford it amply: his Lordſhip ſays, that *Benjamin and the remnants of all the other tribes adhered to Judah as their* HEAD; *and this adherence*, Jacob foretells—*Thy Father's children ſhall* FALL DOWN *before thee.*

Suppoſing therefore that this Sceptre of Judah were of the *civil* kind, his Lordſhip, it muſt be owned, has given a very ſatisfactory reaſon why Benjamin's *tribal* ſceptre was not mentioned. But if both were *tribal* Sceptres, the *continuance* of Benjamin's had as good a claim to the Prophet's notice (for any thing the Biſhop has ſhewn to the contrary) as Judah's. Since, as *Tribes*, they both continued to exiſt, and to exiſt diſtinct.

His ſecond anſwer to the Objection ſeems as little ſatisfactory as the firſt—*Though the continuance of the* SCEPTRE *of Benjamin is not foretold, yet the continuance of the tribe or* PEOPLE *of Benjamin is diſtinctly foretold**. Would you deſire a more concluſive argument againſt his own notion of a *tribal Sceptre?* If this prophetic Sceptre of Judah was a *civil* one, there is a very good reaſon why the *continuance of the people*, and not of the *Sceptre* of Benjamin, ſhould be foretold; becauſe what Judah and Benjamin had in common was their continuing to exiſt as diſtinct tribes; the *Sceptre* being peculiar to the firſt: But if a *tribal* Sceptre be the ſubject of the Prophecy concerning Judah, then no poſſible reaſon can be aſſigned why the *continuance* of Benjamin's Sceptre ſhould not be honoured with the divine notice as well as Judah's; ſince his Lordſhip aſſures us—*they both run the ſame fortune*; *they went together into captivity*; *they returned together to Judea*; *and were both in being when Shiloh came.* And while a *Tribe* continues diſtinct, a *tribal Sceptre* continues with it; juſt as the head of a family exiſts ſo long as there is a family to govern.

* Page 356.

All

All this conſidered, his Lordſhip in my humble opinion had done well not to load himſelf with more than he had occaſion to carry: eſpecially as he had ſo little to anſwer for, in the ſucceſs of this hypotheſis; for he tells us at the end of his DISSERTATION, *that he has nothing more to add, but to acquaint the reader that the interpretation of Jacob's Propheſy now advanced, was not a mere invention of his own; that it was, as to the main point, the ſame with that which is the fourth in* HUETIUS, *and by him rejected, but for ſuch reaſons as had been fully obviated in this diſſertation.*—That *it was the ſame which* JUNIUS *and* TREMELLIUS, *and our own learned Countryman*, AINSWORTH, *had eſpouſed; and which not many years ago was revived and improved by Mr.* JONCOURT *.

Now, from what hath been ſaid it appears, that of all the three branches, into which the common interpretation ſpreads, though they be equally weak, the laſt betrays its weakneſs moſt. But, what is of principal conſideration, it is, of all the three, leaſt ſuitable to the DIGNITY OF PROPHECY; the whole body of which has a perpetual reference to one or other of the great parts of the Diſpenſation of Grace. Now the firſt branch refers with ſuitable dignity to a whole People at large: the ſecond to the ſame People under the Government of one certain line: while the third concerns only the fortunes of a ſingle Tribe, and under a Family-idea.

The common interpretation therefore being ſhewn ſo very exceptionable in all its branches, what remains for us to conclude but that the true and real meaning of the *Sceptre of Judah* is that THEOCRATIC GOVERNMENT which God, by the vicegerency of Judges, Kings, and Rulers, exerciſed over the Jewiſh nation? We have ſhewn from various conſiderations of weight, that this THEOCRACY, which was inſtituted by the miniſtry of Moſes, continued over that People till the coming of Shiloh or Chriſt; THAT PROPHET *like unto Moſes* whom God had promiſed to *raiſe up*. And to ſupport what hath been urged from reaſon, to illuſtrate this impor-

* Page 358.

tant

tant truth, we have here a Prophetic declaration enouncing the ſame thing,—*the ſceptre ſhall not depart from Judah till Shiloh come:* Shiloh is Chriſt. Now Chriſt is not the Succeſſor of thoſe VICEGERENTS of the Jewiſh State, but of God himſelf, the KING of the Jews. The Sceptre therefore which deſcends to him, through the hands of thoſe vicegerents, is not merely a CIVIL, but a THEOCRATIC *Sceptre*. This, at the ſame time, explains the Evangelic doctrine of CHRIST'S KINGDOM, ariſing out of the *Theocracy* or *Kingdom of God*. Hence the diſtinction in that famous declaration of Chriſt, ſo much abuſed to factious and party purpoſes, that HIS KINGDOM WAS NOT OF THIS WORLD: The Theocracy which was adminiſtered over the Jews only, and in a carnal manner, was a *Kingdom of this world:* but when transferred to Shiloh, and extended over all mankind, and adminiſtered in a ſpiritual manner, it became *a Kingdom not of this world*. And the making the *Sceptre of Judah* neither *Tribal*, nor MERELY *Civil*, but properly *Theocratic*, clears the Propheſy from theſe inſuperable difficulties which render all the other interpretations hurtful or diſhonourable to the Prophetic ſyſtem in general.

Theſe are the ſuperior advantages of the ſenſe I have here endeavoured to eſtabliſh. Nor are theſe all the advantages. The Propheſy is ſeen to embrace a much nobler object than was imagined. It was ſuppoſed to relate only to the fortunes of the *Jewiſh Oeconomy*, and we find it extends itſelf to the *whole Diſpenſation of Grace*. It was conſidered but as a ſimple PROPHECY, while it had the dignity of a REVELATION. It was miſtaken for the *ſpecies*, when it is indeed, of the *genus*.

But to all this an *Anſwerer* may reply. 1. "That, as we admit the THEOCRACY to be *a Kingdom of this World*, the ſame objection will lie as well againſt the CONTINUANCE or duration of a *Theocratic* Sceptre as of a mere *Civil* one." But here we muſt diſtinguiſh. The Theocracy was indeed carnal in its *adminiſtration*, but in its *original* it was Divine. Therefore, as where the ſubject is of the *continuance* of a *mere civil* Sceptre, we cannot but underſtand the *continuance of its*

its adminiſtration, becauſe the adminiſtration is inſeparable from the exiſtence; ſo where the ſubject is of the continuance of a *Theocratic* Sceptre, we muſt underſtand that continuance to conſiſt in its remaining unrevoked, ſince what is of divine original exiſts, independently of its being actually adminiſtered; it exiſts till it be formally abrogated. This difference is evident from the nature of things. Forms of Government ordained by Men ceaſe when Men no longer adminiſter them; becauſe, in the non adminiſtration of them, they are naturally ſuppoſed to revoke what they had ordained: But men's ceaſing to adminiſter (whether by choice or force) a Form of Government given by God, does not (on any rules of logic or ideas of nature) imply God's revocation of that form of Government.

Again, we muſt remember what has been ſaid of the effect and conſequence of a Theocracy. It not only *united*, but *incorporated* the two Societies, civil and religious, into One. And this incorporated body of the Jewiſh State went by the name of the Law. Now under that part of the Law which more intimately regarded Religion, the Jews always lived free till the publication of the Goſpel; though the other part of it, regarding the ſovereign adminiſtration of civil policy and juſtice, they had loſt from the time of Pompey. For a power precariouſly enjoyed, and ready to be aboliſhed at the nod of a Conqueror, can never be called *Sovereign* (which implies the being free and independant) without the worſt abuſe of words, which is, the quibbling upon them. So that a Sovereignty in this Theocracy was ſtill adminiſtered to the laſt, though in part. However this partial exerciſe was conſentaneous to the Syſtem on which this Theocracy was diſpenſed; its Adminiſtration being ordained to have a gradual decline. The Jews, for their tranſgreſſions, being firſt of all deprived of that natural effect of Theocratic rule, the *extraordinary providence*: and then, for their incorrigible manners, further puniſhed by an infringement of their civil ſovereignty: but ſtill the Theocracy, as to that more eſſential, the Religious part, remained unhurt till the coming of Chriſt:

And

And let it be obſerved, that it was this part in particular which was to be aſſigned over to him, from the Father. Thus, as I ſaid before, this is not ſo properly a *prediction* of human events, as a *revelation* concerning the courſe of God's Diſpenſation.

2. Secondly, it hath been objected that "according to the ſenſe here put upon the *Sceptre*, it ſhould have been ſaid—*the Sceptre ſhall not depart from* JEHOVAH inſtead of JUDAH." But ſuch Objectors do not advert, that the Theocracy was adminiſtered by Vicegerents of JUDAH. And this likewiſe will account for the expreſſion of a *Law-giver between his feet.*

3. Laſtly, it may be ſaid, "That by this interpretation of the *Sceptre of Judah* we deprive the Prophecy of one principal part of the information it was ſuppoſed to give, namely, the TIME of Chriſt's advent, which the common interpretation is ſuppoſed to fix exactly." To this I anſwer, that Religion loſes nothing by this change, ſince there are ſo many other Prophecies which point out the *time* with infinitely more preciſion. On the other hand, Religion gains much by it, in evading a number of objections, which had ſtigmatized the ſuppoſed Prediction with apparent marks of falſhood.

Thus we ſee this noble Prophecy, concerning the transfer of the Kingdom of GOD, to CHRIST, contains a matter of much greater dignity in itſelf, and of much greater moment for the ſupport of CHRISTIANITY, than could ariſe from the perplexed queſtion about the reign of the Aſmonean Princes, or the Continuance of the power of life and death amongſt a tributary People. For, in predicting the *Abolition of the Law*, it ſupplies us with a new and excellent Argument for the Converſion of the Jewiſh People, fatally perſuaded of its *eternal obligation.*

The Reaſons of my being ſo particular concerning the duration of the THEOCRACY are various, and will be ſeen as occaſion offers. Only the reader may here take notice, that it was neceſſary for the preſent purpoſe, to ſhew its continuance throughout the whole duration of the Republic, in order to vindicate the juſtice of

thoſe Laws all along in force, for the puniſhment of idolatrous Worſhip.

SECT. IV.

THUS far as to the nature and duration of the Moſaic Republic. Let us now ſee what PECULIAR CONSEQUENCES neceſſarily attended the adminiſtration of a THEOCRATIC form of Government.

One neceſſary conſequence was an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. For the affairs of a People under a Theocracy, being adminiſtered by God as King; and his peculiar and immediate adminiſtration of human affairs being what we call *an extraordinary Providence*; it follows that an extraordinary Providence muſt needs be exerciſed over ſuch a People. My meaning is, that if the Jews were indeed under a Theocracy, they were indeed under an extraordinary Providence: And if a Theocracy was only pretended, yet an extraordinary Providence muſt neceſſarily be pretended likewiſe. In a word, they muſt be either both true or both falſe, but ſtill inſeparable, in reality or idea. Nor does this at all contradict (as was ſuggeſted by Doctor SYKES even after he had ſeen his ſuggeſtion confuted) what I obſerve concerning the gradual decay and total extinction of the extraordinary Providence, while the Theocracy yet exiſted. For when I ſay *an extraordinary Providence was one neceſſary conſequence of a Theocracy*, I can only mean that it was ſo in its original conſtitution, and in the order and nature of things: not that in this, which was matter of compact, the contravening acts of one Party might not make a ſeparation. For, as this extraordinary Providence was (beſides its being a mode of adminiſtration ariſing out of a Theocracy) a reward for obedience, it became liable to forfeiture by diſobedience, though ſubjection to the Government ſtill continued. I beg leave to illuſtrate this poſition both by a foreign and a domeſtic inſtance. The Ærarii in the Roman State were ſuch who, for their crimes, were deprived of the

the right of Citizens: Yet theſe delinquents were obliged to pay the public taxes. At home, a voice in the ſupreme Council of the kingdom is the neceſſary conſequence of an Engliſh Barony; yet they may be ſeparated by a judicial Sentence; and actually have been ſo ſeparated; as we may ſee in the two famous caſes of Lord Verulam, and the Earl of Middleſex, in the reign of James the Firſt; who were both deprived of their ſeats in the Houſe of Lords, and yet held their Baronies, with all the other rights pertaining to them. Thus a puniſhment of this kind was inflicted on the rebellious Iſraelites: they were deprived of the *extraordinary Providence:* and were yet held ſubject to the *Theocracy*, as appears from the Sentence pronounced upon them, by the mouth of the Prophet Ezekiel:— "Ye polluted yourſelves with your idols even unto this day: and "ſhall I be enquired of by you, O houſe of *Iſrael?* As I live, ſaith "the Lord God, *I will not be enquired of by you. And that which* "*cometh into your mind ſhall not be at all, that ye ſay, We will be as the* "*Heathen, as the Families of the Countries to ſerve Wood and Stone.* "As I live, ſaith the Lord, *with a mighty Hand, and with a ſtretched* "*out Arm, and with Fury poured out, will I rule over you. And I* "*will bring you out from the People, and will gather you out of the* "*Countries wherein ye are ſcattered,* with a mighty Hand, and with a "ſtretched out Arm, and with Fury poured out. And I will "bring you into the Wilderneſs of the People, and there will I "plead with you Face to Face. *Like as I pleaded with your Fathers* "*in the Wilderneſs of the Land of* Egypt, ſo will I plead with you, "ſaith the Lord. And *I will cauſe you to paſs under the Rod.* And *I* "*will bring you into the* BOND OF THE COVENANT." Chap. xx. ver. 31—37. It is here we ſee denounced, that the extraordinary Providence ſhould be withdrawn; or, in Scripture phraſe, *that God would not be enquired of by them*; That they ſhould remain in this condition, which their *Fathers* had occaſionally felt *in the wilderneſs*, when the extraordinary Providence, for their ſignal diſobedience, was, from time to time, ſuſpended: And yet, that, though they ſtrove to diſperſe themſelves amongſt the People round about, and

projected *in their minds to be as the heathen, and the families of the Countries to ſerve wood and ſtone*, they ſhould ſtill be under the government of a THEOCRACY; Which, when adminiſtered without an extraordinary Providence, the bleſſing, naturally attendant on it, was, and was juſtly called, THE ROD AND BOND OF THE COVENANT.

But now if you will believe a Profeſſor of Divinity and a no leſs eminent dealer in Laws, the caſe grows worſe and worſe, and, from a contradiction in my ſyſtem, it becomes a contradiction in God's. For thus Dr. RUTHERFORTH deſcants upon the matter: "As the "Law was gradually deprived of its Sanction, the *Obligation* of it "grew continually weaker, till at laſt, after the people were re- "turned from the Captivity, it muſt have ceaſed to oblige them at "all. For whatever may be the caſe of God's MORAL LAW, yet "moſt certainly, as he withdraws the Sanctions of his POSITIVE "ones, he takes off ſomething from their obligation; and when he "has wholly withdrawn the promiſe of reward and the threatening "of puniſhment, THOSE LAWS OBLIGE NO LONGER *." To this *Determination* of the learned Profeſſor, concerning OBLIGATION, I have nothing to oppoſe but the *Determination* of GOD himſelf: who, by the mouth of one of his Prophets, declares, That the *Laws ſhall ſtill oblige, though the Sanction be withdrawn.* "Ye pollute "yourſelves with your Idols, &c."—as the reader may find it tranſcribed juſt above. Here God declares he would withdraw that extraordinary Providence which naturally attended a THEOCRACY—*I will not be enquired of by you.* "Yet do not (ſays he) deceive yourſelves in an expectation that, becauſe for your crimes I withdraw this ſanction of my Law, the Law will oblige no longer,—*and that which cometh into your mind ſhall not be at all, that ye ſay we will be as the heathen:* For, in order to the bringing about my own great purpoſes, I will ſtill continue you a ſelect and ſequeſtered people—*I will bring you out from the people, and will gather you out from the Countries wherein you are ſcattered.* And will ſtill rule over

* Page 329.

you

you by my Law; now, in my wrath, as before in my mercy. *With fury poured out I will rule over you, and bring you into the bond of the Covenant.*

I ſuppoſe the thing that led our Doctor into this raſh judgment, That *when the ſanctions of a poſitive law are withdrawn, the obligation to the law ceaſes*, was his totally miſunderſtanding the principles of the beſt writers on the Law of Nature: Not by their fault, I dare aſſure the Reader.—*The Law of Nature* is written in the heart; but by Whom, is the queſtion. And a queſtion of much importance; for if not written by a competent Obliger it is no Law, to bind us. The enquirers therefore into this matter had no other way of coming to the Author of the Law but by conſidering the effects which the obſervance or inobſervance of it would have on mankind. And they found that the obſervance tended to the benefit of all, the inobſervance to their deſtruction. They concluded therefore that it muſt needs have been given by God, as a Law to mankind; and theſe effects of its obſervance or inobſervance they called the *ſanction*. Hence it appears that the knowledge of our *obligation to the Law of nature* ariſes from the knowledge of the *ſanction*. And, this ſanction away, we had not been obliged, becauſe we could never have diſcovered any real ground of obligation.

But the *poſitive Law of the Jews* was written in ſtone by the finger of God, in a viſible manner; in which the ſenſes of the People were appealed to, for the truth of the tranſaction. Here the knowledge of their obligation did not ariſe from their knowledge of the ſanction, but from quite another thing, namely, the immediate knowledge they had by their ſenſes, that God, their ſovereign Lord and Maſter, gave them the Law. To inforce which, a *ſanction* indeed was added; but a ſanction that added nothing to the obligation, nor conſequently that took from it, when it was withdrawn.

This is a plain and clear ſtate of the caſe. Yet ſo miſerably has our Profeſſor miſtaken it, that for want of ſeeing on what principle it was which the writers on the Law of Nature proceeded, when they ſuppoſed *obligation to depend on the ſanction*, he hath, of a particular

cular caſe, made a general maxim: and in applying that maxim, he hath turned every thing topſy turvy, and given us juſt the reverſe of the medal. He ſuppoſes the taking the ſanction from the moral Law might not deſtroy the obligation (which it certainly would) —*whatſoever*, ſays he, *might be the cauſe of God's moral Laws*; and that taking away the ſanction from his poſitive Law would deſtroy the obligation (which it certainly would not).

What might further miſlead our Profeſſor (for the more ſuch men read the leſs they underſtand) is the attribute the Roman Lawyers give to ſuch civil Laws as are made without a penal ſanction. Theſe they are wont to call, *Leges imperfectæ:* And our great Civilian might believe that this aſſigned *imperfection* had a reference to the *obligation* they impoſed, whereas it refers to the *efficacy* they were able to work. He ſhould have known at leaſt this firſt principle of Law, That it is the Authority of the Lawgiver, not the Sanction he annexes to his Law, which makes it, I will not ſay, operate *properly* (for this is nothing to the purpoſe), but makes it oblige *really*, which is only to the purpoſe. In a word, I know of nobody but Hobbes, beſides this Doctor, who pretended to teach that the *obligation* to Laws depended upon their *ſanction:* and this he did, becauſe he derived all *right* and *wrong* from the Civil Magiſtrate: which, for aught I know, our learned Profeſſor may do likewiſe, as only miſtaking *right* and *wrong* (by a blunder like to the foregoing) for *good* and *evil.* Yet hath this grave man written moſt enormouſly both on Laws and Morals: And is indeed a great Writer, juſt as the mighty Giant, Leon Gawer, was a great Builder; of whom the Monk of Cheſter ſo ſweetly ſings:

" The Founder of this City, as ſaith Polychronicon,
" Was Leon Gawer, a mighty ſtrong Giant,
" Which builded Caves and Dungeons many a one:
" No goodly Building, ne proper, ne pleaſant."

But our buſineſs at preſent is not with the actual adminiſtration of an extraordinary Providence, but with the Scripture repreſentation of ſuch an adminiſtration. And this the ſacred hiſtory of the

Jews

Jews atteſts in one uniform unvaried manner; as well by recording many inſtances of it in particular, as by conſtantly referring to it in general.

I. The firſt is in the Hiſtory of MIRACLES. For an equal Providence being, by the nature of man's ſituation and affairs, neceſſarily adminiſtered partly by ordinary and partly by extraordinary means, theſe latter produce what we call *Miracles*, the ſubject of the ſacred Writers their more peculiar regard. But I apprehend it would be thought preſuming too much on the reader's patience, to expect his attention, while I ſet myſelf formally to prove that many *miracles* are related in the ſacred hiſtory of the Iſraelites.

The ſimpler ſort of Deiſts fairly confeſs that the Bible records the working of many Miracles, as appears even from the free names they give to thoſe accounts. But there are refiners in Infidelity, ſuch as SPINOZA and his mimic TOLAND; who acknowledge many of the facts recorded, but deny them to have been miraculous. Theſe are to our purpoſe, and an Appeal to the common ſenſe of Mankind is a ſufficient anſwer to them all. And ſurely I ſhould have done no more, had they not attempted to draw in to their Party much honeſter men than themſelves. For ſuch, therefore, even charity requires us to attempt ſome kind of defenſe.

The infamous *Spinoza* would perſuade us that JOSEPHUS himſelf was as backward in the belief of Miracles as any modern Pagan whatſoever. The handle, for his calumny, is * that Writer's relation

* — Scriptura de natura in genere quibuſdam in locis affirmat eam fixam atque immutabilem ordinem ſervare.—Philoſophus præterea in ſuo *Eccl.* clariſſime docet nihil novi in natura contingere.—Hæc igitur in Scriptura expreſſe docentur, at nullibi, quod in natura aliquid contingat, quod ipſius legibus repugnet, aut quod ex iis nequeat ſequi, adeoque neque etiam Scripturæ aſſingendum.—Ex quibus evidentiſſime ſequitur miracula res naturales fuiſſe.—Attamen — de iis unicuique, prout ſibi melius eſſe ſentiet, ad Dei cultum & religionem integro animo ſuſcipiendum, liberum eſt exiſtimare. Quod etiam JOSEPHUS SENTIT; ſic enim in concluſione *l.* 2. *Antiq.* ſcribit, *Nullus vero diſcredat verbo miraculi, ſi antiquis hominibus, & malitia privatis via ſalutis liquet per mare facta, ſive voluntate* Dei, ſive ſponte revelata: dum & eis, qui cum Alexandro rege Macedoniæ fuerunt olim, & ...

lation of the *paſſage* of the *Red-ſea*; which he compares to Alexander's through the *Pamphylian*, and which concludes with ſaying that *every Man may believe of it as he pleaſes*. No unuſual way with this Hiſtorian of introducing or ending a miraculous Adventure. This hath indeed ſo libertine an air, that it hath betrayed ſome Believers into the ſame falſe judgment concerning Joſephus; as if he afforded only a political or philoſophical belief to theſe things; and gave a latitude to *thoſe of his own Religion*, to think as they ſhould ſee cauſe.

But here lies the difficulty; the Hiſtorian is every now and then putting on a very different aſpect, and talking like a moſt determined Believer. Many are the places where he expreſſes the fulleſt and firmeſt aſſent to the *Divinity* of the *Moſaic* Religion, and to the *Truth* of the ſacred Volumes. To mention only one or two, from a Book ſo known, and in a point ſo notorious. The following words of his Introduction (where he cannot poſſibly be conſidered as a tranſlator, or relator only of what he found in the *ſacred books*, from which he compoſed his hiſtory) theſe, I ſay, ſhew in how different a light he regarded *Moſes* from all other Lawgivers: "And "now I earneſtly intreat all who take theſe Volumes in hand, to "apply themſelves with their whole faculties to the contemplation "of the Divine Nature, and then turn to our LAWGIVER, and ſee "whether he has not made a repreſentation of that Nature entirely "worthy of it; always aſſigning ſuch Actions to GOD, as become "his excellence, and preſerving the high ſubject clear from any im-"pure mixture of FABLE. Though if we conſider the diſtance and "antiquity of the Time he wrote in, we cannot but underſtand he "was at full liberty to invent and falſify at pleaſure. For he lived "full two thouſand years ago.—A diſtance of Time to which even

& antiquitus à reſiſtentibus Pamphylicum mare diviſum ſit, & cum aliud iter non eſſet, tranſitum *præbuit iis, volente Deo, per eum Perſarum deſtruere principatum*; *& hoc confitentur omnes, qui actus Alexandri ſcripſerunt*; DE HIS ITAQUE, SICUT PLACUERIT CUILIBET, EXISTIMET. Hæc ſunt verba Joſephi, ejuſque DE FIDE MIRACULORUM JUDICIUM. Tract. Theologico-Pol. C. vi. de Miraculis, p. 81, 82.

"the

" the Poets dared not to carry up the birth of their Gods, the actions " of their Heroes, or the eſtabliſhment of their Laws *." Here, we ſee, the Hiſtorian expreſsly declares that MOSES in his writings employed *no degree of fiction*, ſo common in the practice of other ancient Lawgivers.

And how *truly* divine he ſuppoſed the LAW, appears from his obſerving, in the ſame place, that, while the *Jews* religiouſly obſerved its Precepts, all things went well and proſperouſly; but that, whenever they tranſgreſſed, then nothing but diſaſters followed. And leſt any one ſhould pretend, he meant no more than that national happineſs was the natural conſequence of adhering to the Laws of their Country; or that thoſe Laws, being founded on Juſt and Right, God (whoſe general Providence it is agreed he acknowledged) would reward the virtuous obſervers, whatever were the original of ſuch Laws; leſt, I ſay, this ſhould be pretended, he adds, that theſe diſaſters followed whenever they tranſgreſſed the Law, though in purſuit of things juſt and good. His words are theſe: " Upon the " whole, what the Reader of this Hiſtory may chiefly learn from " it is this: That thoſe who obſequiouſly ſtudy the Will of God, " and reverence his well eſtabliſhed Laws, paſs their lives in incre- " dible proſperity; Happineſs, the reward from God, ever attend- " ing their obedience. But in proportion to their neglect of theſe " Laws, eaſy things become unſurmountable, and all their under- " takings, *how juſtly ſoever directed*, end in incurable calamities †." In which words, I take it for granted, he had the caſe of *Saul* par-

* Ἤδη τοίνυν τὸς ἐλευξομένους τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ τῶν γεγραμμένων θεῷ προσανέχειν, καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν ἡμέτερον Νομοθέτην, εἰ τήν τε φύσιν αὐτῷ ἀξίως καθικόησε, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπόντως ἀεὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνέθηκε, πάσης καθαρὸν τὸν περὶ αὐτῷ φυλάξας λόγον τῆς παρ' ἄλλοις αἰσχημόνου μυθολογίας· καίτοιγε, ὅσον ἐπὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ παλαιότητι, πολλὴν ἔχων ἄδειαν ψευδῶν πλασμάτων. γέγονεν γὰρ πρὸ ἐτῶν δισχιλίων, — ἐφ' ὅσον πλῆθος αἰῶνος; ἀφ' αὐτῶν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν θείων, μήτιγε τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράξεις, ἢ τὰς νόμους ἀνειλήφεῖν ἐτόλμησαν. Vol. i. p. 3, 4.

† Τὸ ζύνολον δὲ μάλιστά τις ἂν ἐκ ταύτης μάθοι τῆς ἱστορίας, ἐθελήσας αὐτὴν διελθεῖν, ὅτι μὲν τοῖς Θεῷ γνώμῃ καλακολεθοῦσι, καὶ τὰ καλῶς νομοθετεθέντα μὴ τολμῶσι παραβαίνειν, πάντα καθορθῶται πέρα πίστεως, καὶ γέρας εὐδαιμονίας πρόκειται παρὰ Θεῷ· καθ' ὅσον δ' ἂν ἀποστῶσι τῆς τούτων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἄπορα μὲν γίνεσθαι τὰ πόριμα, πίπτειν δ' εἰς ζυμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους, ὁπωσποτ' ἂν, εἰς ἀγαθὸν δρᾶν σπουδάσωσιν. Vol. i. p. 3, 4.

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ticularly in his view. Again, ſo full was his perſuaſion of the Divinity of the Law, that he extols the *Jews* for ſuffering *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, to take their City by ſtorm on the ſeventh day, rather than violate the *Sabbatic* reſt. *Agatharchides* (ſays he) *thinks this ſcruple worthy of contempt and laughter. But thoſe who weigh it without prejudice, will ſee ſomething truly great, and deſerving of the higheſt commendations, in thus always preferring their Piety towards God, and adherence to his Law, before their own ſafety, or even the freedom of their Country* *.

Theſe paſſages, we ſee, have all the marks of a very zealous Believer. And what makes the greateſt difficulty of all, is, that the very places in which the Hiſtorian uſes ſuch offenſive latitude of expreſſion are thoſe where he employs his utmoſt endeavours to ſhew the real Divinity of his Religion; of which theſe *Miracles* are produced as evidence; an evidence he ſtudiouſly ſeeks, and ſeems to dwell upon with pleaſure.

This varying aſpect, therefore, ſo indifferently aſſumed, creates all the embaraſs. But would men only do in this caſe what they ought to do in all, when they paſs their judgment on an ancient writing, that is, conſider the *End*, and *Time*, and *Genius* of the Writer, together with the Character of thoſe to whom the work is addreſſed; they would find *Joſephus* to be indeed a ſteady Follower of the Law, and a firm Believer of its *miraculous* eſtabliſhment; and, at the ſame time, diſcover the eaſy ſolution of all thoſe untoward appearances which have brought his Religion into queſtion.

The caſe, with our Hiſtorian, ſtood thus: His Country was now in great diſtreſs; its Conſtitution overturned, and his Brethren in apparent danger of utter Extirpation; calamities ariſing as much from the ill-will which the Heathens had entertained of their Religion † for its *unſociable* nature, as for their own turbulent and re-

* Τᾶτο μὲν Ἀγαθαρχίδη καταγέλωτος ἄξιον δοκεῖ· τοῖς δὲ μὴ μετὰ δυσμενείας ἐξετάζουσι φαίνεται μέγα καὶ πολλῶν ἄξιον ἐπαίνων, εἰ καὶ ζωῆς καὶ παθῶν ἄνθρωποί τινες νόμων φυλακὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν εὐσέβειαν ἀεὶ προτιμῶσιν. Vol. ii. p. 458.

† See note [I], at the end of this Book.

bellious

bellious Carriage. This ill-will had been much increaſed by their ſuperior Averſion to *Chriſtianity*, conſidered by them as a Sect of *Judaiſm*; which had carried its inſociability as far, and its pretenſions much farther: ſo far as to inſiſt on the neceſſity of all Mens ſubmitting to its dominion, and renouncing their own Country Religions as the Impoſtures of Politicians, or the Inventions of evil Demons. This put the Heathen world into a flame, and produced thoſe mad and wicked Perſecutions that attended the firſt Propagation of the *Chriſtian* Faith *. Such was the unfriendly ſtate of things, when *Joſephus* undertook an Apology for his Nation, in the HISTORY OF ITS ANTIQUITIES. Now as their conquerors' averſion to them, aroſe from the ſuppoſition that their Religion required the belief and obedience of all Mankind (for they had, as we obſerved, confounded *Judaiſm* with *Chriſtianity*), to wipe off this invidious imputation, we muſt conclude, would be ever in the Author's thoughts. So that when the courſe of his Hiſtory leads him to ſpeak of the effects of GOD's extraordinary Providence in his conduct of this People, he ſometimes adds to his relation of a miraculous adventure, *but in this every Man may believe as he pleaſes.* A declaration merely to this effect: "The *Jewiſh* Religion was given by GOD for the uſe of his choſen "People, therefore the Gentiles might believe as they pleaſed. The "*Jews* did not pretend they ſhould leave their own Country "Religion to embrace theirs †: That in this they were different "from the *Chriſtian* Sect, which required all Mankind to follow "the Faith of a crucified Saviour under pain of total deſtruction ‡. "But that yet they were not ſo *unhoſpitable*, but that they received "with open arms all who were willing to worſhip one God the "Creator of the Univerſe §." Thus we ſee how it came to paſs (which was the main difficulty), that the places where he gives

* See the firſt volume, book I.

† See note [K], at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [L], at the end of this Book.

§ — καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἶναι κοινὸν, εἰ βούλοιτο, πᾶσι καὶ πάντη ἀνθρώποις, τοῦ ἑνὸς σέβειν τὸν Θεόν. Vol. i. p. 550.

ſuch a latitude of Belief, are thoſe very places where he moſt labours to prove the Divinity of his Religion.

But this ſolution clears up all difficulties, and ſhews the Hiſtorian's great conſiſtency, as well as artful addreſs, throughout the whole work. *Joſephus* profeſſes the moſt awful regard to the ſacred Volumes; and yet, at the ſame time, takes ſuch liberties of going from their authority, that it provoked the honeſt reſentment of a late excellent Writer* to the following aſperities: "Nec levis ſit ſuſpicio "illum Hebraice non ſciviſſe, cum multis indiciis linguæ ejus im- "peritiam prodat. Quivis certe, cui vel mica ſalis eſt, ſentiat illum "Hiſtorias Sacras pro arbitrio interpolaſſe, demendo, addendo, im- "mutando, ut Antiquitates ſuas ad Lectorum Græcorum & Roma- "norum palatum accommodaret." But this licenſe, though ſurely to be condemned, was however ſomething more legitimate and ſober than is generally ſuppoſed; his deviation from Scripture being in thoſe places *only*, where an exact adherence to it would have increaſed that general averſion to his Nation, whoſe effects were at that time ſo much to be dreaded, either as expoſing the *perverſe nature* of the People, or the *unſociable genius* of their Religion. To give an inſtance or two of each:

1. The *murmuring* of the *Iſraelites*, for *bread* and *fleſh* in the Wilderneſs, is repreſented in Scripture, and juſtly †, as an act of horrid ingratitude towards God. Yet *Joſephus* makes *Moſes* own they had reaſon for their complaints ‡. And in the execrable behaviour of the Men of *Gibeah* to the *Levite* and his wife, though Scripture expreſsly ſays they attempted a more unnatural crime than adultery, yet the Hiſtorian paſſes this over in ſilence, and makes all the perſonal outrage attempted, as well as committed, to be offered to the woman §. The Reader will now eaſily account for what Mr. *Whiſton* could not, his Author's omiſſion of the ſtory of the *golden Calf* ||. For this was

* Biſhop Hare. † Exod. xvi.

‡ παθεῖν δ' ἐκ ἀλόγως αὐτὲς διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τᾶτο νομίσας. Antiq. Jud. l. iii. c. 1. § 5.

§ *Ant. Jud.* l. v. c. 2. § 8.

‖ See note [M], at the end of this Book.

So

ſo amazing a perverſity, at that juncture, that it muſt have made the very *Pagans* themſelves aſhamed of their *Jewiſh* brethren in idolatry.

2. Again, we are told in Scripture, that when the *Cutheans*, or *Samaritans*, heard that the *Jews*, who were returned from the Captivity, were rebuilding the Temple, they came and deſired to be partners in the work, and joint Worſhippers of the God for whom it was erected; to which the *Jews* gave this round reply: *You have nothing to do with us, to build an Houſe unto our God, but we ourſelves together will build unto the Lord God of* Iſrael, *as King* Cyrus *the King of* Perſia *hath commanded us* *. And *Nehemiah*, on the ſame occaſion, gave them a ſtill rougher anſwer: *The God of Heaven he will proſper us, therefore we his Servants will ariſe and build: but you have no Portion, nor Right, nor Memorial in* Jeruſalem †. This was a tender place: it was touching upon the very ſore, in an expreſs declaration of the *Unſociableneſs* complained of. The ſtory therefore, we may be ſure, was to be ſoftened before the Gentiles were to be intruſted with it. Accordingly, *Joſephus* makes them ſpeak in theſe obliging terms: *That they could not poſſibly admit them as partners in the work*; *for that the command to build the Temple was directed to them firſt by* Cyrus, *and now by* Darius: *That indeed they were at liberty to worſhip along with them: and that this was the only Community, in religious matters, that they could enter into with them, and which they would do with as many of the reſt of Mankind, as were willing to come up to the Temple to adore the God of Heaven* ‡. The reaſon the *Scripture Jews* give for the refuſal of the offer to be joint partners with them in their work and worſhip is, that it was a Temple built in the *Land of Iſrael*, and to the honour of the *God of Iſrael*. The reaſon *Joſephus's Jews* give for their refuſal is obe-

* Ezra iv. 3. † Neh. ii 20.

‡ — ἔφασαν, " τῆς μὲν οἰκοδομίας αὐτὸς ἀδύναλον εἶναι κοινωνεῖν, αὐτῶν προσαχθέντων καλασκευάσαι. τὸν ναὸν, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κύρε, νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείε· προστετάχθαι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν. καὶ τοῦτο μόνον εἶναι κοινὸν, εἰ βούλοιλο, πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν σέβειν τὸν Θεόν. Vol. i, p. 556.

dience

dience to the King of Perſia: elſe, as for *community* of worſhip, they were very ready to receive them.

And now was not that a wiſe * project which propoſed reforming the *ſacred Text* by the Writings of *Joſephus?*

But this Explanation will enable us to conclude with certainty againſt that *ſpurious* paſſage concerning CHRIST. I think I have already offered one demonſtrative argument againſt it †. And I ſuppoſe, the many marks of forgery are ſo glaring, that moſt men would be willing to give it up, were *Joſephus's* ſilence on ſo extraordinary an occaſion but eaſy to be accounted for. Now we have ſo far laid open his conduct as to ſee, that the preaching up of CHRIST was an affair he would ſtudiouſly decline. His great point, as we obſerved, was to reconcile the Gentiles to his Countrymen. But the *Pagan* averſion was greatly increaſed by the new Sect of *Chriſtians*, ſprung, as was well known, from the Country of *Judea*. It was therefore utterly deſtructive of his purpoſe to ſhew, as he muſt have done, in giving them an account of CHRIST, the cloſe connexion between the two Religions. Of all dangerous ſubjects, therefore, *Joſephus* would be careful to avoid this ‡. So that (certain as I am of the Writer's purpoſe, and not ignorant of the liberty he took with the ſacred Records, when it ſerved his ends, of adding and omitting at pleaſure) I ſhould have been as much ſurpriſed to have found the *Hiſtory* of JESUS in his Works as others are to be told that it is not there. This too will equally well account for his omiſſion of Herod's ſlaughter of the Children at Bethlehem, which Scaliger ſo much wondered at §; which Collins ſo much

* Mr. Whiſton's. † See vol. i.

‡ "La plus forte preuve qu'on ait, pour ſoutenir que le paſſage en queſtion, où il eſt parlé de JESUS CHRIST, eſt de *Joſeph*, c'eſt qu'il n'eſt pas croyable, qu'il n'ait rien dit de JESUS CHRIST. Photius fournit une réponſe a ce raiſonnement, en parlant de *Juſte de Tiberide*, qui a ecrit l'Hiſtoire des Juifs en Grec, et qui vivoit du tems de Joſeph, avec qui il a eû de grands demelez. Juſte de Tiberide, dit Photius n'a point parlé de JESUS CHRIST parce qu'il etoit Juif de Nation et de Religion." P. Simon, Bibl. Crit. v. II. p. 41.

§ Animad. in Chron. Euſebii.

triumphed

triumphed in *; and for the ſake of which, our Whitby ſeemed ready to give up the truth of the ſtory †.

Thus did this excellent Writer out of extreme love to his Country (the moſt pardonable however of all human frailties) make too free with Truth and Scripture; though moſt zealouſly attached to the Religion of his Forefathers: as thoſe Men generally are who love their Country beſt. And a *Jew* he ſtrictly was, of a very different Stamp too, from that poor paltry Mimic of the *Greek* Sophiſts, *Philo* ‡. Of whom his Maſter *Plato would have ſaid*, what *Joſephus* tells us *Ariſtotle did ſay*, of one of his *Jewiſh* Acquaintance, A GREEK HE WAS, AND NOT IN SPEECH ONLY, BUT IN SOUL LIKEWISE §.

I judged it of importance to ſet this matter in a true light: Becauſe many, I ſuppoſed, would think it a fair prejudice againſt the Divinity of the *Moſaic* Religion, had a perſon ſo eminent amongſt his Countrymen while the Republic was yet exiſting, and of ſo learned an age; ſo converſant in the *Jewiſh* Records, and ſo ſkilled in the beſt *Grecian* Literature; had ſuch a one afforded only a political or philoſophic Faith to the ſacred Volumes. But then it will follow on the other hand, that the ſincere *Belief* of one, ſo circumſtanced, will be as fair a prejudice in its favour.

Not that I am over fond of this kind of evidence, in matters where every one is obliged to judge for himſelf; and conſequently, where every one, on a due application to the ſubject, is capable of judging. Much leſs would I lay great weight on the opinions of Men out of their own Profeſſion, however eminent in any other. What is it to Truth, for inſtance, what a Courtier judges of a Church; a Politician of Conſcience; or a Geometer, grown grey in *Demonſtration*, of *moral Evidence*? To go on:

* Scheme of literal Prophecy conſidered. † Comment on the New Teſtament.

‡ *Philo*, in his life of *Moſes*, brings in the *Egyptian* Prieſts reaſoning on the *Platonic* principles, concerning the ſoul that informed *Moſes's* body; which is altogether as well judged, as if a modern Writer of the Life of *Ptolemy* the Aſtronomer ſhould bring him in explaining Sir *Iſaac Newton's Principia*.

§ Ἑλληνικὸς ἦν, οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ΨΥΧΗ.

Miracles, therefore, as they are recorded to be continued through ſo large a period of this Republic, I give for one proof that the Scriptures have repreſented the Iſraelites as living under an extraordinary Providence. I ſay, as they are recorded to be ſo *continued:* For when miracles are only given at the firſt propagation of a Religion (as of the Chriſtian), they are to be no otherwiſe eſteemed of, than as the Credentials of a new Revelation: Theſe being like the Cloud which conducted the Iſraelites in their journeyings in the wilderneſs; the other like the ſame Cloud which abode upon the Mercy-ſeat: Theſe like the Manna rained down from heaven only for a preſent ſubſiſtence; the other like the ſame Manna preſerved uncorrupted in the Ark, to be a teſtimony to future ages.

II. This extraordinary Providence is repreſented as adminiſtered; 1. Over the State in general. 2. Over private Men in particular. And ſuch a repreſentation we ſhould expect to find from the nature of the Republic; becauſe, as an extraordinary Providence over the state neceſſarily follows God's being their tutelary Deity; ſo an extraordinary Providence to particulars follows as neceſſarily from his being their supreme Magistrate *.

As to this Providence over the State, it would be abſurd to quote particular texts, when the whole Bible is one continued hiſtory of it. Only it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that from a paſſage in Ezekiel, where God ſays, *Becauſe that* Moab *and* Seir *do ſay*, Behold the house of Judah is like unto all the Heathen †, it appears the Jews had boaſted, and the Gentiles, till then, had acknowledged, that they were under an extraordinary Providence. As this therefore is ſo plain, I ſhall not hazard the obſcuring it by many words: but go on to ſhew, that Scripture repreſents this Providence as adminiſtered likewiſe to Particulars.

In the Dedication of the firſt Temple, Solomon addreſſes his Prayer to God, that the Covenant between him and the People might remain for ever firm and inviolate, and the old Oeconomy be

* See note [N], at the end of this Book. † Chap. xxv. ver. 8.

ſtill

ſtill continued. And after having enumerated divers parts of it, he proceeds in this manner: "When the heaven is ſhut up, and there "is no rain, becauſe they have ſinned againſt thee; yet if they "pray towards this Place, and confeſs thy name, and turn from "their ſin when thou doſt afflict them: Then hear thou from hea-"ven, and forgive the ſin of thy SERVANTS, and of thy PEOPLE "ISRAEL, when thou haſt taught them the good way, wherein "they ſhould walk; and ſend rain upon the Land, which thou "haſt given unto thy People for an inheritance. If there be dearth "in the Land, if there be peſtilence, if there be blaſting or mil-"dew, locuſt or caterpillers: if their enemies beſiege them in the "cities of their Land; whatſoever ſore, or whatſoever ſickneſs "there be: Then what prayer or what ſupplication ſhall be made "*of* ANY MAN, or of all thy PEOPLE ISRAEL, *when* EVERY ONE "*ſhall know his own ſore, and his own grief*, and ſhall ſpread forth "his hands in this houſe; then hear thou from heaven and forgive, "and RENDER UNTO EVERY MAN according unto all his ways, "whoſe heart thou knoweſt*." Solomon in this petition, which, with reſpect to the given *Covenant*, we might properly call a PETITION OF RIGHTS, ſpeaks the language of one who extended the temporal ſanctions of the Law to PARTICULARS and INDIVIDUALS. For he deſires God, according to the terms of the Covenant, to render unto *every man according to all his ways*. But when is it that he prays for the exertion of this extraordinary providence to particulars? At the very time when it is adminiſtring to the ſtate in general.—*If there be dearth in the land, if there be peſtilence, if there be blaſting or mildew, locuſt or caterpillers, if their enemies beſiege them*, &c. The neceſſary conſequence is, that as ſure as Solomon believed an extraordinary Providence exerciſed to the State in general, ſo ſurely did he believe it exerciſed to individuals in particular. The Pſalmiſt bears his teſtimony to the ſame Oeconomy: *I have been young* (ſays he) *and now am old: yet have I not ſeen the Righteous forſaken, nor his ſeed begging their bread*†. God himſelf declares it,

* 2 Chron. vi. 26. See alſo note [O], at the end of this Book.

† Pſal. xxxvii. 25. See alſo note [P], at the end of this Book.

by the Prophet Iſaiah: *Say ye to the Righteous that it ſhall be well with him: for they ſhall eat the fruit of their doings. Wo unto the Wicked, it ſhall be ill with him: for the reward of his hands ſhall be given him* *. And again: *He that walketh righteouſly and ſpeaketh uprightly*, &c. *he ſhall dwell on high: his place of defence ſhall be the munitions of rocks, bread ſhall be given him, his waters ſhall be ſure* †. And we learn, from a parabolical command in Ezekiel, how exactly theſe promiſes were fulfilled: "And the Lord ſaid unto him, Go "through the midſt of the city, through the midſt of Jeruſalem, "and ſet a mark upon the foreheads of the men that ſigh, and "that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midſt "thereof. And to others he ſaid in mine hearing, Go ye after him "through the city, and ſmite: let not your eye ſpare, neither have "ye pity. Slay utterly old and young, both maids and little chil-"dren, and women; *but come not near any man upon whom is the "mark*; and begin at my Sanctuary ‡," &c. The ſame Prophet in another place, alluding to Abraham's interceſſion for Sodom, declares from God, that when his judgments come out againſt the land of Judea, the Righteous, found in it, ſhould ſave only themſelves; which plainly ſhews a providence extending to particulars.— "Son of man, when the land ſinneth againſt me by treſpaſſing "grievouſly, then will I ſtretch out mine hand upon it, and will "break the ſtaff of the bread thereof, and will ſend famine upon it, "and will cut off man and beaſt from it. Though theſe three men "Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they ſhould deliver but their "own ſouls by their righteouſneſs, ſaith the Lord God." Ch. xiv. 13, 14. But God, by the Prophet *Amos*, deſcribes this adminiſtration of Providence in the fulleſt manner: "Alſo I have "witholden the rain from you, when there were yet three months to "the harveſt; *and I cauſed it to rain upon one city, and cauſed it not to "rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the piece*

* Chap. iii. ver. 10, 11. † Chap. xxxiii. ver. 15, 16.

‡ Chap. ix. ver. 4—6. See alſo note [Q], at the end of this Book.

"where-

"*whereupon it rained not, withered.* So two or three cities wan-
"dered unto one city to drink water; but they were not satisfied:
"yet have ye not returned unto me, saith the Lord. I have smitten
"you with blasting and mildew, &c.*." And again: *Lo, I will command, and I will sift the house of* Israel *among st all Nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve, yet shall not the least grain fall upon the earth* †.

These declarations of God's providence are so exactly correspondent to Solomon's petition; that they seem as it were the FIAT to it ‡.

Thus we see the Law, as well by its express declarations as by its essential nature and genius, extended its sanctions of temporal rewards and punishments as well to Particulars as to the General. And as in civil Government, universal practice shews the necessity of a more exact dispensation of punishment than of reward, so we may observe from the passages last quoted that the Mosaic Law had the same attention; which occasioned the Wise Man to say, *Behold the Righteous shall be recompensed in the Earth:* MUCH MORE *the Wicked and the Sinner* §.

The inspired writers of the NEW TESTAMENT give evidence to this dispensation of Providence under the OLD. The Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews argues from it as a thing well known and generally allowed: *For if the Word spoken by Angels was stedfast, and* EVERY TRANSGRESSION AND DISOBEDIENCE RECEIVED A JUST RECOMPENCE OF REWARD, *how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation* ||?

St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, speaking of the advantages which Christianity had over Judaism, says: *Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. By whom also we have access by Faith into his Grace, wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God. And not only so, but* WE GLORY IN TRIBULATION ALSO, *knowing that Tribulation*

* Chap. iv. ver. 7—11. † Chap. ix. ver. 9.
‡ See note [R], at the end of this Book.
§ Prov. xi. 31. || Chap, ii. ver. 2, 3.

worketh patience *, &c.* Here St. Paul oppoſing the advantages which the Gentile Converts had by FAITH, to thoſe which the Jews, in contempt to the Gentiles, gloried to have by the LAW, adds, in order to ſhew thoſe advantages in their higheſt ſuperiority, that the Chriſtian Gentiles could glory even in that which was the very opprobrium of the Jews, namely *tribulation*. For the ſanction of the Jewiſh Law being temporal rewards and puniſhments, adminiſtered by an equal providence; *Tribulation* was a puniſhment for crimes, and, conſequently, an high opprobrium †. But the followers of Chriſt, who were taught, *that we muſt through much* TRIBULATION *enter into the kingdom of God* ‡, had the ſame reaſon to *glory* in the roughneſs of the road, as the ancient Agoniſtæ had in the toils which procured them the victory. This is urged with great addreſs. But the Critics, not taking the Apoſtle's meaning, have ſuppoſed in their uſual way, that he here broke in upon his argument, with an idea foreign to the point in hand.

This will help us to explain an odd remark of the excellent Maimonides: *That their wiſe men talked of a thing which was* NOT TO BE FOUND *in the* LAW, *namely, that which ſome of them call the* CHASTISEMENTS OF LOVE, *by which they meant that* TRIBULATIONS *might befall a man without any precedent ſin* §, *and only in order to multiply his reward. And that this was the very opinion of the Sect called* Muatzal, *of which, or in favour of which opinion, there is not one ſingle word to be found in the Law* ||. This ſeems to have per-

* Rom. v. 1. & ſeq. † See note [S], at the end of this Book.

‡ Acts xiv. 22.

§ This explanation was neceſſary; for, another kind of *chaſtiſements of Love* there was in the *Law*, namely, *paternal chaſtiſements*. Thus *Moſes: Thou ſhalt alſo conſider in thine heart, that as a man chaſteneth his ſon, ſo the Lord thy God chaſteneth thee.* Deut. viii. 5.

|| Unum tamen occurrit in verbis ſapientum noſtrorum, quod NON INVENITUR IN LEGE; id nempe, quod quidam eorum dicunt CASTIGATIONES AMORIS. Juxta hanc enim ſententiam poſſunt TRIBULATIONES alicui evenire ſine præcedente peccato, ſed ut multiplicetur ejus Remuneratio. Atque hæc ipſiſſima eſt ſententia Sectæ Muatzoli, de qua, aut pro qua, ne verbulum quidem in Lege reperitur. More Nevoch. Buxtorfii, p. 381.

plexed

plexed our Rabbi; and with cauſe. He lived when his countrymen were under a common providence, and had the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, which, he took for granted, was always in the Jewiſh Oeconomy. Theſe things diſabled him from ſeeing that—NO CHASTISEMENTS OF LOVE was a neceſſary conſequence of temporal rewards and puniſhments adminiſtered by an equal providence: And likewiſe that when this ſanction ceaſed, and a future ſtate was known, then CHASTISEMENTS OF LOVE became a neceſſary conſequence.

But if by the LAW, Maimonides did (as the Jews frequently do) include the writings of the Prophets, then he was very much miſtaken in ſaying there is not one word in it concerning the *chaſtiſements of love*. For Zechariah, propheſying of a NEW Diſpenſation, deſcribes this ſort of *chaſtiſements* in very expreſs terms: "And I will bring the third part through the fire, and *will refine* "*them as ſilver is refined*, and *will try them as gold is tried:* and they "ſhall call on my name, and I will hear them." So admirably do all the parts of God's grand Oeconomy ſupport one another.

We have ſeen what teſtimonies their coeval writers afford of an extraordinary Providence. But we muſt not ſuppoſe the Jews always held the ſame language. The difference is great between the early and later Jews, even during the exiſtence of the Republic. Take an inſtance from the Pſalmiſt, and the writer of Eccleſiaſticus. The former ſays, *I have been young, and now am old, yet have I not ſeen the Righteous forſaken, nor his Seed begging their bread**. The latter.—*Look at the* GENERATIONS OF OLD, *and ſee: Did ever any truſt in the Lord and was confounded? Or did any abide in his Fear and was forſaken? Or whom did he ever deſpiſe that called upon him*†? The Pſalmiſt living under an *extraordinary* Providence appeals to his own times; the Author of Eccleſiaſticus living when it was long ceaſed, appeals to former times. But as we have been told, that this talk of a particular Providence is only an Eaſtern Hyperbole, in which every thing is aſcribed to God, I think it

* Pſal. xxxvii. 25. † Chap. ii. ver. 10, &c.

not

not improper to take notice here of one ſingular circumſtance in favour of the Reporters.

We may obſerve then, that the ſpirit of *Gentiliſm* was always uniform; and, throughout its whole duration, had ever the ſame unvaried pretenſions to divine Intercourſe, ſupported by the ſame ſort of Oracles and Divinations. But amongſt the *Jews* matters were on another footing. After their perfect ſettlement, on their return from Captivity (when we know from the courſe and progreſs of God's Oeconomy, that the extraordinary Providence was to ceaſe), we hear no more of their pretences to it, though they now adhered more ſtrictly than ever to the Religion of their forefathers. They made no claim, as we ſee by the excellent Writer of the firſt Book of *Maccabees*, either to *Prophets*, *Oracles*, or *extraordinary Diſpenſations*. When they write unto the *Lacedemonians*, for the renewal of their Alliance, they tell them, at the ſame time, that they need it not, FOR THAT THEY HAVE THE HOLY BOOKS OF SCRIPTURE IN THEIR HANDS TO COMFORT THEM *. Language very different from their forefathers', when God was wont to ſend immediate help from the Sanctuary. How ingenuouſly does the ſame Hiſtorian relate the misfortune of *Bethſura*, cauſed by the obſervance of the Sabbatic Year †? A misfortune of which we have no inſtance before the Captivity; and therefore a plain evidence that the extraordinary Providence was indeed withdrawn. Beſides, if we conſider the nature of the *Religion*, the genius of the *People*, and the circumſtances of the *Time*, we ſhall find, they all concurred to favour the continuance of a pretenſion to an extraordinary Providence, had it been *only a pretenſion*.

1. The *Moſaic Religion*, like the *Pagan*, had a *public part*, and therefore the *Jews* might, with the greateſt eaſe, have ſtill carried on the Superſtition of *Oracles*, had their Oracles been indeed a ſuperſtition; eſpecially as they were now become ſo cloſely attached to their Religion. For when did ever *Greece* or *Italy* confeſs that their *Oracles* were become *dumb*, 'till the Conſulters had generally

* Chap. xii. ver. 9. † 1 Macc. vi. 49.

forſaken

forſaken them, and the whole frame of their Religion was falling to pieces? Beſides, the practice of this Superſtition had been as eaſy as it was commodious; for the Oracular Voice was wont to come from the *Mercy-Seat* behind the *Veil*.

2. The *genius of the People* too would have contributed to the continuance of this claim. For ſome how or other, it was become their character *to require a Sign* *; and though, now, really ſuperſtitious, yet the humour ſpent itſelf rather in telling lyes of former times †, than in inventing any of their own. This, on a ſuppoſition of the human invention of their Law, is altogether unaccountable. But take the matter as we find it in their ſacred Books, and nothing is more eaſy. For if they had indeed been long accuſtomed to a *miraculous* Diſpenſation, they would, ever after, be ſtrongly diſpoſed *to require a Sign*; but it would be only ſuch a *Sign* as bore the evident marks of a Divinity; which not being to be had in human inventions, they would be kept ſafe from deluſions, and made ſenſible of the difference of times: And ſuch was, in fact, their caſe.

3. Add to all this, that the *time of the Maccabees* was the ſeaſon of Enthuſiaſm, when that airy Spirit is at its height; after the national Genius, long ſunk by oppreſſion, begins to riſe and recover itſelf to a vindication of public Liberty. And of this we have a ſignal inſtance in the perſon of *Judas Maccabæus* himſelf; who, in imitation of *Gideon*, would ſet upon an army of twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, with only eight hundred ſtraggling deſperadoes; which raſh and fanatic attempt was followed with the fortune that might, at this time, have been expected ‡.—In ſuch a ſeaſon too, artful Leaders are moſt diſpoſed to ſupport themſelves by inſpirations; have moſt need of them; and are thought, by the People, moſt worthy to receive them.

There is the ſame difference between the Writers of the New Teſtament and of the Old, as between the Writers of the ſeveral ages of the Old. The Apoſtles (who worked *Miracles* as well as

* 1 Cor. i. 22. † See note [T], at the end of this Book.

‡ 1 Macc. ix. 6.

Moſes

Moſes and the Prophets) repreſent the followers of CHRIST as under the ſame *common* Providence with the reſt of mankind: Unlike in this, to the firſt propagators of the LAW, who always declared the Iſraelites to be under an *extraordinary* Providence.

From all this I conclude, that as amidſt the concurrence of ſo many favourable circumſtances, no ſuch claim was made; but that, contrary to the univerſal practice of all falſe Religions, the *Jews* ſaw and owned a great change in the Divine Oeconomy, that therefore their former pretenſions to the peculiar protection of Heaven were TRUE.

But it hath been objected that the early ſacred Writers themſelves frequently ſpeak of the *inequality of* Providence to *Particulars* *: and in ſuch a manner as Men living under a common Providence are accuſtomed to ſpeak. It is very true that theſe Writers do now and then give intimations of this *inequality*. And therefore, though we ſhall hereafter prove an extraordinary *Providence* to have been actually adminiſtered, in which, not only this objection will be ſeen to drop of itſelf, but the particular paſſages, on which it is founded, will be diſtinctly conſidered; yet, for the Reader's ſatisfaction, it may not be amiſs to ſhew here, that theſe repreſentations of *inequality* are very conſiſtent with that before given of the extraordinary Providence. We ſay therefore,

I. That when the Sacred Writers ſpeak of the *inequalities* of Providence, and the unfit diſtribution of things, they often mean that ſtate of it amongſt their *Pagan* neighbours, and not in *Judea:* As particularly in the Book of *Pſalms* and *Eccleſiaſtes* †.

* — Aſaph de Dei providentia dubitavit, & fere a vera via deflexiſſet— Salomon etiam, cujus tempore res Judæorûm in ſummo vigore erant, ſuſpicatur omnia caſu contingere— Denique omnibus fere prophetis hoc ipſum valde obſcurum fuit, nempe quomodo ordo naturæ & hominum eventus cum conceptu quem de providentia Dei formaverant, poſſent convenire.—Spinozæ Theologico-Pol. p. 73, 74.

† See Appendix.

II. We

II. We ſometimes find Men complaining of *inequalities* in events, which were indeed the effects of a moſt *equal* Providence. Such as the puniſhment of *Poſterity* for the crimes of their *Foreſathers*; and of *Subjects* for their *Kings*. Of the firſt, the Prophet *Ezekiel* gives us an inſtance in the People's caſe: *What mean ye, that you uſe this Proverb concerning the Land of* Iſrael, *ſaying, The Fathers have eaten ſour grapes, and the Childrens teeth are ſet on edge* *? — Of the ſecond, *David* gives it in his own; not duly attending to the juſtice of this proceeding, where he ſays, *But theſe Sheep, what have they done* †? And that he was ſometimes too haſty in judging of theſe matters appears from his own confeſſion: *Behold, theſe are the ungodly, who proſper in the world, they increaſe in riches.—When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me: until I went into the Sanctuary of God; then underſtood I their end. Surely thou didſt ſet them in ſlippery places: thou caſtedſt them down into deſtruction.—So fooliſh was I, and ignorant: I was as a beaſt before thee* ‡. That is, I underſtood not the courſe of thy juſtice, till I had conſidered the *way* in which an equal Providence muſt neceſſarily be adminiſtered under a *Theocracy*, and the *conſequences* of ſuch an Adminiſtration. For,

III. Even admitting the reality of an *equal* Providence to Particulars in the *Hebrew* State, the adminiſtration of it muſt needs be attended with ſuch circumſtances as ſometimes to occaſion thoſe obſervations of *inequality*. For 1. it appears from the reaſon of the thing, that this adminiſtration did not begin to be exerted in particular caſes till the civil Laws of the Republic had failed of their efficacy. Thus where any crime, as for inſtance diſobedience to Parents, was *public*, it became the object of the civil Tribunal, and is accordingly ordered to be puniſhed by the Judge §. But when *private* and ſecret, then it became the object of Divine vengeance ‖. Now the conſequence of this was, that when the Laws were remiſsly or corruptly adminiſtered, *good* and *ill* would ſometimes happen unequally

* Chap. xviii. ver. 2. † 2 Sam xxiv. 17. ‡ Pſalm lxxiii. 12—22.
§ Exod. xxi. 15, and 17. ‖ Deut. xxvii. 16. and Prov. xxx. 17.

to men. For we are not to ſuppoſe that Providence, in this caſe, generally, interfered till the corrupt adminiſtration itſelf, when ripe for vengeance, had been firſt puniſhed. 2. In this extraordinary adminiſtration, one part of the wicked was ſometimes ſuffered as a ſcourge to the other. 3. The extraordinary Providence to the State might ſometimes claſh with that to Particulars, as in the plague for numbering the people. 4. Sometimes the extraordinary Providence was ſuſpended for a ſeaſon, to bring on a national repentance: But at the ſame time this ſuſpenſion was publicly denounced *. And a very ſevere puniſhment it was, as leaving a State which had not the ſanction of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in a very diſconſolate condition. And this was what occaſioned the complaints of the impatient *Jews*, after they had been ſo long accuſtomed to an extraordinary adminiſtration †.

IV. But the general and full ſolution of the difficulty is this, The common cauſe of theſe complaints aroſe from the GRADUAL WITHDRAWING the extraordinary Providence. Under the *Judges* it was perfectly equal. And during that period of the *Theocracy*, it is remarkable that we hear of no complaints. When the people had rebelliouſly demanded a king, and their folly was ſo far complied with, that God ſuffered the *Theocracy* to be adminiſtered by a *Viceroy*, there was then, as was fitting, a great abatement in the vigour of this *extraordinary* Providence; partly in natural conſequence, God being now farther removed from the immediate adminiſtration; and partly in puniſhment of their rebellion. And ſoon after this it is that we firſt find them beginning to make their obſervations and complaints of *inequality*. From hence to the time of the *Captivity*, the *extraordinary* Providence kept gradually decaying, till on their full re-eſtabliſhment, it intirely ceaſed ‡. For what great reaſons, beſides puniſhment for their crimes; and what conſequences it had

* Iſaiah iii 5. Chap. lix. ver. 2. Chap. lxiv. ver. 7.

† If v. 19. Jerem. xvii. 15. Amos, v. 18. Zeph. i. 12. Malac. ii. 17.

‡ See note [U], at the end of this Book.

on

on the religious ſentiments of the People, will be occaſionally explained as we go along.

But now, let it be obſerved, that though I have here accounted for the *appearances* of an unequal Providence, yet this is *ex abundanti*; the very nature of my general argument evincing, that there muſt needs have been an equal Providence actually adminiſtered: for a People in ſociety, without both a future State and an equal Providence, could have no belief in the moral government of God: And under ſuch circumſtances, it hath been ſhewn, that they could not long ſubſiſt, but muſt fall back again into all the confuſion of a ſavage ſtate. We muſt conclude therefore, that what *appearances* ſoever there may be of inequality in the adminiſtration of Providence, in the early times of the Jewiſh Theocracy, they are *but appearances*: that is, nothing which can really affect ſuch a mode of adminiſtration *. The Adverſaries therefore of the *Divine Legation*, ſuch of them, I mean, who profeſs themſelves Believers, ſhould conſider that, while they oppoſe the reality of an *extraordinary* Providence over the Jewiſh people, they are weakening the evidence for the miracles recorded in the Old Teſtament. But this is the leaſt of their care. One of them, with an aſſurance that hath ſomething in it of a prodigy, affirms, "that the Providence adminiſtered under the *Law* was exactly the ſame kind with that adminiſtered under the *Goſpel* †." How this could be the caſe without impeaching the veracity of God himſelf, as not making good his repeated engagements, this man would do well to conſider before he becomes the ſcorn and contempt of Unbelievers. But as ſuch ſort of men bear worſe the diſgrace of folly than impiety, I ſhall conſider this Portent on its ridiculous ſide only.

Temporal rewards and puniſhments adminiſtered by the hand of God, followed, as a conſequence, from the Jewiſh Government's being *Theocratical*; and an *extraordinary* Providence followed, as a conſequence, from the diſpenſation of temporal rewards and puniſhments. Yet here we have a Regius Profeſſor of Divinity affirming,

* See note [X], at the end of this Book. † Dr. Rutherforth.

That both *temporal Sanctions* and *an extraordinary Providence* are adminiſtered under the *Goſpel* in the very ſame manner they formerly were under the *Law*. In which it is difficult to determine what moſt to admire; his modeſty or his wit. For if it does honour to his wit to maintain concluſions deſtitute of their premiſſes, it as ſtrongly recommends his modeſty to contradict the whole tenour of the New Teſtament. But there is neither end nor meaſure to party-bigotry. Fauſtus, the Manichean, contended that the Jews and Chriſtians got the doctrine of the one only God from the Gentiles. Is this a wilder fancy than what many modern Divines have aſſerted, that the Gentiles got the doctrine of future rewards and puniſhment from the Law of Moſes? Or are either of theſe more extravagant than the folly I am going to expoſe, namely, That *the temporal ſanctions of the* LAW *are transferred into the* GOSPEL? Now, if you ſhould aſk whether the Goſpel claimed to be a *Theocracy*; I ſuppoſe at firſt, they would ſay *no*; till they found the advantage you get over them by this anſwer. And then I make no doubt, they would as readily ſay, *yes*. For what ſhould hinder them? Does the Goſpel diſclaim, in ſtronger terms, its being a TEMPORAL KINGDOM, when Chriſt ſays, *his kingdom was not of this world*, than it diſclaims TEMPORAL SANCTIONS, when it ſays, *Yea, and all that will live godly in Jeſus Chriſt ſhall ſuffer perſecution* *, or than it diſclaims an *extraordinary providence* where it declares that the Jews had *the promiſe of the life that now is*, and the Chriſtians *of that which is to come* †?

But not to ſtretch our conjectures to the lengths theſe men are diſpoſed to go; let us conſider how far they have already gone. They ſay *the temporal ſanctions of the Law are transferred into the Goſpel:* and they prove it by theſe two notable texts.

The firſt is of St. PAUL, "Children, obey your parents in all "things: for this is right. *Honour thy Father and thy Mother* "(which is the firſt commandment with promiſe) that it may be "well with thee, and thou mayeſt live long on the earth ‡." All

* 2 Tim. iii 12. † 1 Tim. iv. 8. ‡ Eph. vi. 2, 3.

that

that I here find *transferred*, from the Law to the Goſpel, are the *words* of the fifth Commandment. For the Apoſtle having ſaid, *Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right*; he ſupports his exhortation by a quotation from the Decalogue; juſt as any modern preacher, but This, would do, without ever dreaming of *temporal ſanctions* in the Goſpel; the obſervation the Apoſtle makes upon it being in theſe words—*which is the firſt commandment with promiſe*; as much as to ſay, "You may ſee, from this circumſtance, how very acceptable the performance of this duty is, to God:" The only inference which common ſenſe authoriſes us to draw from it being what, in another place, he thus expreſſes,—*Godlineſs* [or the obſervance of God's commands] *is profitable unto all things, having the promiſe of the life that now is* [under the LAW] *and of that which is to come* [under the GOSPEL].

The other colour for this clandeſtine *transfer* of *temporal ſanctions*, is from St. PETER: "Who is he that will harm you, if you be followers of that which is good *?" So ſays the Apoſtle; and ſo too ſaid his Maſter; to whoſe words Peter alludes, *Fear not them which kill the body: but rather fear him which is able to deſtroy body and ſoul in hell* †. But as if the Apoſtle had it in his thoughts to guard againſt this abſurd viſion of *temporal ſanctions*, he immediately ſubjoins—"But, and if ye ſuffer for righteouſneſs ſake, happy are ye."

Our Doctor having ſo well made out this point, we need not wonder at his confidence, when he aſſures us, *that there is full as good evidence of an extraordinary providence under the Chriſtian Diſpenſation as under the Jewiſh*. This though the language of Toland, Tindal, Collins, and the whole tribe of Free-thinkers, yet comes ſo unexpected from a Regius Profeſſor of Divinity, that we ſhould be very careful not to miſtake his meaning.

If, by *full as good*, he would inſinuate that an *extraordinary providence* was adminiſtered under both Diſpenſations, I ſhall be in pain for his intellects: if he would inſinuate, that an *extraordinary*

* 1 Pet. iii. 13. † Matt. x. 28.

providence

providence was adminiſtered in neither, I ſhall be in pain for his Profeſſorſhip. But he is in pain for nothing; as the reader may perceive by his manner of ſupporting this impertinent paradox. His proofs follow with equal eaſe and force.—*I ſay unto you, that if two of you ſhall agree on earth, as touching any thing that they ſhall aſk, it ſhall be done for them of my Father which is in Heaven* *.—*And every one that hath forſaken houſes, or brethren, or ſiſters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's ſake, ſhall receive an hundredfold, and ſhall inherit everlaſting life* †.—*Take therefore no thought ſaying, What ſhall we eat? or what ſhall we drink? or wherewithal ſhall we be cloathed? for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all theſe things. But ſeek ye firſt the Kingdom of God and his righteouſneſs, and all theſe things ſhall be added unto you* ‡. And again, *If ye aſk any thing in my name, I will give it* §.—" No more, my moſt wiſe Friend! Thou haſt my wonder; that's enough. My underſtanding ſhall come after;" ſaid, once on a time, a plain good man to a profound philoſopher like this.

Now not to repeat again the illogical bravado of taking and ſupporting a *concluſion* divorced from its *premiſſes*; ſuch as is the contending for temporal ſanctions and an extraordinary providence where there was no Theocracy, from whence they could be derived; we have here a Profeſſor of Divinity who has his elements of Scripture-interpretation yet to learn. The firſt rule of which is, 1. " That *all*, does not ſignify *all ſimply*, but *all of one kind*; and, of what kind, the context muſt direct us to determine." When therefore, the members of Chriſt's *ſpiritual Kingdom* are promiſed they ſhall obtain *all* they aſk, this *all* muſt needs be confined to *things ſpiritual*. Now when here we find thoſe, who are bid to leave their temporal poſſeſſions and propagate the Goſpel, have the promiſe of a hundredfold, are we to ſeek for the performance, in Paleſtine, or in a *better Country* ||? Again, Where under the *Law*, we read of *temporal Promiſes*, we read likewiſe that they were fulfilled. Where, under

* Matth. xviii. 19. † Matth. xix. 29. ‡ Matth vi. 31. & ſeq.
§ John xiv. 14. || Heb. xi. 16.

the

the GOSPEL, we read that *thoſe who, for the ſake of Chriſt, forſake houſes, or brethren, or ſiſters, or father or mother, or wife or children, or lands, ſhall receive an hundredfold*; What are we there to look for? For the good things of this world, which this ſharp-ſighted Doctor is ſo eager and intent to find?—Now admit there might be no great inconvenience in receiving a hundred *houſes* for one; would not a hundred *wives* a little embarras his Profeſſorſhip? And as to the *houſe and land*—Where did he learn that this was literally fulfilled, even to thoſe who had the beſt title to them if they were literally promiſed, I mean the APOSTLES, yet theſe we always meet on foot; ſtrangers upon earth; and without either houſe or home. He, who then paſſed for a learned Apoſtle, once at Rome, indeed, got a warm *houſe* over his head; yet let us not forget that it was but a *hired* one. Here, in this Capital of the World, he received all who came to him. But though a good Divine, as times then went, he never roſe to a Regius Profeſſorſhip.

The ſecond elementary rule of interpretation is, "That all the promiſes of *extraordinary* bleſſings, made to the firſt propagators of the Goſpel, are not to be underſtood as extending to their ſucceſſors of all Ages, or to the Church in general." To apply this likewiſe to the thing in queſtion. If it ſhould be admitted that great *temporal bleſſings* were promiſed to the firſt diſciples of Chriſt, it will not follow that their ſucceſſors had a claim to them, any more than they had to their *ſpiritual gifts and graces*, ſuch as the power of working miracles, propheſying, ſpeaking with tongues, &c. Becauſe as divine Wiſdom ſaw theſe latter to be neceſſary for the diſcharge of their peculiar function; ſo divine Goodneſs might be graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow the Other on them, as the reward of their abundant Faith, and ſuperior Courage in the day of trial, when the Powers of this world were bent on their deſtruction. But this (bleſſed be God) is neither the learned Profeſſor's caſe, nor mine. The worſt that has befallen me in the defence of Religion, is only the railings of the Vile and Impotent: and the worſt that is likely to befal him is only the ridicule of all the reſt. Happy had it been for himſelf and much

much happier for his hearers, had our Profeſſor's modeſty diſpoſed him rather to ſeek inſtruction from thoſe who have gone before, than to impart it to thoſe who are to come after. HOOKER has ſo admirably expoſed this very ſpecific folly which our Doctor has run into, of arguing againſt his ſenſes, in making the Diſpenſation of Providence under the *Moſaic* and *Chriſtian* Oeconomies to be the ſame, that I cannot do him better ſervice than to tranſcribe the words of that divine ornament of the Engliſh Prieſthood.—" Shall " we then hereupon ARGUE EVEN AGAINST OUR OWN EXPERIENCE " AND KNOWLEDGE? Shall we ſeek to perſuade men that, of neceſ- " ſity, it is with us as it was with them, that becauſe God is ours, " in all reſpects as much as theirs, therefore, either no ſuch way " of direction hath been at any time, or if it have been, it doth " *ſtill continue* in the Church? or if the ſame do not continue, that " yet it muſt be, at the leaſt, ſupplied by ſome ſuch means as " pleaſeth us to account of equal force? A more dutiful and reli- " gious way for us, were to admire the Wiſdom of God which " ſhineth in the beautiful variety of things, but moſt in the manifold " and yet harmonious diſſimilitude of thoſe ways, whereby his " Church upon earth is guided from age to age throughout all the " generations of men *."

But this was one of the charitable expedients employed to ſet me right, and to prevent the diſgrace of ſcribbling much to no purpoſe. However, as in a work of this nature, which partakes ſo much of the Hiſtory of the human mind, I may be allowed occaſionally, and as it falls in my way, to give as well, examples of its more uncommon degrees of depravity and folly, as of its improvements and excellencies, I ſhall go on. My conſtant friend Dr. Stebbing proceeds another way to work, but all for the ſame good end. He deſires me and my reader to conſider, " what it was that Moſes undertook; " and what was the true end of his Miſſion. It was to carry the " children of Iſrael out of Egypt, and put them in poſſeſſion of the " Land of Canaan, in execution of the Covenant made with Abra-

* Eccl. Pol. b. iii. ſec. 10.

" ham.

" ham. The work in the very NATURE of it *required* the admi-
" niſtration of an *extraordinary* Providence; of which it OUGHT
" THEREFORE TO BE PRESUMED that Moſes had both the *aſſurance*
" and *experience:* otherwiſe he would have engaged in a very MAD
" undertaking, and the people would have been AS MAD in follow-
" ing him. THIS SHORT HINT POINTS OUT THE TRUE INTERNAL
" EVIDENCE of *Moſes's Divine Legation*, and this evidence *has no*
" *ſort of dependence* upon the belief or diſbelief of the doctrine of a
" future ſtate. For ſuppoſing (what is the truth) that the Iſraelites
" did believe it; what could this belief effect? It might carry them
" to Heaven, and would do ſo if they made a proper uſe of it, but
" it could not put them in poſſeſſion of the Land of Canaan. Mr.
" Warburton therefore has plainly miſtaken his point."

This intimation of my miſtake is kind: and I ſhould have taken his *hint*, as *ſhort* as it is, but for the following reaſons:

1. This *hint* would ſerve the Mufti full as well, to prove the *Divine Legation of Mahomet:* for thus we may ſuppoſe he would argue:—" Mahomet's work was not like Moſes's, the ſubdual of a ſmall tract of Country, poſſeſſed by ſeven Tribes or Nations, with a force of ſome hundred thouſand followers; but the conqueſt of almoſt all Aſia, with a handful of Banditti. Now *this work*, ſays the learned Mahometan, *in the very nature of it, required the adminiſtration of an extraordinary providence, of which* IT OUGHT THEREFORE TO BE PRESUMED, *that Mahomet had both the aſſurance and experience; otherwiſe he would have engaged in a very mad undertaking, and the people would have been as mad in following him.*"

Thus hath the learned Doctor taught the Mufti how to reaſon. The worſt of it is, that I, for whom the kindneſs was principally intended, cannot profit by it, the argument lying expoſed to ſo terrible a retortion. To this the Doctor replies, that the caſes are widely different: and that I myſelf allow them to be different, for that I hold, the Legation of Moſes to be a true one; and the Legation of Mahomet, an impoſture.—Riſum teneatis, Amici!

But there is another reaſon why I can make nothing of this gracious *hint*. It is becauſe I propoſed to PROVE (and not, as he ſays I ought to have done, TO PRESUME upon) the Divinity of Moſes's miſſion, by an *internal argument*. Indeed he tells me, that if I be for *proving*, he has *pointed out* ſuch a one to me. He ſays ſo, 'tis true: but in ſo ſaying, he only ſhews his ignorance of what is meant by an INTERNAL ARGUMENT. An internal argument is ſuch a one as takes for its medium ſome notorious Fact, or circumſtance, in the frame and conſtitution of a Religion, *not in conteſt*; and from thence, by neceſſary conſequence, deduces the truth of a fact ſupported by teſtimony which *is in conteſt*. Thus, from the notorious Fact of the omiſſion of a future State in Moſes's inſtitution of Law and Religion, I deduce his *Divine Legation*.

But the learned Artiſt himſelf ſeems conſcious that the ware he would put into my hands is indeed no better than a counterfeit piece of trumpery; and ſo far from being an *internal argument*, that it is no argument at all: For he tells us, IT OUGHT THEREFORE TO BE PRESUMED, *that Moſes had both the aſſurance and experience* that God governed the Iſraelites by an extraordinary Providence.

But what follows is ſuch unaccountable jargon!—*For ſuppoſing the Iſraelites did believe a future State, what would this belief effect? It might carry them to Heaven, but it could not put them in poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan.* This looks as if the learned Doctor had ſuppoſed that, from the truth of this aſſertion, *That no civil Society under a common Providence could ſubſiſt without a future ſtate*, I had inferred, that, *with a future ſtate*, Society would be able to work wonders.—What efficacy a future ſtate hath, whether little or much, affects not my argument any otherwiſe than by the oblique tendency it hath to ſupport the reaſoning: and I urged it thus;—"Had not the Jews been under an *extraordinary Providence*, at that period when Moſes led them out to take poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan, they were moſt unfit to bear the want of the doctrine of a *future ſtate:*" Which obſervation I ſupported by the caſe of Odin's followers, and Mahomet's;

Mahomet's; who, in the ſame circumſtances of making conqueſts, and ſeeking new habitations, had this Doctrine ſedulouſly inculcated to them, by their reſpective Leaders. And the hiſtories of both theſe Nations inform us, that nothing ſo much contributed to the rapidity of their ſucceſſes as the enthuſiaſm which that Doctrine inſpired.

And yet, to be ſure, the Doctor never ſaid a livelier thing, who is celebrated for ſaying many, than when he aſked,—*What could this belief effect? It might carry them to Heaven; but it could not put them in poſſeſſion of the Land of Canaan.* Now unluckily, like moſt of theſe witty things, when too nearly inſpected, we find it to be juſt the reverſe of the truth. The *belief* could never *carry them to Heaven*, and yet was abundantly ſufficient, under ſuch a leader as Moſes, *to put them in poſſeſſion of the land of Canaan.* The Arabians' *belief* of a future ſtate could never, in the opinion at leaſt of our orthodox Doctor, carry them to Heaven; yet he muſt allow it enabled them to take and keep poſſeſſion of a great part of Europe and Aſia. But the Doctor's head was running on the efficacy of the *Chriſtian Faith*, when he talked of *belief carrying men to heaven.*—Yet who knows, but when he gave the early Jews the knowledge of a *future ſtate*, he gave them the *Chriſtian faith* into the bargain?

SECT. V.

THUS we ſee that an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE WAS THE NECESSARY CONSEQUENCE OF A THEOCRACY; and that this Providence is repreſented in Scripture to have been really adminiſtered. TEMPORAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, therefore, (the effects of this providence) and *not future*, MUST NEEDS BE THE SANCTION of their Law and Religion.

Having thus prepared the ground, and laid the foundation, I go on to ſhew that future Rewards and Puniſhments, which COULD NOT BE THE SANCTION of the Moſaic Diſpenſation, WERE NOT TAUGHT in it at all: and that, in conſequence of this Omiſſion,

the PEOPLE had not the doctrine of a future ſtate for many ages. And here my arguments will be chiefly directed againſt the believing part of my opponents; no Deiſt *, that I know of, ever pretending that the doctrine of a future ſtate was to be found in the Law.

Moſes delivered to the Iſraelites a complete Digeſt of Law and Religion: but, to fit it to the nature of a Theocratic Government, he gave it perfectly incorporated. And, for the obſervance of the intire Inſtitution, he added the ſanction of rewards and puniſhments: both of which we have ſhewn to be neceſſary for the ſupport of a Republic: and yet, that civil Society, as ſuch, can adminiſter only one †.

Now in the Jewiſh Republic, both the rewards and puniſhments promiſed by heaven were TEMPORAL only. Such as health, long life, peace, plenty, and dominion, &c. Diſeaſes, immature death, war, famine, want, ſubjection, and captivity, &c. And in no one place of the Moſaic Inſtitutes is there the leaſt mention, or any intelligible hint, of the rewards and puniſhments of another life.

When SOLOMON had reſtored the integrity of Religion; and, to the regulated purity of Worſhip, had added the utmoſt magnificence; in his DEDICATION of the new-built Temple, he addreſſes a long prayer to the God of Iſrael, conſiſting of one ſolemn petition for the continuance of the OLD COVENANT made by the miniſtry of Moſes. He gives an exact account of all its parts, and explains at large the SANCTION of the Jewiſh Law and Religion. And here, as in the writings of Moſes, we find nothing but TEMPORAL rewards and puniſhments; without the leaſt hint or intimation of a future ſtate.

The holy PROPHETS ſpeak of no other. Thus Iſaiah: "Then "ſhall he give the rain of thy ſeed that thou ſhalt ſow the ground "withal, and bread of the increaſe of the earth, and it ſhall be fat "and plenteous; and in that day ſhall thy cattle feed in large "paſtures.

* See note [Y], at the end of this Book.

† *i. e.* Puniſhments. See the firſt vol. p. 58.

" paſtures.—And there ſhall be upon every high mountain, and " upon every high hill, rivers and ſtreams of water*." And Jeremiah: " I will ſurely conſume them, ſaith the Lord; there " ſhall be no grapes on the vine, nor figs on the fig-tree, and the " leaf ſhall fade, and the things that I have given them ſhall paſs " away from them.—I will ſend ſerpents and cockatrices amongſt " you, which will not be charmed, and they ſhall bite you, ſaith " the Lord†." Nay ſo little known, in theſe times, was any other kind of rewards and puniſhments to the Jewiſh People, that, when the Prophets foretell that NEW Diſpenſation, by which, *life and immortality were brought to light*, they expreſs even thoſe future rewards and puniſhments under the image of the preſent. Thus Zechariah, propheſying of the times of CHRIST, deſcribes the puniſhment attendant on a refuſal of the terms of Grace, under the ideas of the Jewiſh Oeconomy: " And it ſhall be that whoſo " will not *come up* of *all the families of the earth* unto *Jeruſalem*, to " worſhip the *King* the Lord of Hoſts, even upon them SHALL BE " NO RAIN‡." I would have thoſe men well conſider this, who perſiſt in thinking " that the early Jews had the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, though Moſes taught it not expreſsly to them; and then tell me why Zechariah, when propheſying of the Goſpel-times, ſhould chuſe to expreſs theſe *future* rewards and puniſhments under the image of the *preſent*?

Indeed, were it not for the amazing prejudices which have obtained on this ſubject, a writer's pains to ſhew that a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments made no part of the Moſaic Diſpenſation, would appear as abſurd to every intelligent reader, as his would be who ſhould employ many formal arguments to prove that Sir Iſaac Newton's *Theory of Light and Colours* is not to be found in Ariſtotle's books *de Cœlo & de Coloribus*. I will therefore for once preſume ſo much on the privilege of Common Senſe, as to ſuppoſe, the impartial reader may be now willing to confeſs, that the doctrine of Life

* Chap. xxx. ver. 23, 25.

† Chap. viii. ver. 13, 17.

‡ Chap. xiv. ver. 17.

and

and Immortality was not yet known to a people while they were *ſitting in darkneſs, and in the region and ſhadow of death* *; and go on to other matters that have more need to be explained.

II.

I ſhall ſhew then, in the next place, that this OMISSION was not accidental; or of a thing which Moſes did not well underſtand: but that, on the contrary, it was a deſigned omiſſion; and of a thing well known by him to be of high importance to Society.

I. That the doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments was ſtudiouſly omitted, may appear from ſeveral circumſtances in the book of Geneſis. For the hiſtory of Moſes may be divided into two periods; from the Creation to his Miſſion; and from his Miſſion to the delivering up his command to Joſhua: The firſt was written by him in quality of HISTORIAN; the ſecond, of LEGISLATOR; in both of which he preſerves an equal ſilence concerning the doctrine of a future ſtate.

1. In the hiſtory of the *Fall of Man* it is to be obſerved, that he mentions only the inſtrument of the agent, the SERPENT; not the agent himſelf, the DEVIL: and the reaſon is plain; there was a cloſe connection between that agency,—The ſpiritual effects of the Fall,—the work of Redemption,—and the doctrine of a future State. If you ſay, the connection was not ſo cloſe but that the Agent might have been mentioned without any more of his hiſtory than the temptation to the *Fall*; I reply, it is true it might; but not without danger of giving countenance to the impious doctrine of *Two Principles*, which at this time prevailed throughout the Pagan world. What but theſe important conſiderations could be the cauſe of the omiſſion †? when it is ſo evident that the knowledge of this grand enemy of our welfare would have been the likelieſt cure of Pagan ſuperſtitions, as teaching men to eſteem of Idolatry no otherwiſe than as a mere diabolical illuſion. And in fact we find, that

* Matth. iv. 16. † See note [Z], at the end of this Book.

when

when the Iſraelites were taught, by the later Prophets, to conſider it in this light, we hear no more of their Idolatries. Hence we ſee, that the folly of thoſe who, with *Collins*, would have a mere ſerpent only to be underſtood, is juſt equal to theirs who, with the *Cabbaliſts*, would have that ſerpent a mere Allegory.

2. In the hiſtory of Enoch's *tranſlation* * to Heaven †, there is ſo ſtudied an obſcurity that ſeveral of the Rabbins, as Aben Ezra and Jarchi, fond as they are of finding a future ſtate in the Pentateuch, interpret this tranſlation as only ſignifying an immature death. *And Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him.* How different from the other hiſtory of the tranſlation of Elijah? "And "it came to paſs when the Lord would take up Elijah into Heaven "by a whirlwind, that Elijah went with Eliſha from Gilgal, *&c.*— "And it came to paſs as they ſtill went on and talked, that behold "there appeared a chariot of fire, and horſes of fire, and parted them "both aſunder, and Elijah went up with a whirlwind into "Heaven ‡." But the reaſon of this difference is evident: When the latter hiſtory was written, it was thought expedient to make a preparation for the dawning of a *future ſtate* of reward and puniſhment, which in the time of Moſes had been highly improper. The reflections of an eminent Critic on this occaſion, will ſhew how little he penetrated into the true deſign of this Oeconomy. "Mirum eſt "Moſem rem tantam, ſi modo immortalem Henochum factum "CREDIDIT, tam obiter, tamque obſcure, quaſi EAM LATERE "VELLET, perſtrinxiſſe. Fortè cum hæc ex antiquiſſimis monu- "mentis exſcriberet, nihil præter ea quæ nobis tradidit invenit, qui- "bus aliquid adjicere religio fuit §." For Moſes both knew and *believed* the Immortality of Enoch, and purpoſely obſcured the fact, from whence it might have been collected. But what is moſt ſingular in this reflection is, that the learned Commentator, to aggravate the obſcurity, ſays it *is as obſcure, as if he purpoſely deſigned to hide*

* Gen. v. 24. † Heb. xi. 5. ‡ 2 Kings ii. 1, 11.

§ Vid. *Clericum* in Gen. v. 24.

it,

it, ſuppoſing ſuch a deſign to be the higheſt improbability; which was indeed the fact, and is the true ſolution of the difficulty.

3. In his hiſtory of the Patriarchs, he entirely omits, or throws into ſhade, the accounts of thoſe Revelations, with which, as we learn from the writers of the New Teſtament, ſome of them were actually favoured, concerning the Redemption of mankind. Of theſe favours we ſhall give ere long a great and noble inſtance, in the caſe of ABRAHAM, who, as we are aſſured by JESUS himſelf, *rejoiced to ſee* CHRIST's *day, and ſaw it, and was glad.*

From whence therefore could all this ſtudied caution ariſe, but to keep out of ſight that doctrine, which, for ends truly worthy of the divine Wiſdom, he had omitted in his Inſtitutes of Law and Religion? This ſhews the weakneſs of that evaſion, which would reconcile the OMISSION, to the People's KNOWLEDGE of the doctrine, by ſuppoſing they had been ſo well inſtructed by the Patriarchs, that Moſes had no occaſion to ſay any thing farther on that ſubject.

Let me obſerve by the way, that theſe conſiderations are more than a thouſand topical arguments to prove, that Moſes was the real author of the book of Geneſis. But the proof deduced therefrom will be drawn out and explained at large hereafter.

II. That the importance of this Doctrine to Society was well underſtood by Moſes, may appear from a particular proviſion in his Inſtitutes (beſides that general one of an extraordinary providence), evidently made to oppoſe to the inconvenient conſequences of the OMISSION.

We have ſhewn at large, in the firſt volume, that under a common or unequal providence, civil Government could not be ſupported without a Religion teaching a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment. And it is the great purpoſe of this work to prove, that the Moſaic Religion wanting that doctrine, the Jews muſt REALLY have enjoyed that equal providence, under which holy Scripture repreſents them to have lived: and then, no tranſgreſſor eſcaping puniſhment,

puniſhment, nor any obſerver of the law miſſing his reward*, human affairs might be kept in good order, without the doctrine of a future State.

Yet ſtill the violence of irregular paſſions would make ſome men of ſtronger complexions ſuperior to all the fear of *perſonal temporal evil.* To lay hold therefore on Theſe, and to gain a due aſcendant over the moſt determined, the puniſhments, in this Inſtitution, are extended to the POSTERITY of wicked men; which the inſtinctive fondneſs of Parents to their offspring would make terrible even to thoſe who had hardened themſelves into an inſenſibility of perſonal puniſhment: *I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, viſiting the iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me* †.

Now that this puniſhment was only to ſupply the want of a *Future ſtate* is evident from hence ‡: Towards the concluſion of this extraordinary Oeconomy, when GOD, by the later Prophets, reveals his purpoſe of giving them a NEW *Diſpenſation* §, in which a Future ſtate of reward and puniſhment was to be *brought to light*, it is then declared in the moſt expreſs manner, that he will abrogate the Law of puniſhing Children for the crimes of their Parents. JEREMIAH, ſpeaking of this *new* Diſpenſation, ſays: "In *thoſe days* they ſhall "ſay no more, The Fathers have eaten a ſour grape, and the "Children's teeth are ſet on edge: but every *one ſhall die for his* "*own iniquity*, every man that eateth the ſour grape, his teeth "ſhall be ſet on edge. Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord, that "I will make a NEW COVENANT with the Houſe of Iſrael,—NOT "according to the Covenant that I made with their Fathers in the "day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land "of Egypt ‖," *&c.* And EZEKIEL, ſpeaking of the ſame times,

* See note [AA], at the end of this Book.
† See note [BB], at the end of thié Book.
‡ See note [CC], at the end of this Book.
§ See note [DD], at the end of this Book.
‖ Chap. xxxi. 29—33.

ſays: "I will give them one hesrt, and will put a NEW ſpirit "within you, &c.—But as for them, whoſe heart walketh after "the heart of their abominable things—*I will recompenſe their way* "UPON THEIR OWN HEADS, ſaith the Lord God*." And again: "What mean ye, that you uſe this Proverb concerning the land "of Iſrael, ſaying, The Fathers have eaten ſour grapes, and the "Childrens' teeth are ſet on edge†? As I live, ſaith the Lord "God, Ye ſhall *not have occaſion any more to uſe this Proverb in* "*Iſrael*. Behold all ſouls are mine; as the ſoul of the Father, ſo "alſo the ſoul of the Son is mine: *the ſoul that ſinneth, it ſhall* "*die*‡."

And yet (to ſhew more plainly that the *abrogation* of the Law was ſolely owing to this *new* Diſpenſation) the ſame Prophets, when their ſubject is the *preſent* Jewiſh Oeconomy, ſpeak of this very Law as ſtill in force. Thus JEREMIAH: "Thou ſheweſt loving kind-"neſs unto thouſands, and *recompenſeſt the iniquity of the Fathers* "*into the boſom of their Children* after them §." And HOSEA: "*Seeing thou haſt forgotten the Law of thy God, I will alſo forget* "*thy Children* ‖."

From all this I conclude, That, whoever was the real Author of what goes under the name of the *Law of Moſes*, was at leaſt well acquainted with the *importance* of the doctrine of a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment; and provided well for the *want* of it.

But the blindneſs of Infidelity is here moſt deplorable. The Deiſts are not content with condemning this Law of injuſtice, but will accuſe the Diſpenſation itſelf of inconſiſtence; pretending that the Prophets have directly contradicted Moſes in their manner of denouncing puniſhment.

It is indeed the ſtanding triumph of infidelity. *But let us return* (ſays SPINOZA) *to the Prophets, whoſe diſcordant opinions we have undertaken to lay open.*——*The* xviiith *chap. of* EZEKIEL *does not ſeem*

* Chap. xi. ver. 19—21. † See note [EE], at the end of this Book.
‡ Chap. xviii. ver. 2—4. § Chap. xxxii. ver. 18. ‖ Chap. iv. ver, 6.

to

to agree with the 7th ver. *of the* xxxivth *chap. of* EXODUS, *nor with the* 18th ver. *of the* xxxiid chap. of JEREMIAH, *&c* *.—" There " are ſeveral miſtakes (ſays TINDAL) crept into the Old Teſta- " ment, where there's ſcarce a chapter which gives any hiſtorical " account of matters, but there are ſome things in it which could " not be there originally.—It muſt be owned, that the ſame ſpirit " (I dare not call it a ſpirit of cruelty) does not alike prevail " throughout the Old Teſtament; the nearer we come to the times " of the Goſpel, the milder it appears: for though God declares in " the Decalogue, that he is *a jealous God, viſiting the iniquity of the* " *parents upon the children to the third and fourth Generation*, and " accordingly Achan, with all his family, was deſtroyed for his " ſingle crime; yet the Lord afterwards ſays, *The ſoul that ſinneth* " *it ſhall die; the ſon ſhall not bear the iniquity of the father* †, " &c ‡."

I. Let us ſee then what theſe men have to ſay on the firſt point, the *injuſtice of the Law*. They ſet out on a falſe ſuppoſition, that this method of puniſhment was part of an univerſal Religion given by God as the Creator and Governor of mankind: whereas it is only part of a civil Inſtitute, given by him to *one People*, as their *tutelary God* and *civil Governor*. Now we know it to be the practice of all States to puniſh the crime of Leſe Majeſty in this manner. And to render it juſt, no more is required than that it was in the compact (as it certainly was here) on men's free entrance into Society.

When a *guilty* Poſterity ſuffered for the crimes of their Parents, they were deprived of their natural unconditional rights; when an *innocent*, they only forfeited their conditional and civil: But as this method of puniſhment was adminiſtered with more lenity in the

* —Sed ad Prophetas revertamur, quorum diſcrepantes opiniones etiam notare ſuſcepimus.—Cap. ſaltem xviii. Ezech. non videtur convenire cum verſu 7. cap. xxxiv. Exod. nec cum ver. 18. Cap. xxxii. Jer. &c. Tract. Theologico-Pol. p. 27, 28.

† *Chriſtianity as old as the Creation*, p. 240, 241.

‡ See note [FF], at the end of this Book.

Jewiſh Republic, ſo it was with infinitely more rectitude, than in any other. For although God allowed capital puniſhment to be inflicted for the crime of *leſe majeſty*, on the *Perſon of the offender*, by the delegated adminiſtration of the Law; yet concerning his *Family* or *Poſterity* he reſerved the inquiſition of the crime to himſelf, and expreſsly forbid the Magiſtrate to meddle with it, in the common courſe of juſtice. *The Fathers ſhall not be put to death for the Children, neither ſhall the Children be put to death for the Fathers: every man ſhall be put to death for his own ſin* *. And we find the Magiſtrate careful not to intrench on this part of God's juriſdiction. We are told, that as ſoon as Amaziah the ſon of Joaſh king of Judah became firmly eſtabliſhed in the throne, *He ſlew his ſervants which had ſlain the King his Father. But the* CHILDREN *of the murderers he ſlew not: according unto that which is written in the book of the law of Moſes* [Deut. xxiv. 16.] *wherein the Lord commanded ſaying, The Fathers ſhall not be put to death for the Children, &c* †. Yet ſuch hath been the perverſity or ſtupidity of Freethinking, that this very text itſelf hath been charged with contradicting the xxth chapter of EXODUS. Now God's appropriating to himſelf the execution of the Law in queſtion would abundantly juſtify the equity of it, even ſuppoſing it had been given by him as part of an *univerſal religion*. For why was the Magiſtrate forbidden to imitate God's method of puniſhing, but becauſe no power leſs than omniſcient could, in all caſes, keep clear of injuſtice in ſuch an inquiſition?

But God not only reſerved this method of puniſhment to himſelf, but has graciouſly condeſcended to inform us, by his Prophets, *after what manner* he was pleaſed to adminiſter it. YOUR INIQUITIES (ſays he) AND THE INIQUITIES OF YOUR FATHERS TOGETHER, *which have burnt incenſe upon the mountains, and blaſphemed me upon the hills: therefore will I meaſure their former work into their boſom* ‡. And again: "But ye ſay, Why? doth not the Son bear the iniquity "of the Father? When the Son hath done that which is lawful and "right, and hath kept all my ſtatutes, and hath done them, he ſhall

* Deut. xxiv. 16. † 2 Kings xiv. 5, 6. ‡ Iſ. lxv. 7.

"ſurely

" ſurely live.—But when the Righteous turneth away from his " righteouſneſs and committeth iniquity—ſhall he live *?"

So much for that caſe in which the Poſterity were *iniquitous*, and ſuffered puniſhment, in the ſtrict and proper ſenſe of the word. But doubtleſs, an innocent Poſterity were ſometimes puniſhed, according to the denunciation of this Law, for the crimes of their wicked Fathers †; as is done by modern States, in attaint of blood and confiſcation: and this, with the higheſt equity in both caſes.

In our Gothic Conſtitutions, the throne being the fountain of honour and ſource of property, *Lands* and *Titles* deſcend *from it*, and were held as FIEFS *of it*, under perpetual obligation of military and civil ſervices. Hence the LAWS OF FORFEITURE for high treaſon ‡, the moſt violent breach of the condition on which thoſe *fiefs* were granted. Nor was there any injuſtice in the forfeiture of what was acquired by no natural right, but by civil compact, how much ſoever the confiſcation might affect an innocent poſterity.

The ſame principles operated under a Theocracy. God ſupported the Iſraelites in Judea, by an extraordinary adminiſtration of his providence. The conſequence of which were great temporal bleſſings to which they had no natural claim; given them on condition of obedience. Nothing therefore could be more equitable than, on the violation of that condition, to withdraw thoſe extraordinary bleſſings from the Children of a Father thus offending. How then can the Deiſt charge this Law with injuſtice? ſince a Poſterity when *innocent* was affected only in their civil conditional rights; and, when deprived of thoſe which were natural and unconditional, were always guilty.

From all this it appears, that the excellent GROTIUS himſelf had a very crude and imperfect notion of the whole matter, when he reſolved the juſtice of it intirely into God's ſovereign right over his

* Ezek. xviii. 19 and 24. And ſee note [GG], at the end of this Book.

† This appears from the riſe of that proverb in Iſrael, *The Fathers have eaten ſour grapes, and the Childrens teeth are ſet on edge.*

‡ See note [HH], at the end of this Book.

creatures.

creatures. " Deus quidem in lege Hebræis data paternam impieta-
" tem in poſteros ſe vindicaturum minatur : ſed ipſe Jus Dominii
" pleniſſimum habet, ut in res noſtras, ita in vitam noſtram, ut
" munus ſuum, quod ſine ulla cauſa & quovis tempore auferre cui-
" vis, quando vult, poteſt *."

II. As to the ſecond point, the charge of *Contradiction in the Diſpenſation*, we now ſee, that, on the contrary, theſe different declarations of God's manner of puniſhing in two ſo diſtant Periods, are the MOST DIVINE INSTANCE of conſtancy and uniformity in the manifeſtations of eternal Juſtice: So far are they from any indication of a *milder or ſeverer Spirit*, as Tyndal with equal inſolence and folly hath objected to Revelation. For while a *future ſtate* was kept hid from the Jews, there was abſolute need of ſuch a Law to reſtrain the more daring Spirits, by working on their inſtincts; or, as Cicero expreſſes it—ut caritas liberorum amiciores Parentes Reipublicæ redderet. But when a doctrine was *brought to light* which held them up, and continued them after death, the objects of divine juſtice †, it had then no farther uſe; and was therefore reaſonably to be aboliſhed with the reſt of the judicial Laws, peculiar to the Moſaic Diſpenſation. But theſe men have taken it into their heads (and what comes ſlowly in, will go ſlowly out) that it was repealed for its *injuſtice*; though another reaſon be as plainly intimated by the Prophets, as the circumſtances of thoſe times would permit; and ſo plainly by JEREMIAH, that none but ſuch heads could either not ſee or not acknowledge it. In his thirty-firſt chapter, foretelling the advent of the NEW Diſpenſation, he expreſsly ſays, this Law ſhall be revoked: IN THOSE DAYS *they ſhall ſay no more, The Fathers have eaten a ſour grape, and the Childrens teeth are ſet on edge. But every one ſhall die for his own iniquity* ‡. Yet, in the very next chapter, ſpeaking of the OLD Diſpenſation, under which they then lived, he as expreſsly declares the Law to be ſtill in force. *When I had deli-*

* *De Jure Bel. & Pac.* vol. ii. p. 593. Ed. Barbeyrac, Amſt. 1720.

† See note [II], at the end of this Book. ‡ Ver. 29, 30.

vered

vered the evidence of the purchaſe unto Baruch, I prayed unto the Lord, ſaying,—Thou ſheweſt loving kindneſs unto thouſands, and recompenſeſt the iniquity of the fathers into the boſom of their Children after them *. Is this like a man who had forgot himſelf? or who ſuſpected the Law of cruelty or injuſtice?

But the ignorance of Free-thinking was here unaffected; and indeed the more excuſable, as the matter had of old perplexed both Jews and Chriſtians. The Synagogue was ſo ſcandalized at EZEKIEL's Declarations againſt this mode of puniſhment, that they deliberated a long time whether he ſhould not be thrown out of the Canon, for contradicting MOSES in ſo open a manner †. And Sentence had at laſt paſt upon him, but that one *Chananias* promiſed to reconcile the two Prophets. How he kept his word, is not known, for there is nothing of his extant upon the ſubject; only we are told that he approved himſelf a man of honour, and, with great labour and ſtudy, at length did the buſineſs ‡.

ORIGEN was ſo perplexed with the different aſſertions § of theſe two Prophets, that he could find no better way of reconciling them than by having recourſe to his *allegorical* fanaticiſm, and ſuppoſing the words of the firſt to be a Parable or Myſtic ſpeech; which, however, he would not pretend to decipher. This learned Father, having quoted ſome pagan Oracles intimating that Children were puniſhed for the crimes of their Forefathers, goes on in this manner: "How "much more equitable is what our Scriptures ſay on this point? "*The Fathers ſhall not be put to death for the Children, neither ſhall* "*the Children be put to death for the Fathers: every man ſhall be put*

* Ver. 16 and 18.

† Les Juifs diſent qu'Ezechiel etoit ſerviteur de Jérémie, & que le Sanhedrin delibera long-tems, ſi l'on rejetteroit ſon Livre du Canon des Ecritures. Le ſujet de leur chagrin contre ce Prophete vient de ſon extreme obſcurité, & de ce qu'il enſeigne diverſes choſes contraires à Moiſe—Ezechiel, diſent-ils, a declaré, *Que le fils ne porteroit plus l'iniquite de ſon pere*, contre ce que Moiſe dit expreſſement, *Que le Seigneur venge l'iniquité des Peres ſur les Enfans, juſqu'à la troiſieme & quatrieme generation.* Calmet, Diſſert. vol. ii. p. 361.

‡ See note [KK], at the end of this Book. § Exod. xx. Ezek. xviii.

"*to*

" *to death for his own ſin*, Deut. xxiv. 16, &c. — But if any one " ſhould object that this verſe of the oracle,

" *On the Childrens Children and their Poſterity*;

" is very like what Scripture ſays, that God *viſits the iniquity of the* " *Fathers upon the Children unto the third and fourth Generation of* " *them that hate him*, Exod. xx. 5. he may learn from *Ezekiel* that " thoſe words are a PARABLE; for the Prophets reprove ſuch as " ſay, *The Fathers have eaten ſour Grapes, and the Childrens teeth are* " *ſet on edge*; and then it follows: *As I live, ſaith the Lord, every* " *one ſhall die for his own ſins only.* But this is not the place to ex- " plain what is meant by the PARABLE of *viſiting iniquity unto the* " *third and fourth generation* *." There could hardly be more miſtakes in ſo few words. The two texts in Deuteronomy and Exodus, which Origen repreſents as treating of the ſame ſubject, treat of ſubjects very different: the firſt, as we have ſhewn above, concerns the Magiſtrate's execution of the Law; the other, that which God reſerves to himſelf. Again, becauſe the text of Exodus apparently occaſioned the Proverb mentioned by Ezekiel and Jeremiah, therefore by a ſtrange blunder or prevarication, the Father brings the Proverb in proof that the Law which gave birth to it, was but a Proverb or *parable* itſelf †.

II.

We have now ſhewn that Moses did not teach a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment; and that he omitted it with deſign; that he underſtood its great importance to ſociety; and that he provided for the want of it. And if we may believe a great Stateſman and

* Ὅρα δὲ ὅσῳ τούτῳ βέλτιον τὸ, Οὐκ ἀποθανεῖσθαι, &c. ἐὰν δέ τις ὅμοιον εἶναι λέγῃ τῷ

Εἰς παίδων παῖδας οἳ καὶ ὄπισθεν γένωνται,

τὸ, Ἀποδιδοὺς ἁμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα, ἐπὶ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην γενεὰν τοῖς μισοῦσί [με·] μαθέτω, ὅτι ἐν τῷ Ἰεζεκιὴλ παραβολὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι λέλεκται, αἰτιωμένων τὰς λεγούσας, Οἱ πατέρες ἔφαγον ὄμφακα, καὶ οἱ ὀδόντες τῶν τέκνων ἠμωδίασαν· ᾧ ἐπιφέρεται, Ζῶ ἐγὼ, λέγει Κύριος, ἀλλ' ἢ ἕκαστος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀποθανεῖται. Οὐ καλὰ τὸν παρόντα δὲ καιρόν ἐστι, διηγήσασθαι τί σημαίνει ἡ περὶ τοῦ τρίτην καὶ τετάρτην γενεὰν ἀποδιδόασθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας παραβολή. Cont. Celſ. p. 403.

† See note [LL], at the end of this Book.

Philoſopher,

Philoſopher, "Moſes had need of every SANCTION that his know-
"ledge or his imagination could ſuggeſt to govern the unruly people,
"to whom he gave a Law, in the name of God*."

But as the proof of this point is only for the ſake of its conſe-quence, that *therefore the people had not the knowledge of that doctrine*, our next ſtep will be to eſtabliſh this conſequence: Which (if we take in thoſe circumſtances attending the *Omiſſion*, juſt explained above) will, at the ſame time, ſhew my argument in ſupport of this *Omiſſion* to be more than *negative*.

Now though one might fairly conclude, that the People's not having this Doctrine, was a neceſſary conſequence of Moſes's not teaching it, in a Law which forbids the leaſt addition † to the written Inſtitute; yet I ſhall ſhew, from a circumſtance, the cleareſt and moſt inconteſtable, that the Iſraelites, from the time of Moſes to the time of their Captivity, had not the doctrine of a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment.

The BIBLE contains a very circumſtantial Hiſtory of this People throughout the aforeſaid period. It contains not only the hiſtory of public occurrences, but the lives of private perſons of both ſexes, and of all ages, conditions, characters and complexions; in the adventures of Virgins, Matrons, Kings, Soldiers, Scholars, Merchants, and Huſbandmen. All theſe, in their turns, make their appearance before us. They are given too in every circumſtance of life; captive, victorious; in ſickneſs, and in health; in full ſecurity, and amidſt impending dangers; plunged in Civil buſineſs, or retired and ſequeſtered in the ſervice of Religion. Together with their Story, we have their Compoſitions likewiſe. Here they ſing their triumphs; there, their palinodia. Here, they offer up to the Deity their hymns of praiſe; and there, petitions for their wants: here, they urge their moral precepts to their Contemporaries; and there, they treaſure up their Prophecies and Predictions for poſterity; and to both denounce the promiſes and threatenings of Heaven. Yet in none of theſe different circumſtances of life, in none of theſe va-

* *Bolingbroke's Works*, vol. v. p. 513. † Deut. iv. 2. Chap. xii. ver. 32.

rious caſts of compoſition, do we ever find them acting on the motives, or influenced by the proſpect of future rewards and puniſhments; or indeed expreſſing the leaſt hope or fear, or even common curioſity concerning them. But every thing they do or ſay reſpects the preſent life only; the good and ill of which are the ſole objects of all their purſuits and averſions *.

Hear then the ſum of all. The ſacred Writings are extremely various both in their ſubject, ſtyle, and compoſition. They contain an account of the Creation, and Origine of the human race; the hiſtory of a private Family, of a choſen People, and of exemplary men and women. They conſiſt of hymns and petitions to the Deity, precepts of civil life, and religious Prophecies and Predictions. Hence I infer that as, amidſt all this variety of writing, the Doctrine of a future ſtate never once appears to have had any ſhare in this People's thoughts; it never did indeed make part of their Religious opinions †. And when, to all this, we find their *occaſional* reaſoning only concluſive on the ſuppoſition that a future ſtate was not amongſt the Religious doctrines of the People, the above conſiderations, if they needed any, would receive the ſtrongeſt ſupport and confirmation. To give one example out of many. The Pſalmiſt ſays, *For the rod of the Wicked ſhall not reſt upon the lot of the Righteous: leſt the Righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity* ‡. That is, "God will vigorouſly adminiſter that *extraordinary Providence* which the nature of the Diſpenſation required to be adminiſtered, leſt the Righteous, not ſeeing themſelves exempt from the evils due to wickedneſs, ſhould conclude that there was no moral Governor of the world; and ſo, by making their own private intereſt the rule of their actions, fall into the practice of all kind of iniquity." But this could never be the conſequence where an unequal diſpenſation of Providence was attended with the knowledge and belief of a future ſtate. And here I will appeal to thoſe who are moſt prejudiced againſt this reaſoning. Let them ſpeak, and tell me, if they were

* See note [MM], at the end of this Book.

† See note [NN], at the end of this Book. ‡ Pſ. cxxv. 3.

now

now firſt ſhewn ſome hiſtory of an old Greek Republic, delivered in the form and manner of the Jewiſh, and no more notice in it of a future ſtate, Whether they could poſſibly believe that that Doctrine was National, or generally known in it. If they have the leaſt ingenuity, they will anſwer, They could not. On what then do they ſupport their opinion here, but on religious Prejudices? Prejudices of no higher an original than ſome Dutch or German Syſtem: for, as to the BIBLE, one half of it is ſilent concerning *life and immortality*; and the other half declares that the doctrine was *brought to light through the Goſpel.*

But to ſet this argument in its fulleſt light. Let us conſider the Hiſtory of the reſt of mankind, whether recorded by Bards, or Stateſmen; by Philoſophers, or Prieſts: in which we ſhall find the *doctrine of a future ſtate* ſtill bearing, throughout all the various circumſtances of human life, a conſtant and principal ſhare in the determinations of the Will. And no wonder. We ſee how ſtrong the Grecian world thought the ſanction of it to be, by a paſſage in Pindar, quoted by Plutarch in his tract of *Superſtition*, where he makes it one circumſtance of the ſuperior happineſs of the Gods, over men, that they ſtood not in fear of Acheron.

But not to be diſtracted by too large a view, let us ſelect from the reſt of the Nations, one or two moſt reſembling the Jewiſh. Thoſe which came neareſt to them (and, if the Jews were only under human guidance, indeed extremely near), were the SUEVI of the north, and the ARABS of the ſouth. Both theſe People were led out in ſearch of new Poſſeſſions, which they were to win by the ſword. And both, it is confeſſed, had the doctrine of *a Future ſtate* inculcated unto them by their leaders, ODIN and MAHOMET. Of the Arabs we have a large and circumſtantial hiſtory: Of the Suevi we have only ſome few fragments of the ſongs and ballads of their Bards; yet they equally ſerve to ſupport our Concluſion. In the large hiſtory of the Saracen Empire we can ſcarce find a page, and in the Runic rhymes of the Suevi ſcarce a line, where the doctrine of a future ſtate was not puſhing on its influence. It was their conſtant

Viaticum through life; it ſtimulated them to war and ſlaughter, and ſpirited their ſongs of triumph; it made them inſenſible of pain, immoveable in danger, and ſuperior to the approach of death*. For, what Cicero ſays of Poetry in Rome, may be more truly applied to the Doctrine of a Future ſtate amongſt theſe Barbarians: "Ceteræ "neque temporum ſunt, neque ætatum omnium, neque locorum. "Hæc ſtudia adoleſcentiam alunt, ſenectutem oblectant, ſecundas "res ornant, ADVERSIS PERFUGIUM AC SOLATIUM PRÆBENT†."

But this is not all. For we find, that when a future ſtate became a popular doctrine amongſt the Jewiſh People (the time and occaſion of which will be explained hereafter) that then it made as conſiderable a figure in their Annals, by influencing their determinations ‡, as it did in the hiſtory of any other people.

Nor is it only on the ſilence of the ſacred Writers, or of the ſpeakers they introduce, that I ſupport this concluſion; but from their poſitive declarations; in which they plainly diſcover that there was no popular expectation of a future ſtate, or Reſurrection. Thus the woman of Tekoah to David: *For we muſt needs die, and are as water ſpilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again* §. Thus Job: *As the cloud is conſumed, and vaniſheth away: ſo he that goeth down to the grave ſhall come up no more* ||. And again: "There is "hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will ſprout again— "though the root thereof wax old in the earth, and the ſtock there- "of die in the ground, yet through the ſcent of water, it will bud "and bring forth boughs like a plant. But man dieth and waſteth "away: yea, man giveth up the ghoſt, and where is he? As the "waters fall from the ſea, and the flood decayeth and drieth up: ſo "man lieth down and riſeth not till the Heavens be no more, they "ſhall not awake nor be raiſed out of their ſleep**." Here the Jewiſh Writer, for ſuch he was, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter (and might, indeed, be underſtood to be ſuch from this declaration alone)

* See note [OO], at the end of this Book.

‡ See the ſecond book of Maccabees.

|| See note [PP], at the end of this Book.

† *Pro Archia Poeta*, Sect. 7.

§ 2 Sam. xiv. 14.

** Chap. xiv. ver. 7—12.

oppoſes

oppoſes the revival of a *vegetable* to the irrecoverable death of a rational *animal*. Had he known as much as St. Paul, he had doubtleſs uſed that circumſtance in the *vegetable* world (as St. Paul did) to prove analogically, the revival of the rational *animal*.

The Pſalmiſt ſays, *In death there is no remembrance of thee: in the grave who ſhall give thee thanks* ?* And again: *What profit is there in my blood, when I go down to the pit? Shall the duſt praiſe thee, ſhall it declare thy truth† ?* And again: "Wilt thou ſhew wonders to "the dead? Shall the dead ARISE and praiſe thee? Shall thy lov-"ing kindneſs be declared in the grave, or thy faithfulneſs in de-"ſtruction? Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy "righteouſneſs in the land of forgetfulneſs‡?"

The writer of the book of Eccleſiaſtes is ſtill more expreſs: *For the living know that they ſhall die: but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a* REWARD, *for the memory of them is forgotten* §.

Hezekiah, in his ſong of Thankſgiving for his miraculous recovery, ſpeaks in the ſame ſtrain: "For the grave cannot praiſe "thee, death cannot celebrate thee: they that go down into the pit "cannot hope for thy truth. The living, the living, he ſhall praiſe "thee, as I do this day: The father to the children ſhall make known "thy truth‖."

Laſtly Jeremiah, in his *Lamentations* and complaints of the people, ſays, OUR FATHERS HAVE SINNED AND ARE NOT, AND WE HAVE BORN THEIR INIQUITIES**. Which implies, that the fathers being dead bore no part of the puniſhment of their ſins, but that all was thrown upon the children. But could this have been ſuppoſed, had the People been inſtructed in the doctrine of future rewards and puniſhments?

Yet a learned *Anſwerer*, in contradiction to all this, thinks it ſufficient to ſay, That "theſe paſſages may imply no more than that

* Pſalm vi. 6. † Pſalm xxx. 10. ‡ Pſalm lxxxviii. 11—13.
§ See note [QQ], at the end of this Book. ‖ Iſ. xxxviii. 18, 19.
** Chap. v. ver. 7.

"the

"the dead cannot ſet forth God's glory *before men*, or make his "praiſe to be known *upon earth* *." Now I think it muſt needs *imply* ſomething more, ſince the *dead* are ſaid to be unable to do this under the earth as well as upon it. For it is the *Grave* which is called the *land of forgetfulneſs*, or that where all things are forgotten. And in another place it is ſaid, *The dead praiſe not the Lord, neither any that go down into ſilence* †. Surely, a plain intimation that all intercourſe of praiſe between man and his Maker ceaſed on death, as well below ground as above; otherwiſe why did the ſacred writer tell us it was the *Grave* which was the place of *ſilence* to the dead? It the Anſwerer's interpretation be right, *this world*, and not the other, was the place. Had the Pſalmiſt ſuppoſed, as the Doctor does, that the *dead* continued in a capacity of *remembering the goodneſs of God*, this remembrance could be no where more quickly or forceably excited than in that World where the divine goodneſs is clearly unveiled to *the ſpirits of juſt men made perfect* ‡? On the contrary, the *Grave* is uniformly repreſented by all of them, as the *land of darkneſs, ſilence, and forgetfulneſs*.

But ſince, of all the ſacred writers, the Pſalmiſt is he who is ſuppoſed by the adverſaries of the D. L. to have moſt effectually confuted the Author's ſyſtem, I ſhall quote a paſſage from his hymns, which, I think, fairly enough decides the controverſy.—Hitherto we have only heard him ſay, that the *dead forget God*; we ſhall now find him go further, and ſay that *God forgets them*.—"I am counted with them that go down into the pit.—FREE amongſt the dead, like the ſlain that lie in the grave, *whom thou remembereſt no more:* and THEY ARE CUT OFF FROM THY HAND §. Let the ſerious reader take notice of the laſt words,—*they* (the dead) *are cut from thy hand*, i. e. they are no longer the object of thy Providence or moral Government. On this account it is, that in the beginning of the ſentence he calls theſe *dead* FREE; that is, manumiſed, ſet at liberty; in the ſame ſenſe that Uzziah the leper's *freedom* is ſpoken of by the

* Dr. Stebbing's Exam. &c. p. 64. † Pſ. cxv. 17. ‡ Heb. xii. 23.
§ Pſ. lxxxviii. 4, 5.

ſacred

ſacred hiſtorian.—*And Uzziah the King was a Leper, and dwelt in a ſeveral houſe* [or, as the margin of our tranſlation tells us, it ſignifies in the Hebrew, a FREE HOUSE, or *houſe of freedom*] *being a Leper, for he was* CUT OFF *from the houſe of the Lord.* The phraſe of *cutting off*, &c. ſignifying the ſame in both places, the taking away all intercourſe and relation between two: And if that intercourſe conſiſted in *ſervice* on the one ſide, and protection on the other, as between Lord and Subject, Maſter and Servant, he who owed *ſervice* is with great propriety of figure ſaid to be FREE or MANUMISED. Hezekiah, as quoted above, delivers the very ſame ſentiment, though in a different expreſſion—*they that go down into the pit cannot hope for* THY TRUTH. What this *truth* is, the following words declare,—*the living, the living, they ſhall praiſe thee.* THE FATHER TO THE CHILDREN SHALL MAKE KNOWN THY TRUTH. As much as to ſay, "the *truth* not to be hoped for by them who go down into the pit, is *The nature and the hiſtory of God's Diſpenſation to his choſen people*;" in which, by a particular precept of the LAW, the Fathers were commanded to inſtruct their Children. Thus the Pſalmiſt and this other Jewiſh Ruler agree in this principle, that the Dead are no longer the object of God's *general* Providence, or of his *particular*: which evinces what I was to prove, "THAT THE BODY OF THE EARLY JEWS HAD NO EXPECTATIONS OF A FUTURE STATE OR REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS." And here let me take notice of a paſſage which the contenders for the contrary Doctrine much confide in. It is where David, ſpeaking of his dead child, ſays, *I ſhall go to him, but he will not return to me.* But whither was he to follow his departed child? He himſelf tells you,—into a land of *darkneſs, ſilence, and forgetfulneſs*, where he was to be no longer in a capacity of *remembering the goodneſs and mercy of God*, or even of *being remembered by him*; but was to be *cut off from his hand*, that is, was to be no longer the object of his Providence or moral Government.

To proceed. If now we ſet all theſe paſſages together, we find it to be the ſame language throughout, and in every circumſtance of life; as well in the cool philoſophy of the author of Eccleſiaſtes,

as

as amidſt the diſtreſſes of the Pſalmiſt, and the exultations of good Hezekiah.

But could this language have been uſed by a People inſtructed in the doctrine of life and immortality? or do we find one word of it, on any occaſion whatever, in the Writers of the New Teſtament, but where it is brought in to be confuted and condemned *?

All this, to thoughtful men, will, I ſuppoſe, be deemed convincing. Whence it follows that their ſubterfuge is quite cut off, who pretend, that Moſes did not indeed propagate the Doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in *writing*, but that he delivered it to TRADITION, which conveyed it ſafely down through all the ages of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation, from one end of it to the other. For we ſee, he was ſo far from teaching it, that he ſtudiouſly contrived to keep it out of ſight; nay provided for the want of it: and the people were ſo far from being influenced by it, that they had not even the idea of it. Yet the writers of the Church of Rome have taken advantage of this ſilence in the Law of Moſes concerning a future ſtate, to advance the honour of TRADITION: For, not ſeeing the doctrine in the WRITTEN LAW, and fancying they ſaw a neceſſity that the Jews ſhould have it, they concluded (to ſave the credit of the Jewiſh Church and to advance the credit of their own) that Moſes had carefully inculcated it, in the TRADITIONAL. This weighty point, Father Simon proves by the *ſecond book of Maccabees*; and triumphs over the Proteſtants and Socinians (as he calls them) for their folly in throwing that book out of the Canon, and thereby diſabling themſelves from proving a future ſtate, from the Old Teſtament †.

A very

* "*Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.* Be not deceived: evil communications corrupt good manners," &c. 1 Cor. xv. 32.

† Monſ. Simon avoit dit, *pour appuyer la Tradition*, que la reſurrection des corps ne peut ſe demontrer par le Vieux Teſtament—ces expreſſions plus claires de la reſurrection & du ſiecle à venir, qui ſe trouvent dans le *ſecond Livre Maccabees*, ſont une preuve evidente que les Juifs avoient une Tradition touchant la Reſurrection, dont ils n'eſt fait aucune mention dans les anciens livres de l'Ecriture. Les Proteſtans & les Sociniens qui ne reçoivent

A very worthy proteſtant Biſhop does as much honour to *Tradition*, in his way. In ſome *Miſcellanies* of the Biſhop of Cloyne, publiſhed in 1752, we find theſe words—"Moſes, indeed, doth *not in-* "*ſiſt on a future ſtate*, THE COMMON BASIS OF ALL POLITICAL IN- "STITUTIONS.—The belief of a future ſtate (which it is manifeſt "the Jews were poſſeſſed of *long before the coming of Chriſt*) ſeems to "have obtained amongſt the Hebrews from primæval TRADITION, "which might render it unneceſſary for Moſes to *inſiſt* on that "article *." Though the Biſhop has not the merit of ſaying this with a profeſſed deſign, like Father Simon, *pour appuyer la Tradition*, yet the Church of Rome has not the leſs obligation to him for aſſigning ſo much virtue to this their powerful aſſiſtant, which has conveyed to them all they want; and indeed moſt of what they have. But if the *traditional* doctrine of a future ſtate prevailed amongſt the Jews, in the time of Moſes, and that he would truſt to the ſame conveyance for the ſafe delivery of it down to the times of Chriſt, how came it to paſs that he did his beſt to weaken the efficacy, by ſtudiouſly contriving to draw men off, as it were, from the Doctrine, and always repreſenting it under the impenetrable cover of temporal rewards and puniſhments?

2. If a future ſtate obtained by *Tradition*, What occaſion was there for the Law of puniſhing the tranſgreſſion of the parent upon the children?

3. If it obtained by *Tradition*, How happened it that the Jews are not repreſented in their Hiſtory ſometimes at leaſt, as acting on the motives, and influenced by the proſpect of a future ſtate, and expreſſing their hopes concerning it like the reſt of mankind, who had it by *Tradition*, or otherwiſe?

4. If it obtained by *Tradition*, How came HEZEKIAH to ſay, that *they who go down into the pit cannot hope for the truth*: and DAVID,

çoivent point les *Maccabees* ne pourront pas la prouver ſolidement par le Vieux Teſtament. Pere Simon, Reponſe au Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande, &c. p. 39.

* Page 68.

to repreſent the dead as going into the place of *ſilence* and *forgetfulneſs*, where they were no longer to praiſe and celebrate the goodneſs of God? On the contrary, are there not paſſages in the books of Solomon and Job, which plainly ſhew that no ſuch tradition obtained in their reſpective times?

5. If it obtained by *Tradition*, What occaſion for the adminiſtration of an extraordinary Providence under the Law? Or from whence aroſe the embarras of David and Jeremiah (not to ſpeak of the diſputants in the book of Job) to account for the proſperity of ſome wicked Individuals, in the preſent life? In a word, to the maintainers of this *Tradition* may be very appoſitely applied the words of Jeſus to the *Traditioniſts* in general, when he told them, *they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions.* For certainly, if any thing can render that *word of God* which *brought life and immortality to light by the Goſpel*, of none effect, it is the pretended PRIMÆVAL TRADITION which the good Biſhop ſo much inſiſts upon.

The learned Prelate indeed obſerves, that *the Jews were poſſeſſed of a future ſtate long before the coming of Chriſt.* But what is this to the purpoſe, if it can be ſhewn, that the knowledge of it might be obtained from a quarter very diſtant from the old Hebrew *Traditions*; and eſpecially if from the colour and complexion of the Doctrine, it can be ſhewn, that it did, in fact, come from a diſtant quarter? namely, from their Pagan neighbours; patched up out of ſome dark and ſcattered inſinuations of their own Prophets, and varniſhed over with the metaphorical expreſſions employed to convey them. But not to anticipate what I have to ſay on this head in the laſt volume, I proceed in the courſe of my argument.

SECT. VI.

WHAT is yet of greateſt weight, the inſpired writers of the *New Teſtament* expreſsly aſſure us that the doctrine of a future State of reward and puniſhment did NOT make part of the Moſaic Diſpenſation.

Their

Their evidence may be divided into *two* parts. In the firſt, they prove that *temporal* Rewards and Puniſhments were the ſanction of the Moſaic Diſpenſation: and in the ſecond, that it had NO OTHER.

I. St. PAUL, in his epiſtle to Timothy, enforcing, againſt certain judaizing Chriſtians, the advantages of moral above ritual obſervances, ſays, "Bodily exerciſe profiteth little; but godlineſs is profitable "unto all things; having the promiſe of the life that now is, and "of that which is to come *." That is, though numerous ritual obſervances were enjoined by the Law, and ſome there muſt needs be under the Goſpel wherever there is a Chriſtian Church, yet they are of little advantage in compariſon of moral virtue; for that, under both Religions, the rewards proper to each were annexed only to *godlineſs*: that is to ſay, under the Jewiſh, the reward of *the life that now is*; under the Chriſtian, of that *which is to come*. This interpretation, which ſhews *temporal rewards* to be foreign to the nature of the Chriſtian Oeconomy, I ſupport,

1. From other paſſages of the ſame Writer, where he expreſsly informs us that Chriſtians have not the promiſe of the *life that now is*. For to the Corinthians he ſays, ſpeaking of the condition of the followers of CHRIST, *if in this life only we have hope in* CHRIST, *we are of all men moſt miſerable* †. To underſtand the force of which words, we muſt conſider, that they were addreſſed to Jewiſh Converts tainted with Sadduciſm, who argued from the Moſaic Diſpenſation to the Chriſtian: And holding that there was no future ſtate in the former, concluded by analogy, that there was none in the latter. The argument on which they built their firſt Poſition was, that the ſanctions of the Law were temporal rewards and puniſhments. Our Apoſtle therefore argues with them, as is his uſual way, on their own principles. "You deny, ſays he, a reſurrection "from the dead, or a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment. And "why? Becauſe there is no ſuch doctrine in the Law. How do you "prove it? Becauſe the ſanctions of the Law are temporal rewards

* 1 Tim. iv. 8. † 1 Cor. xv. 19.

" and punishments. Agreed. And now on your own principle I " confute your conclusion. You own that the Jews had an equiva- " lent for future rewards and punishments, namely the present. But " Christians have no equivalent. So far from that, *they are*, with " regard to this world only, *of all men most miserable*; having there- " fore no equivalent for the rewards of a future state, they must " needs be entitled to them." This shews the superior force of the Apostle's reasoning. And from hence it appears not only that Christians HAD NOT, but that the Jews HAD the promise of the life that now is.

2. If we understand the *promise of the life that now is* to extend to the Christian Dispensation, we destroy the strength and integrity of St. Paul's argument. He is here reasoning against judaizing Christians. So that his business is to shew, that *godliness*, in every state, and under every Dispensation unto which they imagined themselves bound, had the advantage of *bodily exercise* *.

The author of the epistle to the Hebrews, speaking of JESUS, says: *After the similitude of Melchisedec there ariseth another Priest, who is made not after the* LAW OF A CARNAL COMMANDMENT, *but after the power of an endless life* †. The Jewish Religion, called a *carnal commandment*, is here opposed to the Christian, called *the power of an endless life*. By *carnal commandment* then must needs be understood a Law promising carnal things, or the things of this life.

II. That the Mosaic Dispensation had ONLY the sanction of *temporal* rewards and punishments, or that it taught not *future*, let us hear St. John; who in the beginning of his Gospel assures us, that *the* LAW *was given by Moses, but* that GRACE *and* TRUTH *came by Jesus Christ* ‡. As certain then as the *Law* did not come by Jesus Christ, so certain is it, according to this Apostle, that *Grace* and *Truth* did not come by Moses. This *Grace* and *Truth* cannot be

* See note [RR], at the end of this Book.

† Chap. vii. ver. 15, 16. ‡ Chap. i. ver. 17.

under-

underſtood generically; for, the *grace* or favour of God was beſtowed on the choſen race, and *truth*, or the revealed will of God, *did come* by Moſes. It muſt therefore be ſome *ſpecies* of *grace* and *truth*, of which the Apoſtle here predicates; the publication of which ſpecies conſtitutes what is called the Goſpel. And this all know to be redemption from death, and reſtoration to eternal life.

Again, to this part likewiſe, let us once more hear the learned Apoſtle: *As by one man ſin entered into the world, and death by ſin; and ſo death paſſed upon all men, for that all have ſinned: for until the Law, ſin was in the world, but Sin is not imputed where there is no Law. Nevertheleſs Death reigned from Adam to Moſes* *. It is St. Paul's purpoſe to ſhew, that *death* came by ADAM through ſin, and ſo paſſed upon all men; and that *life* came by JESUS CHRIST: But having ſaid that Sin, which brings forth Death, is not imputed where there is no Law, leſt this ſhould ſeem to contradict what he had ſaid of Death's paſſing upon *all men*, he adds, *nevertheleſs death reigned from Adam to Moſes*; taking it for granted that his followers would underſtand it muſt needs reign from Moſes to CHRIST, as having made *Sin's being* IMPUTED to conſiſt in there being a LAW given. Now I aſk how the Apoſtle could poſſibly ſay, *that Death reigned under the* Moſaic Diſpenſation, if that People had the knowledge of immortal life to be procured by a Redeemer to come, any more than it can be ſaid to *reign now* with the ſame knowledge of a Redeemer paſt; ſince we agree that the efficacy of his death extends to all preceding as well as ſucceeding Ages? Accordingly in his epiſtle to the Corinthians he calls the Jewiſh Law, the MINISTRATION OF DEATH, and the MINISTRATION OF CONDEMNATION †.

2. In his epiſtle to the Galatians, he ſays,—*Before* FAITH *came, we were kept under the Law, ſhut up unto the* FAITH *which ſhould afterwards be revealed* ‡; i. e. we were kept in ſubjection to the Law of Moſes; and, by that means, ſhut up and ſequeſtered from the reſt of the Nations, to be prepared and made ready for the firſt reception of the FAITH, when it ſhould in God's appointed time be revealed

* Rom. v. 12, *et ſeq.* † 2 Cor. iii. 7, *et ſeq.* ‡ Gal. iii. 23.

unto

unto men. From theſe words therefore it appears, that till that time, the Jews had no knowledge of this FAITH. So much we muſt have concluded though he had not ſaid, as he does afterwards, That till that time, the Jews *were in bondage under the elements of this world**. Now could men acquainted with the doctrine of *life and immortality* be ſaid, with any ſenſe of propriety, to be in ſuch a ſtate of bondage? For though men in bondage may have an idea of Liberty, yet of THIS LIBERTY they could have no idea without underſtanding, at the ſame time, that they were partakers of its benefits.

3. In his ſecond epiſtle to Timothy he expreſsly ſays, *That* JESUS CHRIST HATH ABOLISHED DEATH, AND HATH BROUGHT LIFE AND IMMORTALITY TO LIGHT THROUGH THE GOSPEL †. But now if *Death* were aboliſhed by JESUS CHRIST, it is certain it had reigned till his coming: and yet it is as certain, that it could reign no longer than while the tidings of the Goſpel were kept back; becauſe we agree that CHRIST's death hath a retroſpect operation: therefore thoſe under the Law had no knowledge of life and immortality. Again: *If life and immortality were brought to light through the Goſpel*, conſequently, till the preaching of the Goſpel, it was kept hid and out of ſight ‡. But if taught by Moſes and the Prophets, it was *not brought to light through the Goſpel:* therefore the generality of thoſe under the Law had no knowledge of a future ſtate. But Scripture is ever conſiſtent, though mens ſyſtems be not. And for this reaſon we find that *life and immortality*, which is here ſaid to be *brought to light through the Goſpel*, is ſo often called the MYSTERY OF THE GOSPEL §: that is, a *myſtery* till this promulgation of it by the diſciples of CHRIST: *Which had been hid from ages and from generations, but was then made manifeſt unto the Saints* ||. The term was borrowed from thoſe famous *Rites* of Paganiſm, ſo named; and is

* Chap. iv. ver. 3. † 2 Tim. i. 10.

‡ See note [SS], at the end of this Book.

§ See note [TT], at the end of this Book. || Col. i. 26.

applied

applied with admirable juſtneſs. For as the *Myſteries* were communicated only to a few of the wiſe and great, and kept hid from the populace: ſo *life and immortality*, as we ſhall ſee, was revealed by GOD, as a ſpecial favour, to the holy Patriarchs and Prophets, but kept hid from the body of the Jewiſh Nation.

4. The Author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews ſays: That THE LAW MADE NOTHING PERFECT, BUT THE BRINGING IN OF A BETTER HOPE DID *. Now, that could not be ſaid to be *brought in*, which was there before. And had it been there before, the *Law*, it ſeems, had been perfect; and, conſequently, would have ſuperſeded the uſe of the *Goſpel*. Therefore this *better hope*, namely of immortality in a future ſtate, is not in the Moſaic Diſpenſation. Let us obſerve farther, that as the Goſpel, by bringing in a *better hope*, made the Law *perfect*, it appears, there was that relation between the *Law* and *Goſpel* which is between the beginning and the completion of any matter. From whence theſe two conſequences follow: 1. That the Law wanted ſomething which the Goſpel ſupplied: And what was that ſomething but the doctrine of a future State? 2. That the Law muſt needs make ſome preparation for that *better hope* which the Goſpel was to bring in. What it was, the ſame writer tells us, namely, That *it had* A SHADOW [σκιὰν] *of good things to come*, but *not the* VERY IMAGE [εἰκόνα] *of the things* †. Hence it is evident that by this *ſhadow* is meant ſuch a typical repreſentation, ſo faintly delineated, as not to be perceived by vulgar eyes, intent only on a carnal Diſpenſation. This was contrived for admirable purpoſes: For if, inſtead of a *ſhadow* or faint outline of a deſign, the Image itſelf, in full relief, had glaringly held forth the object intended, this object, ſo diſtinctly defined, would have drawn the Jews from that Oeconomy to which it was God's pleaſure they ſhould long continue in ſubjection: And had there been no delineation at all, to become ſtronger in a clearer light, one illuſtrious evidence of the Dependency between the two Religions had been wanting.

* Chap. vii. ver. 19. † Chap. x. ver. 1.

Again,

Again, the ſame Writer, to the ſame purpoſe, ſpeaking of CHRIST ſays, *But now hath he obtained a more excellent Miniſtry, by how much alſo he is the Mediator of a* BETTER COVENANT, *which was eſtabliſhed upon* BETTER PROMISES. *For if the firſt Covenant had been faultleſs, then ſhould no place have been found for the Second**. 1. We ſee that this *better Covenant* was eſtabliſhed by CHRIST, and not by Moſes. 2. If the firſt Covenant had been faultleſs, that is, had contained *better promiſes*, or taught the doctrine of a future ſtate, there had been no room for a ſecond.

To ſum up all, This admirable writer gives in the laſt place, the fulleſt evidence to both parts of the propoſition, namely, "That temporal rewards and puniſhments were the ſanction of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation; and that it had no other." For in the ſecond chapter we find theſe remarkable aſſertions.

Ver. 2. *For if the word ſpoken by Angels was ſtedfaſt, and every tranſgreſſion and diſobedience* RECEIVED A JUST RECOMPENCE OF REWARD, *How ſhall we eſcape, &c.*

Ver. 5. *For unto the Angels hath he not put in ſubjection the* WORLD TO COME, *whereof we ſpeak.*

Ver. 14, 15. *He* [Chriſt] *alſo himſelf likewiſe took part of the ſame* [fleſh and blood] *that through death he might deſtroy him that had the power of death; that is, the Devil; and deliver them, who through fear of Death were* ALL THEIR LIFE-TIME *ſubject to bondage.*

Let us lay theſe three texts together. And we ſhall find, 1. from ver. 2. that the ſanction of the Law, or *the word ſpoken by angels*, was of a temporal nature—*every tranſgreſſion received a juſt recompence.* 2. From ver. 5. that the Law taught no future ſtate—*the world to come not being put in ſubjection to theſe angels.* And 3. from ver. 14, 15. that the people had not the knowledge of ſuch a ſtate—*being all their life-time ſubject to bondage.* For the Devil is here ſaid to have *power of death*, as he brought it into the world by the deluſion of the FIRST MAN. Therefore, before *death* can be aboliſhed, *He*, who had the power of it, muſt be deſtroyed. But his deſtruction

* Chap. viii. ver. 6, 7.

is

is the work of the SECOND MAN. Till his coming therefore, the Jews, as we are here told, *were through fear of death all their life-time ſubject to bondage*. Chriſt then brought them into *the glorious liberty of the children of God**, by ſetting before them *life and immortality* †.

To all this, I hope, the reader will not be ſo inattentive to object, "That what is here produced from the New Teſtament to prove that the followers of the Law had no future ſtate, contradicts what I have more than once obſerved, That the later Jewiſh Prophets had given ſtrong intimations of an approaching Diſpenſation, with a future ſtate." For the queſtion is concerning a future ſtate's being the Sanction of the LAW, not of later intimations, of its being ready to become the ſanction of the GOSPEL.

As inconſiderate would be this other objection, "That my point is to prove that this Diſpenſation had *no future ſtate of reward and puniſhment at all*, and my evidence from the New Teſtament only ſhews they had not the *Chriſtian Doctrine of it*." For to this I anſwer, 1. That thoſe I argue with, if they hold any difference between the Chriſtian and general Doctrine of a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment, it is only this, that the Chriſtian Doctrine was *revealed*; the other, a concluſion of natural reaſon. Now if the Jews had this Doctrine, they muſt needs have it, as *revealed*; conſequently the ſame with the Chriſtian. 2. That though I myſelf ſuppoſe the natural and the Chriſtian Doctrine of a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment to be very different things; yet I ſhall ſhew, in due time, that if Moſes were indeed God's Meſſenger, and would teach a future ſtate, it could be no other than the *Chriſtian* Doctrine of it. But as thoſe, I have to do with, may be ready to tell me, that this *due time*, like that of the *Jews' Meſſiah*, is either paſt or will

* Rom. viii. 21.

† For the further illuſtration of this matter, I would recommend to the Reader's ſerious peruſal the firſt chapter of *The free and candid Examination of the Biſhop of London's Principles*.

never come, they will, I ſuppoſe, readily bear with me while I anticipate the ſubject, and in a very few words prove what is here aſſerted. Revelation teacheth that mankind loſt the free gift of immortal life by the tranſgreſſion of Adam; and, from thence, became mortal, and their exiſtence confined to this life. Revelation likewiſe teacheth that the MEAN which Divine Wiſdom thought fit to employ in reſtoring man from death to his firſt ſtate of immortality, was *the ſacrifice of Chriſt on the croſs*. Hence it appears to be a thing impoſſible, that any Meſſenger from God, any Agent or Inſtrument made uſe of for conducting this grand Diſpenſation towards its completion, could (were it in his *choice* or in his *office* to promulgate the doctrine of a future State) ſpeak of any other but that purchaſed by Chriſt, and promulged and proclaimed in the Goſpel, ſince in fact, on the principles of Revelation, there is no other; and to inculcate another, would be impeaching the veracity of God, and the eternal ſtability of his councils.

To conclude, There is one thing which plainly evinceth that if the Jews had the knowledge or belief of a FUTURE STATE of reward and puniſhment, they muſt have had the knowledge of the REDEMPTION of man by the death and ſuffering of Jeſus Chriſt, likewiſe. And it is this, That all the Sacrifices in the Jewiſh Ritual regarded only temporal things. A very competent judge in theſe matters aſſures us,—Univerſa Judæorum ſimul congeſta Sacrificia ad aſſequenda hujus vitæ commoda omnia facta erant *. The conſequence is this, That if the Jewiſh religion taught its followers a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, it either afforded them no means of attaining future happineſs, or it inſtructed them in the doctrine of the Redemption. To ſay the firſt, contradicts the nature of all Religion; to ſay the latter, makes the Jewiſh uſeleſs, and the Chriſtian falſe, as contradicting its repeated declarations, that *life and immortality*, or the doctrine of the Redemption, *was brought to light through the Goſpel*.

* Outram de Sacr. p. 305.

But

But what was aſked by St. Paul's Adverſaries, will perhaps be aſked by mine, *Is the* LAW *then againſt the* PROMISES *of God?* Or does the LAW, becauſe it had no future ſtate, contradict the GOSPEL, which hath? The Apoſtle's anſwer will ſerve me,—*God forbid: For if there had been a* LAW *which could have given life, verily righteouſneſs ſhould have been by the* LAW *. That is, if the genius of the *Law* had produced ſuch a Diſpenſation as was proper to convey to mankind the free gift of life and immortality, this gift would have been conveyed by it. All this ſhews that the Law was not *contrary* to the Goſpel, but only that it was not of ſufficient excellence to be the vehicle of God's laſt beſt gift to mankind. And it ſhews too (and it is a very fit remark, as the reſult from the whole, with which to conclude this fifth *Book*) that a future ſtate was not the Sanction of the Law of Moſes, or, in the Apoſtle's more emphatic words, that the *Law did not* (becauſe it could not) *give life.*

Thus, I preſume, it is now proved beyond all reaſonable queſtion, THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT IS NOT TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

It will be aſked then, "What were the real ſentiments of theſe early Jews concerning the ſoul?" Though the queſtion be a little out of time, yet as the anſwer is ſhort, I ſhall give it here. They were doubtleſs the ſame with thoſe of the reſt of mankind, who have thought upon the matter; that IT SURVIVED THE BODY: But having, from Moſes's ſilence and the eſtabliſhment of another Sanction, no expectation of future rewards and puniſhments, they ſimply concluded that *it returned to him who gave it* †. But, as to any intereſting ſpeculations concerning its ſtate of ſurvivorſhip, 'tis plain they had none. Indeed how ſhould they have any? when PERSONALITY did not enter into the idea of this *ſurvivorſhip*, that being only annexed to the *rewards and puniſhments* of a future ſtate. Hence it was that thoſe ancient Philoſophers (almoſt all the theiſtical Philo-

* Gal. iii. 21. † Eccleſ. xii. 7.

ſophers of Greece) who conſidered the ſoul as a SUBSTANCE diſtinct from the body, and not a mere QUALITY of it (for they were not ſuch idiots as to conceive, that *thought* could reſult from any combinations of *matter and motion*), thoſe Philoſophers, I ſay, who conſidered the ſoul as a ſubſtance, and yet diſbelieved a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, denied it all future *perſonality*, and held the reſuſion of it into the τὸ ἓν, or the ſoul of the world *. And juſt ſuch INTERESTING SPECULATIONS concerning it had the few philoſophic Jews of the moſt early times, as appears from the book of Eccleſiaſtes, which ſpeaks their ſentiments. *Who knoweth* (ſays this author) *the ſpirit of man that goeth upward, and the ſpirit of the beaſt that goeth downward to the earth* † *?* And again: "Then "ſhall the duſt return to the earth as it was, AND THE SPIRIT "SHALL RETURN UNTO GOD WHO GAVE IT ‡." Yet this writer, perfectly conformable to what I have delivered, ſays, at the ſame time: *But the dead know not any thing, neither have they* ANY MORE A REWARD, *for the memory of them is forgotten* §.

And where was the wonder? that a matter which ſo little concerned them, namely, the future condition of a portion of etherial Spirit diveſted of its Perſonality, ſhould only float idly in the brain, when we reflect that even the knowledge of the FIRST CAUSE OF ALL THINGS, while he made no part of the *National Worſhip*, was entertained by the Gentiles (as appears from all Antiquity) with the utmoſt unconcern, neither regulating their notions, nor influencing their actions.

But from this unintereſting ſtate, in which the Doctrine, concerning the Soul, remained amongſt the early Jews, the SADDUCEES concluded that their Anceſtors believed the *extinction* of the ſoul on death. Hence likewiſe came ſome late Revivers of this opinion, of the *extinction of the ſoul*; though maintained under the ſofter name of its SLEEP between death and the reſurrection: For they go upon

* See Div. Leg. vol. I. b. iii. † Chap. iii. ver. 21. Vid. *Cleric.* & *Druſium* in loc.
‡ Chap. xii. ver. 7. Vid. *Clericum* in loc. § Chap. ix. ver. 5.

the

the Sadducean principle, that the ſoul is a *quality* only, and not a *ſubſtance*.

In ſupport of this opinion, the Revivers of it proceed on the ſophiſm, which Polytheiſts employ to combat the unity of the Godhead. *All Philoſophical arguments* (ſays the Reviver, after having quoted a number of wonderful things from Scripture, to prove the ſoul a *quality*, and mortal) *drawn from our notions of matter, and urged againſt the poſſibility of life, thought and agency, being ſo connected with ſome portions of it as to conſtitute a compound Being or Perſon, are merely grounded on our ignorance* *. Juſt ſo the Polytheiſt. "All arguments for the Unity, from metaphyſics, are manifeſtly vain, and merely grounded on our ignorance. You Believers (ſays he) muſt be confined to Scripture: Now Scripture aſſures us, THERE ARE GODS MANY," which, by the way, I think a ſtronger text, certainly a directer, againſt the *unity of the Godhead*, than any this learned Writer has produced for the *ſleep of the Soul*. But what ſay Believers to this? They ſay, that Scripture takes the *unity*, as well as the *exiſtence* of the Deity, for granted; takes them for truths demonſtrable by natural light. Juſt ſo it is with regard to that *immaterial ſubſtance*, the Soul. Scripture ſuppoſes men to be ſo far informed of the nature of the Soul, by the ſame light, as to know that it cannot be deſtroyed by any of thoſe cauſes which bring about the extinction of the body. Our Dreamers † are aware of this, and therefore hold with Unbelievers, that the Soul is *no ſubſtance*, but a *quality* only; and ſo have taken effectual care indeed, that its repoſe ſhall not be diſturbed in this, which we may emphatically call, the SLEEP OF DEATH. *We can never prove* (ſays another of theſe ſleepers ‡) *that the Soul of man is of ſuch a nature that it can and muſt exiſt and live, think, act, enjoy, &c. ſeparate from, and independent of, the body. All our preſent experience ſhews the contrary. The ope-*

* *Conſiderations on the Theory of Religion*, p. 398. Ed. 3d.

† St. Jude's *filthy dreamers* only *defiled the Fleſh*. Theſe *defil. the Spirit.*

‡ Taylor of Norwich.

rations of the mind depend CONSTANTLY and INVARIABLY *upon the ſtate of the body, of the brain in particular. If ſome dying perſons have a lively uſe of their rational faculties to the very laſt, it is becauſe death has invaded ſome other part, and the brain remains ſound and vigorous* *. This is the long-exploded traſh of *Coward*, *Toland*, *Collins*, &c. And he who can treat us with it at this time of day, has either never read CLARKE and BAXTER on the ſubject (in which he had been better employed than in writing upon it), or never underſtood them.——So far as to the abſtract truth. Let us conſider next the practical conſequences. Convince the philoſophic Libertine that the Soul is a quality ariſing out of *matter*, and vaniſhing on the diſſolution of the *form*, and then ſee if ever you can bring him to believe the Chriſtian Doctrine of the RESURRECTION? While he held the Soul to be an immaterial ſubſtance, exiſting, as well in its ſeparation from, as in its conjunction with, the body, and he could have no reaſon, ariſing from the Principles of true Philoſophy, to ſtagger in his belief of this revealed Doctrine.—*Thou fool that which thou ſoweſt is not quickened except it die* †, is good philoſophy as well as good divinity: for if the body, inſtead of its earthly nature, were to have a heavenly, it muſt needs paſs through death and corruption to qualify it for that change. But when this *body died*, what occaſion was there for the *Soul*, which was to ſuffer no change, to *fall aſleep?*

But their *ſleep of the Soul* is mere cant: and this brings me to the laſt conſideration, the ſenſe and conſiſtency of ſo ridiculous a notion. They go, as we obſerved, upon the Sadducean principle, that the Soul is a *quality* of body, not a *ſubſtance* of itſelf, and ſo dies with its ſubſtratum. Now *ſleep*, is a modification of Exiſtence, not of non-exiſtence; ſo that though the ſleep of a *Subſtance* hath a meaning, the ſleep of a *quality* is nonſenſe. And if ever this Soul of theirs re-exerts its faculties, it muſt be by means of a REPRODUCTION, not by a mere AWAKING; and they may as well

* Ib. p. 401. † St. Paul. (1 Cor. xv. 36.)

talk

talk of the SLEEP of a mushroom turned again into the substance of the dunghill from whence it arose, and from which, not the same, but another mushroom shall, in time, arise. In a word, neither Unbelievers nor Believers will allow to these *middle men* that a new-existing Soul, which is only a quality resulting from a glorified body, can be identically the same with an annihilated Soul, which had resulted from an earthly body. But perhaps, as Hudibras had discovered the Receptacle of the *ghosts of defunct bodies*, so these gentlemen may have found out the yet subtiler corner, where the *ghosts of defunct qualities* repose.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A LATE noble and voluminous Author *, who hath written with more than ordinary ſpleen againſt THE RELIGION OF HIS COUNTRY, as it is founded in Revelation and eſtabliſhed by Law, hath attacked with more than ordinary fury the Author of *The Divine Legation of Moſes demonſtrated*, and of *The Alliance between Church and State vindicated*.

I ſhall ſhortly find a fitter place to examine his reaſoning againſt the *Alliance*. At preſent let us ſee what he has to urge againſt the argument of the *Divine Legation*, which is founded on theſe two facts, the *omiſſion of the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Puniſhments* in the Moſaic Diſpenſation; and the *adminiſtration of an extraordinary Providence* in the ſame Diſpenſation.

His Lordſhip begins with the OMISSION, which he acknowledges: and to evade the force of the argument ariſing from it, caſts about for a reaſon, independent of the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, to account for it.

His firſt ſolution is this,—" MOSES DID NOT BELIEVE THE IMMORTALITY " OF THE SOUL, nor the rewards and puniſhments of another life, though " it is poſſible he might have learnt theſe Doctrines from the Egyptians, " WHO TAUGHT THEM VERY EARLY, perhaps as they taught that of the " Unity of God. When I ſay, *that Moſes did not believe the immortality* " *of the ſoul*, nor future rewards and puniſhments, my reaſon is this, that " he taught neither, when *he had to do with a people whom a Theocracy* " *could not reſtrain*; and on whom, therefore, terrors of Puniſhment, *future* " as well as preſent, *eternal* as well as temporary, could never be too much " multiplied, or too ſtrongly inculcated †."

This reaſoning is altogether worthy of his Lordſhip. Here we have a DOCTRINE, confeſſed to be plauſible in itſelf, and therefore of eaſy admittance;

* Lord Bolingbroke. † Vol. iii. p. 289.

mittance; moſt alluring to human nature, and therefore embraced by all mankind; of higheſt account among the Egyptians, and therefore ready to be embraced by the Iſraelites, who were fond of Egyptian notions; of ſtrongeſt efficacy on the minds of an unruly People, and therefore of indiſpenſable uſe; Yet, all this notwithſtanding, *Moſes did not believe it, and, on that account, would not teach it.*—But then, had MOSES's integrity been ſo ſevere, How came he to write a Hiſtory which, my Lord thinks, is, in part at leaſt, a fiction of his own? Did he *believe* that? How came he to leave the Iſraelites, as my Lord aſſures us he did, in poſſeſſion of many of the ſuperſtitious opinions of Egypt? did he *believe* theſe too? No, but they ſerved his purpoſe; which was, The better governing an unruly People. Well, but his Lordſhip tells us, the doctrine of a future ſtate ſerved this purpoſe beſt of all; for *having to do with a People whom a Theocracy could not reſtrain, terrors of puniſhment,* FUTURE *as well as preſent,* ETERNAL *as well as temporary, could never be too much multiplied, or too ſtrongly inculcated.* No matter for that. MOSES, as other men may, on a ſudden grows ſcrupulous; and ſo, together with the maxims of common politics, throws aſide the principles of common ſenſe; and when he had employed all the other inventions of fraud, he boggles at this, which beſt ſerved his purpoſe; was moſt innocent in itſelf; and was moſt important in its general, as well as particular uſe.

In his Lordſhip's next Volume, this *Omiſſion* comes again upon the ſtage; and then we have *another* reaſon aſſigned for MOSES's conduct in this matter. "MOSES would not teach the Doctrine of the immortality of the "ſoul, and of a future ſtate, *on account of the many ſuperſtitions* which "this Doctrine had begot in Egypt, as we muſt believe, or *believe that* "*he knew nothing of it,* or ASSIGN SOME WHIMSICAL REASON FOR HIS "OMISSION *."

We have ſeen before, that MOSES omitted a future ſtate, *becauſe he did not believe it.* This reaſon is now out of date; and one or other of the three following is to be aſſigned; either becauſe it *begot ſuperſtitions*; or becauſe *he knew nothing of it*; or if you will allow neither of theſe, you muſt have recourſe, he tells you, to WARBURTON's WHIMSICAL REASON, that *the Jews were under an extraordinary Providence.*

* Vol. iv. p. 470.

Let us take him then, at his word, without expecting however, that he will ſtand to it; and having ſhewn his two firſt reaſons not worth a ruſh, leave the laſt, eſtabliſhed, even on his own conceſſions.

1. *Moſes*, ſays he, *omitted a future ſtate on account of the many ſuperſtitions, which this doctrine had begot in Egypt.* But if the *omiſſion* ſtands upon this principle, Moses muſt have omitted an infinite number of things, which, Lord Bolingbroke ſays, he borrowed of the Egyptians; part of which, in his Lordſhip's opinion, were thoſe very ſuperſtitions, which this *Doctrine had begot*; ſuch as the notion of TUTELARY DEITIES: and part, what aroſe out of that notion; in the number of which were *diſtinction between things clean and unclean*; an *hereditary Prieſthood*; *ſacerdotal habits*; and *Rites of ſacrifice*.

2. However, he has another reaſon for the omiſſion: Moses *might know nothing of it.* To which, if I only oppoſed his Lordſhip's own words in another place, where (giving us the reaſons why Moses did *know ſomething* of a future ſtate) he obſerves, there are *certain rites, which ſeem to allude or have a remote relation to this very doctrine* *, it might be deemed ſufficient. But I will go further, and obſerve, that, from the very Laws of Moses themſelves, we have an internal evidence of his knowledge of this doctrine. Amongſt the Laws againſt Gentile Divinations, there is one directed againſt that ſpecies of them, called by the Greeks, NECROMANCY, or *invocation of the dead*; which neceſſarily implies, in the Lawgiver who forbids it, as well as in the offender who uſes it, the *knowledge of a future ſtate.*

3. This being the fate of his Lordſhip's two reaſons, we are now abandoned by him, and left to follow our own inventions, or to take up with SOME WHIMSICAL REASON FOR THE OMISSION; that is, to allow that, as the Jews were under an *extraordinary* Providence, Moses in quality of Lawgiver had NO OCCASION for the doctrine of a *future ſtate.*

However, his Lordſhip, diſſatisfied, as well he might, with the ſolutions hitherto propoſed, returns again to the charge; and in his *Corona operis*, the book of FRAGMENTS, more openly oppoſes the doctrine of the *Divine Legation*; and enlarges and expatiates upon the reaſon before given for the *omiſſion*; namely, *the many ſuperſtitions this doctrine had begotten in Egypt.*

* Vol. V. p. 239.

" ONE

" ONE CANNOT SEE WITHOUT SURPRIZE (ſays his Lordſhip) a doctrine " ſo uſeful to ALL Religion, and therefore incorporated into ALL the " Syſtems of Paganiſm, left wholly out of that of the JEWS. Many " probable reaſons might be brought to ſhew, that it was an Egyptian " doctrine before the Exode, and this particularly, that it was propagated " from Egypt, ſo ſoon, at leaſt, afterwards, by all thoſe who were in- " ſtructed like MOSES, in the wiſdom of that People. He tranſported " much of his Wiſdom into the ſcheme of Religion and Government, " which he gave the Iſraelites; and, amongſt other things, certain Rites, " which may ſeem to allude, or have a remote relation to, this very doc- " trine. Though this doctrine therefore, had not been that of ABRAHAM, " ISAAC, and JACOB, he might have adopted it with as little ſcruple, as " he did many cuſtoms and inſtitutions merely Egyptian. He had to do " with a rebellious, but a ſuperſtitious, people. In the firſt Character, " they made it neceſſary that he ſhould neglect nothing which might " add weight to his ordinances, and contribute to keep them in awe. In " the ſecond, their diſpoſition was extremely proper to receive ſuch a doc- " trine, and to be influenced by it. *Shall we ſay that an hypotheſis of* " *future rewards and puniſhments, was* USELESS *among a People who lived* " *under a Theocracy*, and that the future Judge of other People, was their " immediate Judge and King, who reſided in the midſt of them, and who " dealed out rewards and puniſhments on every occaſion? Why then " were ſo many precautions taken? Why was a ſolemn Covenant made " with God, as with a temporal Prince? Why were ſo many promiſes and " threatnings of rewards and puniſhments, temporal indeed, but future " and contingent, as we find in the book of Deuteronomy, moſt patheti- " cally held out by MOSES? Would there have been any more impropriety " in holding out thoſe of one kind than thoſe of another, becauſe the " Supreme Being, who diſpoſed and ordered both, was in a particular " manner preſent amongſt them? Would an addition to the catalogue of " rewards and puniſhments more remote, but eternal, and in all reſpects " far greater, have had no effect? I think neither of theſe things can " be ſaid.

" What ſhall we ſay then? How came it to paſs, this addition was not " made? I will mention what occurs to me, and ſhall not be over ſolli- " citous about the weight that my reflections may deſerve. If the doctrines

" of the immortality of the ſoul and of a future ſtate had been revealed to " Moses, that he might teach them to the Iſraelites, he would have " taught them moſt certainly. But he did not teach them. They were " therefore not revealed to him. Why they were not ſo revealed ſome " PERT DIVINE OR OTHER WILL BE READY TO TELL YOU. For me, I dare " not preſume to gueſs. But this, I may preſume to advance, that ſince " theſe Doctrines were not revealed by God to his ſervant Moses, it is " highly probable that this Legiſlator made a ſcruple of teaching them to " the Iſraelites, how well ſoever inſtructed he might be in them himſelf, " and howſoever uſeful to Government he might think them. The ſuper- " ſtitious and idolatrous rites of the Egyptians, like thoſe of other na- " tions, were founded on the Polytheiſm, and the Mythology, that pre- " vailed, and were ſuffered to prevail, amongſt the Vulgar, and that made " the ſum of their Religion. It ſeemed to be a point of policy to direct " all theſe abſurd opinions and practices to the ſervice of Government, " inſtead of attempting to root them out. But then the great difference " between rude and ignorant nations and ſuch as were civilized and learned, " like the Egyptians, ſeems to have been this, that the former had no " other ſyſtem of Religion than theſe abſurd opinions and practices, whereas " the latter had an *inward* as well as an *outward* Doctrine. There is reaſon " to believe than natural Theology and natural Religion had been taught " and practiſed in the ancient Theban Dynaſty; and it is probable that they " continued to be an *inward* doctrine in the reſt of Egypt; while Poly- " theiſm, Idolatry, and all the MYSTERIES, all the impieties, and all the " follies of Magic, were the *outward* doctrine. Moses might be let into a " knowledge of both; and under the patronage of the Princeſs, whoſe " Foundling he was, he might be initiated into thoſe *Myſteries*, where the " ſecret doctrine alone was taught, and the outward exploded. But we " cannot imagine that the Children of Iſrael, in general, enjoyed the ſame " privilege, nor that the Maſters were ſo laviſh, to their Slaves, of a favour " ſo diſtinguiſhed, and often ſo hard to obtain. No. The Children of " Iſrael knew nothing more than the outſide of the Religion of Egypt; and " if the doctrine, we ſpeak of, was known to them, it was known only in " the ſuperſtitious rites, and with all the fabulous circumſtances in which it " was dreſſed up and preſented to vulgar belief. It would have been hard " therefore to teach, or to renew this Doctrine in the minds of the Iſraelites,

" without

" without giving them an occaſion the more, to recal the polytheiſtical fa-
" bles, and practiſe the idolatrous Rites they had learnt during their Cap-
" tivity. Rites and Ceremonies are often ſo equivocal, that they may be
" applied to very different doctrines. But when they are ſo cloſely con-
" nected with one Doctrine that they are not applicable to another, to
" teach the Doctrine is, in ſome ſort, to teach the Rites and Ceremonies,
" and to authorize the fables on which they are founded. MOSES
" therefore being at liberty to teach this doctrine of rewards and puniſh-
" ments in a future ſtate, or not to teach it, might very well chooſe the
" latter; though he indulged the Iſraelites, on account of the hardneſs of
" their hearts, and by the divine permiſſion, as it is preſumed, in ſeveral
" obſervances and cuſtoms which did not lead directly, though even they
" did ſo perhaps in conſequence, to the Polytheiſm and Idolatry of
" Egypt *."

What a Babel of bad reaſoning has his Lordſhip here accumulated out of the rubbiſh of falſe and inconſiſtent Principles! And all, to inſult the Temple of God and the Fortreſs of Mount Sion. Sometimes, he repreſents MOSES as a divine Meſſenger, and diſtinguiſhes between what was revealed, and what was not revealed, unto him; and then, *a future ſtate not being revealed to* MOSES *was the reaſon he did not teach it.* Sometimes again, he conſiders him as a mere human Lawgiver, acquiring all his knowledge of Religion and Politics from the Egyptians, in whoſe *ſecret* Learning he had been intimately inſtructed; and then, the reaſon of the *omiſſion* is, *leſt the Doctrine of a future ſtate ſhould have drawn* the *Iſraelites into thoſe Egyptian ſuperſtitions*, from which, it was MOSES's purpoſe to eſtrange them. All theſe inconſiſtencies in *Fact* and *Reaſoning*, his Lordſhip delivers in the ſame breath, and without the leaſt intimation of any change in his Principles or Opinions.

But let us follow him ſtep by ſtep, without troubling our heads about his real ſentiments. It is enough, that we confute all he ſays, whether under his own, or any aſſumed Character.

He begins with confeſſing, that ONE CANNOT SEE WITHOUT SURPRIZE, *a doctrine ſo uſeful to* ALL *Religions, and therefore incorporated into* ALL *the Syſtems of Paganiſm, left wholly out of that of the Jews.*

* Vol. V. p. 238, 9, 40, 41.

At

At length then it appears, that this OMISSION is no light or trivial matter, which may be accounted for, as he before ſuppoſed, by MOSES's *diſbelief* of the doctrine; his *ignorance* of it; or the *imaginary miſchiefs* it might poſſibly produce. We may be allowed then to think it deſerved all the pains, the Author of the *Divine Legation of Moſes* has beſtowed upon it: whoſe WHIMSICAL REASONING, if it ended in a demonſtration of the truth of Revealed Religion, is ſufficiently atoned for, though it were a little out of the common road: for in this caſe the old proverb would hold true, that *the furtheſt way about is the neareſt way home.*

His Lordſhip proceeds to ſhew, in direct oppoſition to what he ſaid before, that MOSES could not be ignorant of the doctrine of a future ſtate, becauſe the Egyptians taught it: His knowledge of it (my Lord tells us) further appears from an *internal* circumſtance, *ſome of his rites ſeeming to allude, or to have a remote relation to, this very doctrine.* This I obſerve, to his Lordſhip's credit. The remark is juſt and accurate. But we are in no want of his *remote relation:* I have ſhewn juſt above, that the Jewiſh Laws againſt *Necromancy* neceſſarily imply Moſes's knowledge of the Doctrine.

He then goes on to explain the advantages which, humanly ſpeaking, the Iſraelites muſt have received from this Doctrine, in the temper and circumſtances with which they left Egypt. MOSES, ſays he, *had to do with a rebellious and ſuperſtitious People.* This likewiſe I obſerve to his credit: It has the ſame marks of ſagacity and truth; and brings us to the very verge of the *Solution*, propoſed by the Author of the *Divine Legation*; which is, that the Iſraelites were indeed under an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, which ſupplied all the diſadvantages of the OMISSION. Under a *common and unequal* Providence, RELIGION cannot ſubſiſt without the doctrine of a future ſtate: for Religion implying a juſt retribution of reward and puniſhment, which under ſuch a Providence is not diſpenſed, a future ſtate muſt needs ſubvene, to prevent the whole Edifice from falling into ruin. And thus we account for the *fact*, which his Lordſhip ſo amply acknowledges, viz. *that the doctrine of a future ſtate was moſt uſeful to* ALL *Religions, and therefore incorporated into* ALL *the Religions of Paganiſm.* But where an EXTRAORDINARY Providence is adminiſtered, good and evil are exactly diſtributed; and therefore, in this circumſtance, a FUTURE STATE is not neceſſary for the ſupport of Religion. It is not to be found in the Moſaic Oeconomy;

Oeconomy; yet this Oeconomy ſubſiſted for many ages; Religion therefore did not need it; or in other words, it was ſupported by an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE.

This is the argument of the *Divine Legation*. And now, let us conſider his Lordſhip's preſent attempt to evade it.

Shall we ſay, that an Hypotheſis of future rewards and puniſhments was uſeleſs amongſt a people who lived under a THEOCRACY, *and that the future Judge of other People was their immediate Judge and King, who reſided in the midſt of them, and who dealt out rewards and puniſhments on every occaſion?* WHY THEN WERE SO MANY PRECAUTIONS *taken?* &c.

Firſt, let me obſerve, that the PRECAUTIONS here objected to, are intended for an inſinuation againſt the truth of Moſes's Promiſe of an *extraordinary Providence*. A kind of SOPHISM which his Lordſhip advances, and only holds in common with the reſt who have written againſt the *Divine Legation:* and which I ſhall here, after much forbearance on my part, expoſe as it deſerves.

MOSES affirms again and again, that his People were under an *extraordinary Providence*. He affirms it indeed; but as it is not a ſelf-evident truth, it needs to be proved. Till then, the Unbeliever is at liberty to urge any circumſtance in the Jewiſh Law or Hiſtory, which may ſeem to bring the *reality* of that Providence into queſtion: The ſame liberty too has the Believer; if, at leaſt, he can perſuade himſelf to make uſe of it; as many, ſo profeſſing themſelves, have done both in their Writings and Diſcourſings againſt the *Divine Legation*. Things were in this train, when I undertook the defence of MOSES: And to obviate all objections to the Legiſlator's credit, ariſing from any doubtful or unfavourable circumſtance in the Law or Hiſtory of the Jews concerning this *extraordinary Providence*, I advanced the INTERNAL ARGUMENT of the OMISSION. An argument which neceſſarily inferred "that an extraordinary Providence was in fact adminiſtered in the Jewiſh Republic." What change did this make in the ſtate of the caſe? A very great one. Unbelievers were now indeed at liberty, and Believers too, if ſo perverſely inclined, to oppoſe, and, as they could, to confute the Argument of the *Divine Legation:* But by no rules of good Logic could they come over again with thoſe ſcripture difficulties to Moſes's credit, which the argument of the *Divine Legation* had entirely obviated, and which it ſtill continued to exclude, ſo long as it remained unanſwered. For while a demonſtrated truth ſtands good, no difficulties

culties ariſing from it, however inexplicable, can have any weight againſt that ſuperior evidence. Not to admit this fundamental maxim of common ſenſe, would be to unſettle many a phyſical and mathematical demonſtration, as well as this *moral* one.

I ſay therefore, as things now ſtand, To oppoſe difficulties againſt the adminiſtration of an extraordinary Providence, after that Providence has been proved, and before the proof has been confuted, is the moſt palpable and barefaced impoſition on our underſtanding. In which however, his Lordſhip is but one of a hundred: and truly, in this, the leaſt indecent and inconſiſtent of the hundred; as his declared purpoſe is to deſtroy the credit and authority of the Jewiſh Lawgiver.

I ſhall not however decline to examine the weight of theſe objections, though they be ſo vainly and ſophiſtically obtruded.

If there was this EXTRAORDINARY Providence adminiſtered, ſays his Lordſhip, *Why ſo many Precautions taken? Why was a ſolemn covenant made with God as with a temporal Prince? Why were ſo many promiſes and threatenings of rewards and puniſhments, temporal indeed, but future and contingent, as we find in the Book of Deuteronomy, moſt pathetically held out by Moſes?* This difficulty is not hard to be reſolved. We find throughout that Book which we Believers are wont to call the *Hiſtory of Providence*, but which his Lordſhip is pleaſed to intitle, *Tales more extravagant than thoſe of Amadis de Gaule*, that God, in his moral Government of the World, always employs human means, as far as thoſe means will go; and never interpoſes with his *extraordinary Providence*, but when they will go no further. To do otherwiſe, would be an unneceſſary waſte of Miracles; better fitted to confound our knowledge of NATURE, by obſcuring the harmony of order, in ſuch a control of its delegated Powers, than to make manifeſt the preſence of its ſovereign Lord and Maſter. This method in God's moral Government, all our ideas of Wiſdom ſeem to ſupport. Now when He, the great Director of the Univerſe, had decreed to rule the Jewiſh People in an extraordinary way, he did not propoſe to ſuperſede any of the meaſures of civil regimen. And this, I hope, will be eſteemed a ſufficient anſwer to—WHY SO MANY PRECAUTIONS TAKEN, &c. But the Reader will find this argument drawn out more at large, in my remarks on the ſame kind of ſophiſtry employed by Dr. SYKES.

But (ſays his Lordſhip) *would the hypotheſis of a future ſtate have been uſeleſs*, &c.? *Would there* (as his Lordſhip goes on) *have been any more impropriety*

propriety in holding out thoſe [ſanctions] *of one kind than thoſe of another, becauſe the ſupreme Being, who diſpoſed and ordered both, was in a particular manner preſent amongſt them? Would an addition of rewards and puniſhments (more remote, but eternal, and in all reſpects far greater) to the catalogue, have had no effect? I think neither of theſe things can be ſaid.* His Lordſhip totally miſtakes the drift of the Argument of the *Divine Legation*, which infers no more, from the fact of the *omiſſion*, than this, That the Jewiſh Oeconomy, adminiſtered by an *extraordinary* Providence, could do without the ſervice of the *omitted* Doctrine; not, that that Doctrine, even under ſuch a Diſpenſation, was *of no uſe*, much leſs that it was IMPROPER. But then one of his Followers will be ready to ſay, "If a *future ſtate* was not *improper*, much more if it was of *uſe*, under an extraordinary diſpenſation, How came MOSES not to give it?" I reply, for great and wiſe ends of Providence vaſtly countervailing the uſe of that Doctrine, which, in the laſt volume of this work, will be explained at large.

Lord Bolingbroke proceeds next to tell us, what occurs to Him, concerning the REASONS of the *omiſſion*; and previouſly aſſures us, he is *not over ſolicitous about their weight*. This, I ſuppoſe, is to make his *Counters* paſs current: For then they become the *money of fools*, as Hobbes expreſſes it, when we ceaſe to be *ſolicitous* about their worth; when we try them by their colour, not their weight; their Rhetoric, and not their Logic. However this muſt be ſaid with an exception to the firſt, which is altogether logical, and very diverting.

If (ſays his Lordſhip) *the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul and a future ſtate had been revealed to Moſes, that he might teach them to the Iſraelites, he would have taught them moſt certainly. But he did not teach them. They were, therefore, not revealed.* It is in mood and figure, you ſee; and, I warrant you, deſigned to ſupply what was wanting in the *Divine Legation:* Though, as the Author of that book certainly believed theſe *doctrines were not revealed*, 'tis ten to one but he thought Moſes was not at liberty to teach them: Unleſs you can ſuppoſe that his Lordſhip, who believed nothing of Revelation, might believe Moſes to be reſtrained from teaching what God had not revealed to him; and yet, that the Author of the *Divine Legation*, who held Moſes's pretenſions to be true, might think him at liberty to go beyond his Commiſſion. Thus far, then, we may be ſaid to agree: But this good underſtanding does not laſt long. His Lordſhip's *modeſty* and my *pertneſs* ſoon make the breach as wide as ever.—*Why they were not ſo revealed*

(ſays his Lordſhip) *ſome* PERT DIVINE *or other will be ready to tell you. For me, I dare not pretend to gueſs.* My forwardneſs, and his Lordſhip's backwardneſs, are equally well ſuited to our reſpective principles. Should his Lordſhip have gueſſed, it might have brought him to what he moſt dreaded, the divine original of the Jewiſh Religion: Had I forborn to gueſs, I had betrayed my cauſe, and left thoſe DATA unemployed, which enabled me, I do not ſay to gueſs, but to diſcover, and to *demonſtrate the Divine Legation of Moſes.*

However, *This*, his Lordſhip *will preſume to advance, that ſince theſe doctrines were not revealed by God to his ſervant* MOSES, *it is highly probable, that the Legiſlator made a ſcruple of teaching them to the Iſraelites, howſoever well inſtructed he might be in them himſelf, and howſoever uſeful to Government he might think them.*

Here, you ſee, he perſonates a Believer, who holds MOSES to be an inſpired Lawgiver: But obſerve how poorly he ſuſtains his part! Either MOSES did indeed receive the LAW from God, or he did not. If he did not, Why are we mocked with the diſtinction between what was revealed, and what was not revealed, when nothing was revealed? If MOSES did receive the *Law* from God, Why are we ſtill worſe mocked with the diſtinction between what was revealed, and what was not revealed, when every thing regarding the Diſpenſation muſt needs be revealed; as well, the direction to omit *a Future State*, as the direction to *inculcate the Unity of the Godhead?* Why was all this mockery? the Reader aſks. For a very good purpoſe: it was to draw us from the TRUE object of our inquiry, which is, What GOD intended by the *omiſſion*; to that FANTASTIC object, which only reſpects what MOSES intended by it. For the intention of GOD ſuppoſes the miſſion and inſpiration of a Prophet; but the intention of MOSES, when conſidered in contradiſtinction to the intention of God, terminates in the human views of a mere politic Lawgiver; which leads us back again to Infidelity.

But he ſoon ſtrips Moſes of his Miſſion, and leaves him to cool, in Querpo, under his civil character as before. And here he conſiders, What it was, which, under this character, might induce Moſes to *omit* a future ſtate; and he finds it to be, leſt this doctrine ſhould have hurt the doctrine of the UNITY, which it was his purpoſe to inculcate amongſt his People, in oppoſition to the Egyptian Polytheiſm.

Moſes

Moſes (ſays his Lordſhip), *it is highly probable, made a ſcruple of teaching theſe Doctrines to the Iſraelites, howſoever well inſtructed he might be in them himſelf, and howſoever uſeful to Government he might think them. The People of Egypt, like all other nations, were Polytheiſts, but different from all others: there was in Egypt an inward as well as outward Doctrine: Natural Theology and natural Religion were the* INWARD *Doctrine; while Polytheiſm, Idolatry, and* ALL THE MYSTERIES, *all the impieties and follies of magic, were the* OUTWARD *Doctrine. Moſes was initiated into thoſe Myſteries where the ſecret doctrine alone was taught, and the outward exploded.*—For an accurate as well as juſt Divider commend me to his Lordſhip. In diſtinguiſhing between the *inward* and *outward* doctrines of the Egyptians, he puts *all the myſteries* amongſt the *outward:* though if they had an *inward*, it muſt neceſſarily be part of thoſe *Myſteries*. But he makes amends preſently (but his amends to truth is, as it ſhould be, always at the expence of a contradiction), and directly ſays, that MOSES LEARNT THE INWARD DOCTRINE IN THE MYSTERIES. Let this paſs: He proceeds—*Moſes had the knowledge of both outward and inward. Not ſo the Iſraelites in general. They knew nothing more than the outſide of the Religion of Egypt. And if a future ſtate was known to them, it was known only in the ſuperſtitious rites, and with all the fabulous circumſtances, in which it was dreſſed up and preſented to the vulgar belief. It would be hard therefore to teach or to renew this doctrine in the minds of the Iſraelites, without giving them an occaſion the more to recal the Polytheiſtical fables, and practiſe the idolatrous rites they had learnt during the Captivity.*

The Children of Iſrael, it ſeems, *knew no more of a future ſtate, than by the ſuperſtitious rites and fabulous circumſtances with which it was dreſſed up and preſented to the public belief.* What then? MOSES, he owns, *knew more*. And what hindered MOSES from communicating of his knowledge to the People, when he took them under his protection, and gave them a new Law and a new Religion? His Lordſhip gives us to underſtand that this People knew as little of the UNITY; for he tells us, it was amongſt the *inward* Doctrines of the Egyptians: yet this did not hinder Moſes from inſtructing his people in the doctrine of the Unity. What then ſhould hinder his teaching them the *inward* doctrine of a future ſtate, diveſted of its fabulous circumſtances? He had diveſted *Religious worſhip* of the abſurdities of Demi-Gods and Heroes; What ſhould hinder him from diveſting a *future ſtate* of Charon's boat and the Elyſian fields? But the notion of a

future ſtate would have recalled thoſe fabulous circumſtances which had been long connected with it. And was not Religious worſhip, under the idea of a *tutelar Deity*, and a *temporal King*, much more apt to recal the polytheiſm of Egypt? Yet Moſes ventured upon this inconvenience, for the ſake of great advantages: Why ſhould he not venture on the other, for the ſake of greater? for the doctrine of a future ſtate is, as his Lordſhip confeſſes, even neceſſary both to civil and religious Society. But what does he talk of the danger of giving entry to the fables and ſuperſtitions concerning the Soul (ſuperſtitions, which, though learnt indeed in the Captivity, were common to all the nations under Polytheiſm) when in other places he aſſures us, that Moſes indulged the Iſraelites in the moſt characteriſtic ſuperſtitions of Egypt?

However, let us ſee how he ſupports this profound obſervation. *Rites and Ceremonies* (ſays his Lordſhip) *are often ſo equivocal, that they may be applied to very different doctrines. But when they are ſo cloſely connected with a doctrine, that they are not applicable to another, to teach the doctrine is,* IN SOME SORT, *to teach the rites and ceremonies.—In ſome ſort*, is well put in, to ſoften the deformity of this inverted logic. His point is to ſhew that a ſuperſtitious Rite, relating to, and dependent on, a certain doctrine, will obtrude itſelf whenever that Doctrine is taught: and his reaſoning is only calculated to prove, that where the Rite is practiſed, the Doctrine will ſoon follow. This may indeed be true. But then it does not hold in the converſe, that the Rite follows the Doctrine: becauſe a Principal may ſtand without its Dependent: but a Dependent can never ſubſiſt without its Principal.

Under cover of theſe groteſque ſhapes, into which his Lordſhip has traveſtied the Jewiſh Lawgiver, he concludes, that Moses *being* AT LIBERTY *to teach this doctrine of rewards and puniſhments in a future ſtate, or not to teach it, he might very well chuſe the latter*—Yet it was but at the very beginning of this paragraph that he tells us, *Moſes was* NOT AT LIBERTY *to teach or not to teach.* His words are theſe, *Since this doctrine was not revealed by God to his ſervant Moſes, it is highly probable that this Legiſlator* MADE A SCRUPLE *of teaching it.* But his Lordſhip very well knows that Stateſmen ſoon get the better of their *ſcruples*; and then, by another fetch of political caſuiſtry, find themſelves more at liberty than ever.

I had obſerved above that our noble Diſcourſer, who makes Moses ſo *ſcrupulous* that he would, on no terms, afford a handle for one ſingle ſuperſtition

ſtition of Egypt to get footing among his people, has, on other occaſions, charged him with introducing them in the lump. He was ſenſible that his Inconſiſtency was likely to be detected, and therefore he now attempts to obviate it.—*Though he* [Moſes] *indulged the Iſraelites, on account of the hardneſs of their hearts, and by the divine permiſſion, as it is preſumed, in ſeveral obſervations and cuſtoms, which did not* LEAD *directly, though even they did ſo perhaps* IN CONSEQUENCE, *to the Polytheiſm and Idolatry of Egypt.* And could the teaching the doctrine of a future ſtate poſſibly do more than LEAD IN CONSEQUENCE (as his Lordſhip elegantly expreſſes it) *to the Polytheiſm and Idolatry of Egypt*, by drawing after it thoſe *ſuperſtitious Rites and fabulous circumſtances*, which, he tells us, then attended the popular notion of ſuch a State? If, for the *hardneſs of their hearts*, they were indulged in *ſeveral obſervances and cuſtoms*, which only *led in conſequence* to Polytheiſm and Idolatry, Why, for the *ſame* hardneſs of heart, were they not indulged with the doctrine of a future ſtate, which did not lead, but by a very remote conſequence, to Polytheiſm and Idolatry? Eſpecially ſince this *hardneſs of heart* would leſs bear denying them a DOCTRINE ſo alluring to the human mind, than denying them a RITE, to which habit only and old cuſtom had given an occaſional propenſity. Again, thoſe Rites indulged to the People, for the *hardneſs of their hearts*, had, in themſelves, little uſe or tendency to advance the ends of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation; but rather retarded them: Whereas a future ſtate, by his Lordſhip's own confeſſion, is *moſt uſeful to all Religions, and therefore incorporated into all the Syſtems of Paganiſm*; and was particularly uſeful to the Iſraelites, who were, he ſays, both a *rebellious* and a *ſuperſtitious* People: diſpoſitions, which not only made it neceſſary to omit nothing that might inforce obedience, but likewiſe facilitated the reception and ſupported the influence of the doctrine in queſtion.

The Reader has here the whole of his Lordſhip's boaſted Solution of this important Circumſtance of the OMISSION, in the Moſaic Law. And he ſees how vainly this Reſolver of doubts labours to elude its force. Overwhelmed, as it were, with the weight of ſo irreſiſtible a Power, after long wriggling to get free, he at length crawls forth; but ſo maimed and broken, ſo impotent and fretful, that all his remaining ſtrength is in his venom. And this, he now ſheds in abundance over the whole Moſaic Oeconomy. It is pronounced to be a groſs impoſture; and this very circumſtance of the OMISSION is given as an undoubted proof of the accuſation.

—"Can

—" Can we be ſurpriſed then (ſays his Lordſhip) that the Jews aſcribed " to the all-perfect Being, on various occaſions, ſuch a conduct and ſuch " Laws as are inconſiſtent with his moſt obvious perfections? Can we be- " lieve ſuch a conduct and ſuch Laws to have been his, on the word of the " proudeſt and moſt lying Nation in the world? Many other conſiderations " might have their place here. But I ſhall confine myſelf to one; *which* " *I do not remember to have ſeen nor heard urged on one ſide, nor* ANTICIPATED " *on the other.* To ſhew then, the more evidently, how ABSURD, as well as " IMPIOUS it is to aſcribe theſe Moſaical Laws to God, let it be conſidered, " that NEITHER the people of Iſrael, nor their Legiſlator perhaps, KNEW " ANY THING OF ANOTHER LIFE, wherein the crimes committed in this life " are to be puniſhed. Although he might have learned this Doctrine, " which was not ſo much a ſecret doctrine, as it may be preſumed that the " Unity of the ſupreme God was, amongſt the Egyptians. Whether he had " learned both or either, or neither of them in thoſe ſchools, cannot be de- " termined: BUT THIS MAY BE ADVANCED WITH ASSURANCE; If MOSES " knew, that crimes, and therefore Idolatry, one of the greateſt, were to be " puniſhed in another life, he deceived the people in the Covenant they " made, by his intervention, with God. If he did not know it, I ſay it with " horror, the conſequence, *according to the hypotheſis I oppoſe*, muſt be, that " God deceived both him and them. In either caſe, a covenant or bargain " was made, wherein the conditions of obedience and diſobedience were " not fully, nor by conſequence, fairly ſtated. The Iſraelites had better " things to hope, and worſe to fear, than thoſe which were expreſſed in it: " and their whole hiſtory ſeems to ſhew how much need they had of theſe " additional motives to reſtrain them from Polytheiſm and Idolatry, and to " anſwer the aſſumed Purpoſes of divine Providence *."

This argument, *advanced with* ſo much *aſſurance*, his Lordſhip ſays, he does *not remember to have ſeen, or heard urged on one ſide, nor anticipated on the other.* A gentle reproof, as we are to underſtand it, of the Author of the *Divine Legation:* for none but He, I think, could *anticipate* an objection to an ARGUMENT which none but He had employed. However, though it be now too late to *anticipate*, we have ſtill time enough to anſwer.

Let it be conſidered (ſays his Lordſhip) *that perhaps Moſes* KNEW NOTHING *of another life, wherein the crimes committed in this life are to be puniſhed.*—

* Vol. v. p. 194, 195.

Conſidered

Conſidered by whom? Not by his Lordſhip, or his kind Readers: for his former reaſoning, which I will here again repeat, had brought them to *conſider* otherwiſe. Theſe are his words: "Many probable reaſons might "be brought to ſhew, that this was an Egyptian doctrine before the Exode; "and this particularly, that it was propagated from Egypt, ſo ſoon at "leaſt afterwards, by all thoſe who were inſtructed LIKE MOSES, in the "wiſdom of that People. He tranſported much of this wiſdom into the "ſcheme of Religion and Government which he gave the Iſraelites; and, "among other things, certain Rites, which SEEM TO ALLUDE, OR HAVE A "REMOTE RELATION, TO THIS DOCTRINE *." This poſſibly might have recurred to his Lordſhip, while he was boaſting of his new and *unanticipated* objection; and therefore, in the tricking it up amongſt his FRAGMENTS, to his *perhaps*, he adds, by a very happy corrective, *although Moſes might have learnt this Doctrine, which* WAS NOT SO MUCH A SECRET *doctrine, as it may be preſumed that the Unity of the ſupreme God was amongſt the Egyptians*. But he had done better to leave his contradictions uncorrected, and truſt to the rare ſagacity of his Readers to find them out. He had ever an ill hand at reconciling matters; ſo in the caſe before us, in the very act of covering one contradiction, he commits another. He is here ſpeaking of a future ſtate, diveſted of its fabulous circumſtances; *Perhaps*, ſays he, MOSES KNEW NOTHING OF ANOTHER LIFE—*Which was* NOT SO MUCH A SECRET *doctrine as that of Unity*. Now, Reader, turn back a moment, to the long quotation from his 239th page, and there thou wilt find, that a future ſtate, diveſted of its fabulous circumſtances, WAS AS MUCH A SECRET *Doctrine, as that of the Unity*.—"There is reaſon to believe, that natural Theology "and natural Religion were INWARD doctrines amongſt the Egyptians. "MOSES might be let into a knowledge of BOTH by being initiated into "thoſe *Myſteries* where the *ſecret* doctrine alone was taught. But we can-"not imagine, that the Children of Iſrael in general enjoyed the ſame pri-"viſege. No, *they knew nothing more than the outſide* of the Egyptian Re-"ligion: and if the *Doctrine we ſpeak of* [A FUTURE STATE] was known to "them, it was known only in the ſuperſtitious Rites, and with all the fa-"bulous circumſtances, in which it was dreſſed up and preſented to vulgar "belief."—Is not this, now, a plain declaration, that a *future ſtate*, di-

* Vol. V. p. 328, 9.

veſted

veſted of its fabulous circumſtances, *was as much a ſecret Doctrine as the doctrine of the Unity?*

But his Lordſhip's contradictions are the leaſt of my concern. It is his preſent Argument I have now to do with. And this, he ſays, he *advances* WITH ASSURANCE. It is fit he ſhould. *Modeſty* would be very ill beſtowed on ſuch opinions.

He thinks he can reduce thoſe who hold no future ſtate in the Jewiſh Oeconomy, to the neceſſity of owning, that Moses, *or that* God *himſelf, acted unfairly by the Iſraelites.* How ſo, You aſk? Becauſe One or Other of them concealed that *ſtate.* And what if they did? Why then they concealed one of the actual Sanctions of moral conduct, *future puniſhment.* But who told him, that this, which, he confeſſes, was no ſanction of the *Jewiſh Law*, was yet a Sanction in the moral conduct of the *Jewiſh People?* Who, unleſs the ARTIFICIAL THEOLOGER? the man he moſt deſpiſes and decries.

And, even in *artificial Theology*, there is nothing but the CALVINISTICAL tenet of *Original Sin*, which gives the leaſt countenance to ſo monſtrous an opinion; every thing in the GOSPEL, every thing in NATURAL THEOLOGY, exclaims againſt it.

JESUS, indeed, to prove that the departed Iſraelites ſtill exiſted, quotes the title God was pleaſed to give himſelf, of *the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob*; and this, together with their *exiſtence*, proves likewiſe the *happineſs* of their condition: for the relation they are ſaid to ſtand in with God, ſhews them to be of his Kingdom. But we muſt remember, that the queſtion with his Lordſhip is, not of *reward*, but *puniſhment.* Again, JESUS ſpeaks (indeed in a parable) of the deceaſed *rich man*, as *in a place of torment.* But we muſt remember that the ſcene was laid at a time when the Doctrine of a *future ſtate* was become national. To know our heavenly maſter's ſentiments on the queſtion of *ſubjection to an unknown Sanction*, we ſhould do well to conſider his words, "The ſervant which knew his "Lord's will, and prepared not himſelf, neither did according to his will, "ſhall be beaten with many ſtripes; but he that knew not, and did commit "things worthy of ſtripes, ſhall be beaten with few ſtripes *." Now the will of a Maſter or Sovereign, declared in his Laws, never includes in it

* Luke xii. ver. 47, 8.

more

more than the *Sanctions* of thoſe Laws. The Author of the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews* expreſly diſtinguiſhes the ſanction of the Jewiſh law from that of the Goſpel; and makes the difference to conſiſt in this, that the one was of *temporal* puniſhments, and the other of *future*. *He that deſpiſed Moſes's Law* DIED *without mercy under two or three witneſſes. Of how* MUCH SORER PUNISHMENT, *ſuppoſe ye, ſhall he be thought worthy who hath trodden under foot the ſon of God* * ? Which appeal is without common ſenſe or honeſty, on a ſuppoſition that the apoſtle held the Jews to be ſubject to *future* puniſhments, before that Sanction was promulged amongſt them. From the GOSPEL therefore it cannot be inferred, that the Iſraelites, while only following the Law of Moſes, in which the ſanction of a *future ſtate* is not found, were liable or ſubject to the puniſhments of that ſtate.

Let us ſee next, Whether NATURAL THEOLOGY, or *natural Religion* (as his Lordſhip is pleaſed, for ſome reaſon or other, to diſtinguiſh the terms), hath taught us, that a people, living under an *extraordinary Providence* or the immediate government of God, to whom he had given a Law and revealed a Religion, both ſupported by *temporal* ſanctions only, could be deemed ſubject to thoſe *future* puniſhments, unknown to them, which *natural* Religion before, and *revealed* Religion ſince, have diſcovered to be due to bad men living under a *common Providence.*

NATURAL RELIGION ſtandeth on this Principle, "That the Governor "of the Univerſe REWARDS and PUNISHES moral Agents." The length or ſhortneſs of human exiſtence comes not primarily into the idea of Religion; not even into that compleat idea of Religion delivered by St. Paul, in his general definition of it. The Religioniſt, ſays he, *muſt believe that God is, and that he* IS A REWARDER *of thoſe who ſeek him.*

While God exactly diſtributed his rewards and puniſhments *here*, the light of reaſon directed men to look no further for the Sanctions of his Laws. But when it came to be ſeen, that He was *not always* a Rewarder and a Puniſher *here*, men neceſſarily concluded, from his moral attributes, that he would be ſo, *hereafter:* and conſequently, that this life was but a ſmall portion of the human duration. Men had not yet ſpeculated on the permanent nature f the Soul: And when they did ſo, that conſideration, which, under an *ordinary* Providence, came ſtrongly in aid of the *moral*

* Luke x. ver. 28, 9.

argument for another life, had no tendency, under the *extraordinary*, to open to them the proſpects of *futurity:* becauſe, though they ſaw the Soul unaffected by thoſe cauſes which brought the body to deſtruction, yet they held it to be equally dependent on the Will of the Creator: Who, amongſt the various means of its diſſolution (of which they had no idea), had, for aught they knew, provided one, or more than one, for that purpoſe.

In this manner was a FUTURE STATE brought, by natural light, into Religion: and from thenceforth became a neceſſary part of it. But under the Jewiſh THEOCRACY, God was an exact Rewarder and Puniſher, *here*. Natural light therefore evinced that under ſuch an adminiſtration, the ſubjects of it did not become liable to *future* Puniſhments till this ſanction was known amongſt them.

Thus NATURAL and REVEALED RELIGION ſhew, that his Lordſhip calumniated both, when he affirmed, that, *according to the hypotheſis he oppoſed*, MOSES DECEIVED *the people in the Covenant they made, by his intervention with God: Or that, if Moſes did not know the doctrine of a future ſtate, then* GOD DECEIVED *both him and them.*

Should it be aſked, how God will deal with wicked men thus dying under the Moſaic Diſpenſation? I will anſwer, in the words of Dr. SAM. CLARKE, on a like occaſion. He had demonſtrated a ſelf-moving Subſtance to be immaterial, and ſo, not periſhable like Bodies. But, as this demonſtration included the Souls of irrational animals, it was aſked, "How theſe were to be diſpoſed of, when they had left their reſpective habitations?" To which he very properly replies, "Certainly, the omnipotent and infinitely "wiſe God may, without any great difficulty, be ſuppoſed to have more "ways of diſpoſing of his Creatures" [I add, with perfect juſtice and equity, and with equal meaſure, to all his creatures as well accountable as unaccountable] "than we are, at preſent, let into the ſecret of*."— But if the Author of the *Divine Legation* has not promiſed more than he can perform (as his long delay gives his well-wiſhers cauſe to ſuſpect and his ill-wiſhers to hope) this matter will be explained at large, in his account of the SCRIPTURE DOCTRINE OF THE REDEMPTION, which, he has told us, is to have a place in his laſt Volume.

* Octavo Tracts againſt Dodwell and Collins, p. 103.

Nothing

Nothing now remains of this objection but what relates to the ſanction of *future rewards:* And I would by no means deprive the faithful Iſraelites of theſe. His Lordſhip therefore has this to make his beſt of: and, in his opinion, the beſtowing even of a *reward,* to which one has no title, is foul dealing; for he joins it with *puniſhment,* as if his conſequence, againſt God's juſtice and goodneſs, might be equally deduced from either of them.—*A covenant,* ſays he, *was made, wherein the conditions of obedience and diſobedience were not* FULLY, *nor, by conſequence,* FAIRLY *ſtated. The Iſraelites had* BETTER THINGS TO HOPE, *and worſe to fear, than thoſe which were expreſſed in it.* Though it be hard on a generous *Benefactor* to be denied the right of giving more than he had promiſed; it is ſtill harder on the poor *Dependant,* that he is not at liberty to receive more. True it is, that, in this caſe, the conditions are not FULLY ſtated; and therefore, according to his Lordſhip's Logic, BY CONSEQUENCE NOT FAIRLY. To ſtrengthen this Conſequence, his Lordſhip concludes in theſe words—*And their whole Hiſtory ſeems to ſhew how much need they had of theſe additional motives* [future Rewards and Puniſhments] *to reſtrain them from Polytheiſm and Idolatry, and to anſwer the* ASSUMED *purpoſes of Divine Providence.*

Whoever puts all theſe things together—"That Moſes was himſelf of the race of Iſrael—was learned in all the wiſdom of Egypt—and capable of freeing his People from their Yoke—that he brought them within ſight of the promiſed Land; a fertile Country, which they were to conquer and inhabit—that he inſtituted a ſyſtem of Laws, which has been the admiration of the wiſeſt men of all ages—that he underſtood the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE; and, by his knowledge gained in Egypt, was not ignorant of the efficacy of it in general; and by his full experience of the rebellious and ſuperſtitious temper of his own People, could not but ſee how uſeful it would have been to them in particular."—Whoever, I ſay, puts all theſe things together (and all theſe things are amongſt his Lordſhip's CONCESSIONS) and at the ſame time conſiders, that MOSES, throughout his whole ſyſtem of Law and Religion, is entirely ſilent concerning a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments, will, I believe, conclude, that there was ſomething more in the OMISSION than Lord BOLINGBROKE could fathom, or, at leaſt, was willing to diſcover.

But let us turn from Moses's conduct, (which will be elsewhere considered at large) to his Lordship's, which is our present business.

1. First, he gives us his conjectures, to account for the *Omission*, exclusive of Moses's *Divine Legation:* but, as if dissatisfied with them himself (which he well might be, for they destroy one another),

2. He next attempts, you see, to prove, that the *Legation* could not be *divine*, from this very circumstance of the *omission*.

3. But now he will go further, and demonstrate that an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE, such a one as is represented by Moses, and which, the Author of the *Divine Legation* has proved, from the circumstance of the OMISSION, was actually administered in the Jewish Republic, could not possibly be administered, without destroying *free will*; without *making Virtue servile*; and without *relaxing universal benevolence*.

4. And lastly, to make all sure, he shuts up the account by shewing, that an *extraordinary* Providence could answer no reasonable end or purpose.

In his first and last order of evasions, he seems to be alone; but in the second and third, he had the pleasure of seeing many an orthodox Writer against the Divine Legation in CONFEDERACY with him, to use his Lordship's language, when he speaks of the good understanding between DIVINES and ATHEISTS.

I have examined his first and second order. The third and fourth remain to be considered; it is the last refuge of his infidelity.

1. His principal objection to the administration of an extraordinary Providence, such as Moses promised to his people, on the part of GOD, is, that it would DESTROY FREE-WILL. But here let me observe, that he affects to disguise the immediate Object of his attack; and, in arguing against an *extraordinary Providence*, chuses to consider it in the general, as the point rises out of an imaginary dispute between Himself and the Divines; who, he pretends, are dissatisfied with the present order of things, and require, as the terms of their acquiescence in God's government, the administration of an *equal Providence, here*. But, this obliquity in disguising the true object of his attack, not being of itself sufficient to embarras the question, he further supports it by a prevarication: for it is not true, that Divines are dissatisfied with the present order of things, or that they require a better. All the ground they ever gave his Lordship for

for imputing this ſcandal to them, being only their aſſertion, "That if the preſent ſtate be the whole of Man's exiſtence, then the juſtice of God would have more exactly diſpenſed good and evil *here:* but, as he has not done ſo, it follows, that there will be a ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments *hereafter.*"

This premiſed, I proceed to his firſt objection,—"In good earneſt (ſays "his Lordſhip) is a ſyſtem of particular providences, in which the ſu- "preme Being, or his Angels, like his Miniſters to reward, and his Execu- "tioners to puniſh, are conſtantly employed in the affairs of mankind, "much more reaſonable?" [than the *Gods* of EPICURUS or the *morals* of POLEMO]. "Would the JUSTICE of God be more MANIFEST in ſuch a ſtate "of things than in the preſent? I ſee no room for MERIT on the part of "Man, nor for JUSTICE on the part of God, in a ſuch a ſtate *."

His Lordſhip aſks, *whether the Juſtice of God would be more manifeſt* in ſuch a ſtate of things, where good is conſtantly diſpenſed to the virtuous, and evil to the wicked, *than in the preſent*, where good and evil happen indifferently to all men? If his Lordſhip, by *the preſent ſtate of things*, includes the rectification of them in a future ſtate, I anſwer, that the *juſtice of God would not be more manifeſt*, but equally and fully manifeſt in either caſe. If his Lordſhip does not include this rectification in a future ſtate, then I anſwer his queſtion by another: Would the Juſtice of the Civil Magiſtrate be more manifeſt, where he exactly diſpenſes rewards to good men, and puniſhment to evil, than where he ſuffers the Cunning and the Powerful to carve for themſelves?

But *he ſees no room for merit on the part of Man, nor Juſtice on the part of God.* If he does not ſee, it is his own fault. It is owing to his prevaricating both with himſelf and his Reader; to the turning his view from the Scripture-repreſentation of an equal Providence, to the iniquities of Calviniſtical *election*, and to the partialities of Fanatics concerning the favoured workings of the Spirit; and to his giving theſe to the reader, in its ſtead. How dextrouſly does he ſlide *Enthuſiaſm* and *Predeſtination* into the Scripture doctrine of an equal Providence!—*If ſome men were* DETERMINED TO GOODNESS *by the ſecret workings of the ſpirit*, &c. Yes indeed, if you will be ſo kind to allow him, that under an equal Providence, the Will is over-ruled, he will be able to ſhew you, there is an end of all merit and

* Vol. V. p. 425, 6.

demerit.

demerit. But this ſubſtituting ARTIFICIAL THEOLOGY (as he calls it when he is in an humour to abuſe it) in the place of bible-theology, is his uſual leger-de-main. So again,—*I can conceive ſtill leſs, that individual Creatures before they have done either good or evil, nay, before their actual exiſtence, can be the objects of predilection or averſion, of love or hatred, to God.* Who, of the Goſpel-Divines, againſt whom he is here writing, would have him *conceive* any thing of this at all? It is the ARTIFICIAL THEOLOGER, the depraver, as he ſays, of the Goſpel, who would draw him into ſo abſurd a ſyſtem. But what has this exploded *Theology*, that abounds only in human inventions, to do with the extraordinary Providence, repreſented in holy Writ! To ſay, that this Providence takes away man's merit and God's juſtice, is confounding all our ideas of right and wrong. Is it not the higheſt merit of a rational creature to comply with that motive which has moſt real weight? And is not God's juſtice then moſt manifeſt when the order of things preſent feweſt difficulties and obſcurities in our contemplation of it? His Lordſhip was plainly in theſe ſentiments, when, arguing againſt God's compliance with the Jewiſh *hardneſs of heart*, he thought it more becoming the Maſter of the Univerſe, to bend the perverſe ſtiffneſs of their Wills: and, when, arguing againſt a *future ſtate* from the preſent good order of things, he will ſhew, he ſays, AGAINST DIVINES AND ATHEISTS IN CONJUNCTION, that there is little or no irregularity in the preſent diſpenſations of Providence; at leaſt, not ſo much as the World commonly imagine. And why was this paradox advanced, but from a conſciouſneſs that the more exact the preſent adminiſtration of God's providence appeared, the more manifeſt it made his Juſtice? But now his Lordſhip's followers may be apt to ſay, that their Maſter has here done no more, indeed ſcarce ſo much, at leaſt not in ſo expreſs terms, as a celebrated Prelate, in one of his *diſcourſes* at the *Temple*; who tells us, "That an immediate and viſible interpoſition of Providence in "Behalf of the righteous, and for the puniſhment of the wicked, would "INTERFERE WITH THE FREEDOM OF MORAL AGENTS, AND NOT LEAVE "ROOM FOR THEIR TRYAL *." But they who object this to us have not conſidered the nature of moral differences. For, as another learned Prelate well obſerves, *A little experience may convince us, that the ſame thing,*

* Vol. II. p. 258, 9.

as

at different times, is not the ſame *. Now if *different times* may make ſuch alterations in identity, what muſt *different men* do? The *thing ſaid* being by all candid interpretation to be regulated on the *purpoſe of ſaying*.

2. Lord Bolingbroke's ſecond objection againſt an equal Providence is, that it would MAKE VIRTUE, SERVILE.—"If the Good, beſides the enjoy-"ment of all that happineſs which is inſeparable from Virtue, were ex-"empted from all kinds of evil, and if the Wicked, beſides all thoſe evils "which are inſeparable from Vice, and thoſe which happen to all men in "the ordinary courſe of events, were expoſed to others that the hand of "God inflicted on them in an extraordinary manner, ſuch good men would "have VERY LITTLE MERIT; they would have, while they continued to "be good, no other merit than that of children, who are cajoled into their "duty; or than that of Galley-ſlaves, who ply at the oar, becauſe they hear "and ſee and fear the laſh of the boatſwain †."

If the perfection of a rational Creature conſiſt in acting according to reaſon; and if his merit riſes in proportion as he advances in perfection; How can that ſtate, which beſt ſecures him from acting irrationally, leſſen or take away his merit? Are the actions of the Deity of leſs worth for his moral incapacity of being unjuſt or malignant? The motive which induces to right action is indeed more or leſs *excellent* according to the dignity or nature of the Agent: But the queſtion here is not concerning the *excellence*, but the *power* of the motive to turn ACTION into PASSION; which is the only way I can conceive of deſtroying *merit* in the ſubject. Now I hold, that this fancy, That motives exterior to the Being on which they work, are able to turn an Agent to a Patient, is one of the greateſt of *Phyſical* abſurdities; and therefore commonly goes about diſguiſed, in the garb of *Metaphyſics*. For while AGENCY remains, MERIT ſubſiſts: the degrees of which do not depend on the leſs or greater force which the motives have on the affections, but on the more or leſs reaſon of the choice. In a word, there is no other way of taking away the merit and demerit of human actions, than by taking away agency, and making MAN paſſive, or, in other terms, A MACHINE.

But, to expoſe in a more popular way the futility of this reaſoning, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that the objection holds equally againſt all religious Sanctions whatſoever. And ſo indeed it was fairly urged by Lord Shafteſbury: who pretended that every motive regarding SELF, tended to

* *Scripture vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of the Biſhop of Bangor*, p. 165.

† Vol. V. p. 428.

ſervilize.

ſervilize Virtue. Without doubt, one ſort, juſt as much as another; a *future ſtate*, juſt as well as an *equal Providence*. Nay, if we were to appreciate matters very nicely, it would ſeem, that *a future ſtate without an equal providence* (for they are always to be conſidered ſeparately, as they belong to different Diſpenſations) would more ſtrongly incline the Will, than *an equal providence without a future ſtate:* as the value of *future* above *preſent* good is, in this caſe, immenſely great. But the human mind being ſo conſtituted, that the *diſtance* of *good* takes off proportionably from its influence, this brings the force of the two ſanctions nearer to an equality; which at length proves but this, That the objection to the *merit of Virtue* holds againſt all religious ſanctions whatſoever. In the uſe of which objection, Lord Shafteſbury was not only more ingenuous, as he urged it againſt them *all*, but more conſiſtent, as he urged it on his doctrine of a perfect *diſintereſtedneſs* in our nature; whereas Lord Bolingbroke is amongſt thoſe who hold, that *ſelf-love* and *ſocial*, though coincident, are two eſſential principles in the human frame.

" That two conſiſtent motions act the Soul,
" And one regards ITSELF, and one the WHOLE."

But we might go further, and retort upon both theſe noble Adverſaries of Religion, that the charge of *making virtue ſervile* affects all *moral*, as well as *religious* ſanctions; as well that, whoſe exiſtence they allow, as thoſe which they would perſuade us to be viſionary; both theſe illuſtrious Patrons of infidelity acknowledging that moral ſanction which ariſes from *God's making the practice of virtue our* INTEREST *as well as duty* *. Now *intereſt* and *ſervility* is, it ſeems, the ſame thing, with theſe generous Spirits, as it was with the good old woman, Joinville ſpeaks of, amongſt the Enthuſiaſts of Syria, who carried about a pan of live-coals in one hand, and a diſh of cold water in the other, to burn up Paradiſe and to extinguiſh Hell, that men might be brought to ſerve God diſpaſſionately, without hope or fear.—So near a-kin are Fanaticiſm and Free-thinking, that their nature betrays them even when they ſtrive moſt to hide their common parentage.

His Lordſhip's third cavil to an equal Providence is, that it would RELAX GENERAL BENEVOLENCE.

———" But would there not be, at the ſame time, ſome further defect " in this ſcheme? I think there would. It ſeems to me, that theſe good " men being thus diſtinguiſhed by particular providences, in their favour,

* Vol. V. p. 429.

" from

" from the reſt of mankind, might be apt either not to contract, or to " LOSE THAT GENERAL BENEVOLENCE, which is a fundamental Principle " of the Law of Nature, and that PUBLIC SPIRIT, which is the life and " ſoul of Society. God has made the practice of morality our intereſt, as " well as our duty. But men who found themſelves conſtantly protected " from the evils that fell on others, might grow inſenſibly to think them- " ſelves unconcerned in the common fate: and if they relaxed in their zeal " for the Public good, they would relax in their virtue; for public good is " the object of Virtue. They might do worſe; ſpiritual pride might infect " them. They might become in their own imaginations the little Flock, " or the choſen Sheep. Others have been ſo by the mere force of Enthu- " ſiaſm, without any ſuch inducements as thoſe which we aſſume, in the " ſame caſe; and experience has ſhewn, that there are no Wolves like " theſe Sheep *."

The *caſe aſſumed*, to which his Lordſhip objects, and againſt which he pretends to argue, is that of an *equal Providence which exactly diſtributes good to Virtue, and to Vice, evil.* Now the preſent objection to ſuch a ſtate is, an' pleaſe you, that this *favourable diſtinction* of good, to the virtuous man, would be apt to *deſtroy his general benevolence and public ſpirit.* Theſe, in his Lordſhip's account, and ſo in mine too, are the moſt ſublime of all Virtues; and therefore, it is agreed, they will be moſt highly rewarded: But the tendency of this *favourable diſtinction*, if you will believe him, may prove *the loſs of general benevolence and public ſpirit.* As much as this ſhocks common ſenſe, his Lordſhip has his reaſon. *God has made the practice of morality our* INTEREST *as well as duty. But men, who find themſelves conſtantly protected from the evils that fall on others, might grow inſenſibly to think themſelves unconcerned in the common fate.*

God has made the practice of morality our INTEREST *as well as duty.* Without doubt he has. But does it not continue to be our *intereſt*, under an equal, as well as under an unequal Providence? Nay, is it not more evidently and invariably ſo, in the abſence of thoſe inequalities which hinder our ſeeing clearly, and feeling conſtantly, that *the practice of morality is our* INTEREST *as well as duty?*

—*But men who found themſelves conſtantly protected from the evils that fall on others, might grow inſenſibly to think themſelves unconcerned in the* COMMON FATE. What are thoſe *evils*, under an equal Providence, which *fall on*

* Vol. V. p. 429.

others, and from which the good man is *protected?* Are they not the puniſhments inflicted on the wicked? And how is the good man protected from them? Is it not by his perſeverance in Virtue? It is therefore impoſſible he ſhould grow unconcerned to thoſe evils which his Lordſhip calls the *common fate*, when he ſees his *intereſt* and his duty ſo cloſely connected, that there is no way of avoiding thoſe evils but by perſevering in virtue. But the name of *common fate*, which he gives unto them, detects his prevarication. He pretends to reaſon againſt an equal Providence, yet ſlurs in upon us, in its ſtead, a *Providence which only protects good men; or rather one certain ſpecies of good men; and leaves all other to their* COMMON FATE. But admit it poſſible for the good man to *relax in his benevolence, and to grow inſenſible to the common fate:* there is, in *the ſtate here aſſumed*, a ſpeedy means of bringing him to himſelf; and that is, his being no longer *protected from the evils that fall on others:* for when men *relax in their benevolence*, his Lordſhip tells you, *they relax in their virtue:* and, give me leave to tell his Lordſhip, that when men relax in their virtue, an equal Providence relaxes in its protection; or, to ſpeak more properly, the rewards of virtue are abated in proportion.

However, *ſpiritual pride* (he ſays) *might infect the virtuous, thus protected:* And this he will prove *à fortiori*, from the caſe of ENTHUSIASTS; who only imagine they have this protection, and have it not. Now, what if we ſhould ſay, it is this very *enthuſiaſtic ſpirit* itſelf, and not the viſions of *Protection* it is apt to raiſe, which is the true cauſe of *ſpiritual pride?* ENTHUSIASM is that temper of mind, in which the imagination has got the better of the judgment. In this diſordered ſtate of things, Enthuſiaſm, when it happens to be turned upon religious matters, becomes FANATICISM: and this, in its extreme, begets the fancy of our being the peculiar favourites of Heaven. Now, every one ſees, that SPIRITUAL PRIDE is the *cauſe*, and not the *effect* of the diſorder. For what but ſpiritual pride, ſpringing out of preſumptive holineſs, could bring the Fanatic to fancy himſelf exalted above the common condition of the Faithful? It is true, when he is got thus far, the folly which brought him hither, may carry him further; and then, all to come will be indeed the effect of his diſorder. But ſuppoſe it were not the enthuſiaſtic Spirit, but the viſions of protection, it is apt to raiſe, which is the cauſe of ſpiritual pride; Is there no difference between a *viſion* and a *reality?* Fancy may occaſion thoſe diſorders which Fact may remove. This, I perſuade myſelf, is the caſe here: The real communication of Grace purifies

thoſe

thoſe paſſions, and exalts them into virtues, which the ſtrong deluſion of ſuch a ſtate only renders more groſs and violent. And here it may be worth while to take notice, that his Lordſhip, in this objection to an extraordinary Providence, from the hurt it does to general benevolence, ſeems to have had the *Jewiſh People* in his eye; who in the latter ages of their Republic were commonly charged, and perhaps not altogether unjuſtly, with want of benevolence to the reſt of mankind: a fact, which though it makes nothing for his purpoſe, makes very much for mine, as it furniſhes me with an example to ſupport what is here ſaid of Fanaticiſm; an infirmity pretty general amongſt the Jews of thoſe Ages. They had outlived their extraordinary Providence; but not the memory, nor even the effects of it; nay, the warmer tempers were hardly brought to think it had ceaſed. This filled them with ſpiritual pride, as the elect of God; a diſpoſition which, it is confeſſed, tends readily to deſtroy or to *relax* general benevolence. But what now are the natural conſequences, which the actual adminiſtration of an equal Providence would have on the human mind? In this caſe, as in the other, a warm temper, whoſe object was Religion, would be obnoxious to the common weakneſs of our nature, and too apt to diſgrace itſelf by ſpiritual pride: but as this is one of the vices which an equal Providence is always at hand to puniſh, the cure would be direct and ſpeedy. The recovered Votary, we will now ſuppoſe to be received again into the number of the Good; and to find himſelf in the *little flock and choſen ſheep*, as they are nick-named by this noble Writer. Well, but his danger is not yet over; the ſenſe of this high prerogative of humanity might revive, in a warm temper, the ſtill unmortified ſeeds of ſpiritual pride. Admit this to be the caſe; what follows? His pride revives indeed, but it is only to be again humbled: for puniſhment is ſtill cloſely attendant on vice and folly. At length, this holy diſcipline, the neceſſary conſequence of an equal Providence, effectually does its work; it purifies the mind from low and ſelfiſh partialities, and adorns the Will with general benevolence, public ſpirit, and love of all its fellow-creatures.

What then could ſupport his Lordſhip in ſo perverſe a judgment concerning the ſtate and condition of good men under an equal Providence? That which ſupports all his other inſults on Religion; his ſophiſtical change of the queſtion. He objects to an equal Providence (which, Religioniſts pretend, hath been adminiſtered during one period of the Diſpenſation of Grace) where good men are conſtantly rewarded, and wicked men as con-

ſtantly puniſhed; and he takes the matter of his objection from the fanatical idea of a *favoured elect* (which never exiſted but in over-heated brains), where reward and puniſhment are diſtributed, not on the proportions of merit and de-merit, but on the diabolic dreams of certain eternal decrees of election and reprobation, unrelated to any human principle of juſtice.

But now, Reader, keep the queſtion ſteadily in your eye, and his Lordſhip's reaſoning in this paragraph diſcloſes ſuch a complication of abſurdities as will aſtoniſh you. You ſee an equal Providence, which, in and through the very act of rewarding benevolence, public ſpirit, and humility, becomes inſtrumental in producing, in thoſe ſo rewarded, ſelfiſhneſs, neglect of the public, and ſpiritual pride.

His Lordſhip's laſt objection to an extraordinary Providence is, that it would NOT ANSWER ITS END.

" I will conclude this head (ſays he) by obſerving, that we have *example* " as well as *reaſon* for us, when we reject the hypotheſis of particular Pro- " videnees. God was the king of the Jewiſh People. His preſence reſided " amongſt them, and his juſtice was manifeſted daily in rewarding and pu- " niſhing by unequivocal, ſignal, and miraculous interpoſitions of his power. " The effect of all was this, the People rebelled at one time and repented at " another. Particular Providences, directed by God himſelf immediately, " upon the ſpot, if I may ſay ſo, had particular temporal effects only, none " general nor laſting: and the People were ſo little ſatisfied with this " ſyſtem of Government that they depoſed the ſupreme Being, and inſiſted " to have another King, and to be governed like their neighbours *."

In ſupport of this laſt objection, the Reader ſees, his Lordſhip was forced to throw off the maſk, and fairly to tell us what he aimed at; that is to ſay, to diſcredit the extraordinary Providence mentioned by Moſes. An equal Providence, ſays he, will not anſwer its *end*. What is its end? Here, his prevarications bring us, as uſual, to our diſtinctions.—When this Providence is adminiſtered for the ſake of *Particulars*, its firſt end is to diſcipline us in virtue, and keep us in our duty: When adminiſtered for the ſake of a *Community*, its firſt end is to ſupport the Inſtitution it had erected. Now his Lordſhip, proceeding from reaſon to example, gives us this of the Jewiſh Republic, to prove that an equal or extraordinary Providence does not anſwer one or other or both theſe ends.

* Vol. V. p. 430.

But

But it is unlucky for him, that here, where he employs the example, he cannot forbear, any more than in numberleſs other places of his writings, to tell us that he believes nothing of the matter.—*How long this Theocracy may be ſaid to have continued* (ſays he) *I am quite unconcerned to know, and ſhould be ſorry to miſpend my time in inquiring.* The example then is unreal, and only brought as an argument *ad hominem.* But, the misfortune is, that no laws of good reaſoning will admit ſuch an argument *ad hominem* on this queſtion, *Of the* EFFECTS *of a* REAL *extraordinary Providence*; becauſe the nature of the effects of a REAL Providence can never be diſcovered by the effects of a PRETENDED one. To ſay the truth, his Lordſhip is at preſent out of luck. For had he indeed believed the extraordinary Providence of the Jews to be *real*, his own repreſentation of the caſe would, on his own principles, have proved it but *pretended.* For 'tis a principle with him, that where the means do not produce the end, ſuch means (all pretences notwithſtanding) are but human inventions. It is thus he argues againſt the Divinity of the Chriſtian Religion; which he concludes to be an impoſture from its not having effected that laſting reformation of manners, which he ſuppoſes was its principal deſign to accompliſh.

So far as to the CHOICE of his example. He manages no better in the APPLICATION of it.

We have diſtinguiſhed, concerning the *ends* of an extraordinary Providence. Let us ſuppoſe now, that his Lordſhip takes the principal end of the Jewiſh Theocracy to be the reformation of *Particulars.* He refers to their hiſtory, and pretends to ſhew they were not reformed. Now, whatever other conſequences may attend this ſuppoſed Fact, the moſt obvious and glaring is this, That his Lordſhip, in proceeding from *reaſon* to *example*, has given us ſuch an example as overturns or ſuperſedes all his reaſoning. According to his reaſoning, an extraordinary Providence would tye virtue and good manners ſo faſt down upon every Individual, that his very Will would be forced, and the merit of doing what he had not in his power to forbear, abſolutely deſtroyed. The Reader would now perhaps expect his example ſhould confirm this pretended Fact? Juſt otherwiſe. His example ſhews his fact to be a fiction, and that men remained as bad as ever.

But I have no need of taking any artificial advantage of his Lordſhip's bad reaſoning. For, when we ſee it ſo conſtantly oppoſed to truth, it is far from being an additional diſcredit to it, that it is as conſtantly oppoſed to itſelf.

The

The truth indeed is, that the great and principal end of the Jewish Theocracy, was to keep that People a ſeparate nation, under their own Law and Religion, till the coming of the Messiah; and to prepare things for his reception by preſerving amongſt them the doctrine of the Unity. Now, to judge whether the Theocracy or extraordinary Providence effected its end, we have only to conſider, Whether this people, to the coming of Chriſt, did continue a diſtinct Nation ſeparated from all the other tribes of Mankind, and diſtinguiſhed from them, by the worſhip of the one true God. And on enquiry, we ſhall find, they not only did continue thus diſtinct and diſtinguiſhed, but have ſo continued ever ſince. A Circumſtance which, having no example amongſt any other People, is ſufficient to convince us, that there muſt have been ſome amazing power in that Theocracy, which could go on operating for ſo many ages after the extraordinary adminiſtration of it had ceaſed. Let us conclude therefore, that his Lordſhip having nothing to urge againſt the due efficacy of this extraordinary Providence, but that, *the people rebelled at one time and repented at another, and that this Providence had only temporary effects*, is the moſt ample confeſſion of his defeat.

NOTES

NOTES ON BOOK V.

P. 4. [A]. YET ſome writers againſt the Divine Legation will have it, that from the very context [ver. 16, 17. *To Abraham and his ſeed were the promiſes made*, &c. *The* COVENANT *that was confirmed before of God in Chriſt*, &c.] it appears that St. Paul means, the Law was ADDED not barely to the Patriarchal Religion, but to *the promiſe of the inheritance, the covenant that was confirmed before of God*; and from thence, conclude that the Jewiſh Religion had the doctrine of a future ſtate. This it is to have a retroſpective view, and with a *microſcopic eye!* For had they, when they went *one* ſtep backward, but gone *two*, they would have ſeen, St. Paul could not poſſibly have had their meaning in view, for at ver. 15. he expreſly ſays,—though it be but a MAN'S COVENANT [much leſs if it be GOD'S] *yet if it be confirmed, no man diſannulleth or* ADDETH *thereto.* The *Law* therefore mentioned as ADDED in the 19th verſe, cannot be underſtood, in the Apoſtle's ſenſe, as being added to the COVENANT *that was confirmed before of God in Chriſt*, or indeed to any thing, but to the Patriarchal Religion of the Unity.

P. 16. [B]. —Il [Ninus fils de Belus] ne peut être inventeur de l'idolatrie qui etoit bien plus ancienne; je ne dis pas ſeulement en Egypte, mais même au dela de l'Euphrate, puiſque Rachel deroba les Teraphims, *&c.*—Il faut aller en Egypte pour trouver ſur cela quelque choſe du mieux fondé. Grotius croit que, du temps de Joſeph, l'idolatrie n'etoit point encore commune en Egypt. Cependant on voit des-lors dans ce pays un extrême attachement à la magie, à la divination, aux augures, à l'interpretation des ſonges, *&c.*—Moyſe defend d'adorer aucune figure, ni de ce qui eſt viſible dans les cieux ni de ce qui eſt ſur la terre, ni de ce qui eſt dans les eaux. Voilà la defenſe generale d'adorer les aſtres, les animaux, & les poiſſons. Le veau d'or etoit une imitation du dieu Apis. La niche de Moloch, dont parle Amos, étoit apparemment portée avec une figure du ſoleil. Moyſe defend aux Hebreux

breux d'immoler aux boucs, comme ils ont fait autrefois. La mort en l'honneur duquel il defend de faire le deûil, etoit le même qu'Oſiris. Beelphegor, aux myſteres duquel ils furent entrainez par les femmes de Madian, étoit Adonis. Moloch cruelle divinité, à laquelle on immoloit des victimes humaines, étoit commune du tems de Moyſe, auſſi-bien que ces abominables ſacrifices. Les Chananeens adoroient des moûches & d'autres inſectes, au rapport de l'auteur de la ſageſſe. Le même auteur nous parle des Egyptiens d'alors comme d'un peuple plongé dans toutes ſortes d'abominations, & qui adoroit toutes ſortes d'animaux, même les plus dangereux, & les plus nuiſibles. Le pays de Chanaan étoit encore plus corrumpu. Moyſe ordonne d'y abbattre les autels, les bois ſacrez, les idoles, les monumens ſuperſtitieux. Il parle des enclos, où l'on entretenoit un feu eternel en l'honneur du ſoleil. Voilà la plus indubitable epoque qui nous ayons de l'idolatrie. Mais ce n'eſt point une epoque qui nous en montre ſa ſource & le commencement, ni même le progrès & l'avancement: elle nous préſente une idolatrie achevée, & portée à ſon comble; les aſtres, les hommes, les animaux mêmes adorez comme autant divinitez; la magie, la divination, l'impieté au plus haut point où elles puiſſent aller: enfin le crime, & les deſordres honteux, ſuites ordinaires du culte ſuperſtitieux & de regle. Calmet, Diſſert. ſur l'Origine de l'Idolatrie, tom. I. p. 431, 432. Thus far this learned writer. And without doubt, his account of the early and over-bearing progreſs of idolatry is exact. Another writer, who would paſs for ſuch, is in different ſentiments. He thinks its riſe and progreſs much lower. *If we look* (ſays he) *amongſt the Canaanites, we ſhall find no reaſon to imagine that there was a religion different from that of Abraham. Abraham travelled up and down many years in this country, and was reſpected by the inhabitants of it, as a perſon in great favour with God*, &c. And again, *Abraham was entertained by Pharaoh without the appearance of any indiſpoſition towards him, or any the leaſt ſign of their having a different religion from that which Abraham himſelf profeſſed and practiſed.* [Connect. of Sac. and Prof. Hiſt. vol. I. p. 309 and 312.] But here the learned author was deceived by mere modern ideas. He did not reflect on that general principle of *intercommunity*, ſo eſſential to paganiſm, which made all its followers diſpoſed to receive the God of Abraham as a true, though tutelary, Deity. Joſephus (the genius of whoſe times could not but give him a right notion of this matter) ſaw well the conſiſtency between the veneration paid

paid to Abraham's God, and the idolatry of the venerators; as appears from his making that Patriarch the firſt who propagated the belief of one God, after the whole race of mankind was ſunk into idolatry; and at the ſame time making all thoſe with whom he had to do, pay reverence to his God. Of Abraham he thus ſpeaks, Διὰ τᾶτο καὶ φρονεῖν ἐπ' ἀρεῖῃ μείζω τῶν ἄλλων ἠρξμέν@, καὶ τὴν περὶ τᾶ Θεᾶ δόξαν, ἣν ἅπασι συνέβαινεν εἶναι, καινίσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἔξω. Πρῶτ@ ἓν τολμᾶ Θεὸν ἀποφήνασθαι δημιᾳγὸν τῶν ὅλων ἕνα. l. i. c. 7. He makes the idolatrous prieſts of Egypt tell Pharaoh at once, that the peſtilence was ſent from God in puniſhment for his intended violation of the ſtranger's wife: καλὰ μήνιν Θεᾶ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι ἀπετήμαινον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐφ' οἷς ἐθέλησεν ἐνυβρίσαι τᾶ ξένᾳ τὴν γυναῖκα. c. 8. And Abimelech, in the ſame circumſtances, as ready to own the ſame author of his puniſhment. Φράζει πρὸς τὰς φίλας, ὡς ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῷ ταύτην ἐπαγάγοι τὴν νόσον ὑπὲρ ἐκδικίας τᾶ ξένᾳ φυλάσσων ἀνύβριστον αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα. c. 12. Antiq.

P. 23. [C] Theſe conſiderations will lead us to a right apprehenſion of that part of the hiſtory of Jeſus, where James and John, on the inhoſpitable behaviour of a village of Samaria, ſay to their Maſter, in the Legal ſpirit of the Jewiſh œconomy, *Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and conſume them, even as Elias did? But he turned, and rebuked them, and ſaid, Ye know not what manner of ſpirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to deſtroy mens lives, but to ſave them.* [Luke ix. 54, 55, 56.] *i. e.* You conſider not that you are no longer under the Diſpenſation of Works (in which a ſeverity of this kind was juſt and neceſſary), but, of Grace, in which all reſtraint and puniſhment of opinions would be miſchievous and unlawful. Here we ſee the very diſpoſition to intolerance in James and John is ſeverely cenſured. Yet the ſame temper in Paul, even when proceeding into act, is paſſed over without reproof, when Jeſus, after his reſurrection, is pleaſed to reveal his truth to him in a miraculous manner. Our Lord, inſtead of condemning the nature of the practice, only aſſures him of the vanity of its effects, *It is hard for thee to kick againſt the pricks.* [Acts ix. 5.] The reaſon of this different treatment is evident. James and John had given their names to the Religion of Jeſus, in which all force was unjuſt. Paul was yet of the Religion of Moſes, where reſtraint was lawful. On this account it is that this Apoſtle, when ſpeaking of his merits as a Jew, expreſſes himſelf in this manner, *For ye have heard of my converſation in time paſt; how that beyond meaſure I* PERSECUTED *the*

church of God, and waſted it: and PROFITED *in the Jew religion above many my equals in mine own nation.* [Gal. i. 13.] Here he makes the *perſecution* and the *profiting* to go hand in hand. And again, *Though I might alſo have confidence in the fleſh. If any other man thinketh that he hath whereof he might truſt in the fleſh, I more: Circumciſed the eighth day, of the ſtock of Iſrael, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the Law, a Phariſee: concerning zeal,* PERSECUTING THE CHURCH; *touching the righteouſneſs which is in the law, blameleſs. But what things were gain to me, thoſe I counted loſs for Chriſt.* [Phil. iii. 4.] Here he glories in the action, as plainly meritorious. And ſo indeed it was in a Jew, as appears from the commendations given to it in the caſe of Phineas, and others. Yet where he ſpeaks of it, under his preſent character of a Chriſtian, he condemns it as horrid and deteſtable; and this, in order to ſhew his followers how it ought to be regarded in the Religion of Jeſus. To the Corinthians he ſays, *I am the leaſt of the Apoſtles; that am not meet to be called an Apoſtle, becauſe I* PERSECUTED *the church of God.* [1 Ep. xv. 9.] And to *Timothy, I thank Chriſt Jeſus our Lord, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the miniſtry; who was before a blaſphemer and a* PERSECUTOR, *and injurious. But I obtained mercy, becauſe I did it in* IGNORANCE *and* UNBELIEF, [1 Ep. i. 12.] *i. e.* being a Jew.

P. 29. [D] Dr. Stebbing, though he differs from Mr. Foſter in moſt other matters, yet agrees with him in this, "That the juſtice and equity "of the Jewiſh Law in puniſhing Idolaters with death, did not depend on "the particular form of government." [*Hiſt. of Abraham.*] In which he is much more conſiſtent than his diſſenting neighbour. For the doctor approves of perſecutions for opinions; whereas the miniſter pretends to condemn it.

P. 31. [E] It is ſtrange to conſider how much Dr. *Spencer* has miſtaken this matter, where, in his reaſons of a Theocracy *ex parte ſeculi*, as he calls them, he gives the following: "Seculi moribus ita factum erat, ut "Dii ſui principatum quendam inter ſervos ſuos obtinerent, et nomine "rituque regio colerentur. Nam ſeculo illo Deos titulis illis *Molech, Elo-*"*him, Baalim,* et hujuſmodi aliis, regibus et magnatibus tribui ſolitis, in-"ſignire ſolebant: eos imperii arbitros plerumque ponebant, cum nec "bella gerere, nec civitatem condere, nec regem eligere, nec grandius "aliquid

" aliquid moliri ſolerent, priuſquam Deos per oracula vel auſpicia con-
" ſuluiſſent." Diſſert. de Theoc. Jud. c. iii. p. 237. Ed. Chap. But theſe are no marks that the Pagans attributed any kind of civil regality to their Gods. As to their regal titles, thoſe were what they had retained from the time of their real kingſhip in the ſtate of humanity. And as to the conſulting their oracles on all public affairs of moment, this was the conſequence of Pagan religion's having *a public as well as private part*. But, for an acknowledged God to be choſen and received by any people as their real Monarch or Civil Magiſtrate, was a thing altogether unknown to Paganiſm. The learned Marſham, with his uſual bias, endeavours to inſinuate, that the inſtitution of a *Theocracy* was an imitation of Pagan Cuſtom.—Moſes pridem Θεοκρατίαν declaravit Ebræorum Rempublicam; ne ſibi poteſtas regia deferretur: Athenienſes autem Διοκρατίαν ſuam ab Apolline retulerunt; ut *regis* nomen *Jovi* cederet; neque tam titulus quam poteſtas regia imminueretur. Sec. xiii. p. 340.—But the queſtion here is not about the *name*, but the *thing*. The Pagans might call their national Gods by the name of Kings, and, by a bolder figure, might call their Government, put under the protection of a tutelary Deity, by the name of a *Theocracy*; but a real Theocracy is that only where the Laws of the Inſtitution have all a reference to the actual rule of a tutelary God, whether the true God or falſe ones; and ſuch a Theocracy is no where to be found but in the land of Judea.

P. 53. [F] For this was the only uſe the Pagans ever thought of making of the Gods of their enemies when they had ſtolen them, or taken them away by force. Apion had mentioned one Zabidus an Idumean, who, when the Jews were warring againſt his countrymen, made a bargain with the enemy to deliver Apollo, one of their tutelary Gods, into their hands; and Joſephus, when he comes to confute this idle tale, takes it for granted that the only ſuppoſed cauſe of ſuch pretended traffic was to gain a new tutelary Deity; and on this founds his argument againſt Apion: *How then*, ſays he, *can Apion perſiſt in accuſing us of not having Gods in common with others, when our forefathers were ſo eaſily perſuaded to believe that Apollo was coming into their ſervice?* Τί δ' ἡμῶν ἔτι καθηγορεῖ τὸ μὴ κοινὸς ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις θεὸς, εἰ ῥᾳδίως ὅτως ἐπείσθησαν οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἥξειν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα πρὸς αὐτούς. Vol. II. p. 478.

P. 71. [G]. I call them licentious, principally, for the extravagant Reaſonings concerning the authority of the Pentateuch, and the divine inſpiration of Scripture. The firſt he retracted and confuted, when the ſpirit of contradiction had given way to better principles; the other (which he had inſerted into the *Letters* as the work of another man) he never, that I know of, atoned for, by any retraction whatſoever.

P. 79. [H]. Dr. Sykes has undertaken to confute the cenſure here paſſed upon Dr. Spencer. *Here it is* (ſays this Anſwerer) *that Mr. W. attacks Dr. Spencer's diſſertation on the Jewiſh Theocracy. Are we not now from hence to* IMAGINE *that Dr. Spencer was one of thoſe writers that ſuppoſed the Theocracy to have ended with the Judges?* [An examination of Mr. W's account, &c. p. 168.] What demands of *imagination* his trade of Anſwering may have upon him, I do not know. But from my words, a fair reaſoner would *imagine* nothing but that I meant to prove what I ſaid: namely, that Dr. Spencer's diſcourſe of the Theocracy is *weak and inconſiſtent.*

His firſt charge (ſays he) *againſt Spencer is, that he thought the Theocracy was eſtabliſhed by degrees, and abrogated by degrees.* "A conceit highly "abſurd," *ſays Mr. W. But wherein lies the abſurdity of this gradual progreſs and gradual declenſion?* [p. 170.] The *Abſurdity* lies here. When God is pleaſed to aſſume the character of civil Magiſtrate, he muſt, like all other Magiſtrates, enter upon his office at once, and (as common ſenſe requires) abdicate it at once. Now the Government under ſuch a Magiſtrate is what we properly call a Theocracy. Therefore to talk of *the gradual progreſs* and *gradual declenſion* of this mode of civil relation, is the ſame as to talk of the gradual progreſs and gradual declenſion of Paternity, or any other mode of natural relation; of which, I ſuppoſe, till now, nobody ever heard.

He goes on—*if there be any abſurdity or inconſiſtency, in this manner of ſpeaking, it may be* JUSTIFIED *by Mr. W's own authority.* That is, my abſurdity will juſtify another Man's. But this is doing me an honour which I do not pretend to. Well, but how do I *juſtify* Dr. Spencer? Why, I ſay, it ſeems, "That in the period immediately preceding the Jewiſh Cap-"tivity, on the gradual withdrawing the extraordinary Providence from "them, they began to entertain doubts concerning God's further peculiar "regard to them as his choſen People." *So that here* (ſays Dr. Sykes) *he expreſly owns a* GRADUAL WITHDRAWING OF THE EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE

VIDENCE from the Jews. *And where is the abſurdity of Dr. Spencer's* GRADUAL DECLENSION OR IMMINUTION OF THE THEOCRACY, *which Mr H's gradual withdrawing of the extraordinary Providence is not liable unto? Or was not the gradual withdrawing of the extraordinary Providence a proper imminution of the Theocracy?* [p. 171.] He is ſo pleaſed with this argument that he repeats it at p. 218. Yet who would have ſuſpected him of what he here diſcovers, a total ignorance of any difference between the FORM of Government and the ADMINISTRATION of it? Now Dr. Spencer talked of the gradual decline of the *form of Government*, which I thought abſurd: I ſpoke of the gradual decline of the *adminiſtration* of it; which, whether it be equally abſurd, let thoſe determine who have ſeen (unleſs perhaps the rarity of the fact has made it eſcape obſervation) an *adminiſtration* of Government grow worſe and worſe, while the *form* of it ſtill continued the ſame.

So much as to Spencer's *abſurdity*. We come next to his *inconſiſtency*, in ſuppoſing ſome foot-ſteps of the Theocracy till the time of Chriſt, and yet that it was entirely abrogated by the eſtabliſhment of the Kings. Of this inconſiſtency, Dr. Spencer is abſolved, by the dexterity of our Anſwerer, in the following manner: *Here again is Dr. Spencer much miſrepreſented, from not conſidering* WHAT HE MEANT *by the* ABROGATION *of God's Government. Not that the Theocracy entirely ceaſed; but the Government received an* ALTERATION *and* ABATEMENT. *And therefore he uſes more than once the phraſe of* REGIMINIS MUTATI, *in this very ſection; Where is the abſurdity and inconſiſtency of this way of reaſoning, unleſs abrogation is made to ſignify a total abolition, and duration is to be conſtrued ceſſation?*

He aſks, *where is the abſurdity of this way of reaſoning?* I did not accuſe Spencer of *abſurdity in his way of reaſoning*, but of *contradiction in his way of expreſſion*. I ſee no *reaſoning* there is, or can be, in a man's delivering what he thinks a fact: ſuch as his opinion of the duration of a form of Government. But he who cannot diſtinguiſh *reaſoning* from *expreſſion*, may be well excuſed for confounding the *form of Government*, and the *adminiſtration of Government* with one another.

However, *Spencer* (he ſays) *is much miſrepreſented; he did not mean by* ABROGATION *a* CEASING; *but an* ALTERATION *and* ABATEMENT. It ſeems then, a writer is *much miſrepreſented* if, when he is charged with an inconſiſtent

ſiſtent *expreſſion*, his *meaning* may be proved conſiſtent. A good commodious principle for the whole claſs of Anſwerers! But he tells us that *abrogation* [regimen abrogatum] does not ſignify *ceaſing*. Where did he get his Latin? for the Roman writers uſe it only in the ſenſe of diſſolution, abolition, or the *entire ceaſing* of an office or command. What then does it ſignify? ALTERATION (he ſays) *and* ABATEMENT. But now where did he get his Engliſh? Our Country writers, I think, uſe the word *alteration* to ſignify a change; and *abatement*, to ſignify no change; no alteration in the qualities of things, but a diminution only in the vigour of their operations. What the *alteration* of a Theocracy, or any other form of Government is, we well underſtand; but what the *abatement* of it is, one is much at a loſs to conceive. However, this I know, that Dr. Sykes here confirms what I charge upon him, the confounding the mode of Government with the adminiſtration of it: *Alteration* being applicable to the former, and *abatement*, only to the latter.

But his inference from this ſpecial reaſoning, is worth all the reſt—*and* THEREFORE *Spencer uſes, more than once, the phraſe of* regiminis MUTATI, *in this very ſection. Therefore!* Wherefore? Why, becauſe by *abrogati* he meant only *abated*, therefore he *uſes* mutati, *more than once* to explain himſelf. That is to ſay, "becauſe, by *totum*, I mean *pars*, THEREFORE I uſe *omne* more than once, to explain my meaning." Well, if he did not clear it up before, he has done it now.

——*And where* (ſays he) *is the abſurdity or inconſiſtency of this way of reaſoning?* Nay, for that matter, the *reaſoning* is full as good as the Criticiſm. But here he ſhould have ſtopped; for ſo fatal is his expreſſion, where the fit of Anſwering is upon him, that he cannot aſk quarter for one blunder without committing another—*Unleſs* ABROGATION *is made to ſignify a* TOTAL ABOLITION, *and* duration *is conſtrued to be* ceſſation.—"I can find (ſays he) no abſurdity nor inconſiſtency in Dr. Spencer, without perverting the common ſignification of words:"—*without calling duration ceſſation.*—— This is his Argument; and ſo far was well. But he goes on—*and abrogation, a total abolition.* Here he ſinks again; for *abrogation* was *abolition*, amongſt all nations and languages, till Dr. Sykes firſt pleaded in *abatement*. Well, but our Anſwerer will go farther: and having ſo ably vindicated Dr. Spencer, he will not ſhew, though the Dr. be *conſiſtent*, yet ſo am not I: for that I hold, the extraordinary Providence entirely ceaſed

on

on the return from the Captivity: From whence (ſays this ſubtle logician) I argue thus, "If the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE entirely ceaſed *on* "*the full Settlement of the Jews after their Return*, it ceaſed ſome centuries "at leaſt before the days of Chriſt; and CONSEQUENTLY the THEOCRACY "muſt have ceaſed ſome centuries before the days of Chriſt. How then is "Mr. W. conſiſtent about the duration of the Theocracy, ſince he pleads "for its continuance till Chriſt's time, and yet maintains that IT entirely "ceaſed ſo long before his time*?"

The argument, we ſee, gathers even as it rolls from his mouth. In the beginning of the ſentence, The *ceaſing of an extraordinary Providence* only implied in conſequence, the *ceaſing of the Theocracy*; but, before we get to the end, an *extraordinary Providence* and a *Theocracy* are one and the ſame thing. "*Mr.* W. *pleads for its* [a Theocracy's] *continuance till Chriſt's time, and yet maintains that* IT *entirely ceaſed ſo long before his time.*" Thus again to the ſame purpoſe at p. 178. "Or by what rule does he form a "judgment that WHAT was gradually decaying to the Captivity, was en-"tirely to ceaſe after their Return and full Settlement; and yet WAS to "continue till Chriſt's time?"—Nay, if he begins to talk of *Rules*, let me aſk him *by what Rule* he found out, "that a *Monarchy* and an exact *Adminiſtration of Juſtice* are one and the ſame thing?" The truth is, our Examiner was thus grievouſly miſled by the ambiguity of the *Engliſh* word THE GOVERNMENT; which ſignifies either the MODE of Civil Policy, or the ADMINISTRATION of it. But was this to be expected of a man who had been all his life-time writing ABOUT GOVERNMENT?

To conclude this long note, The charge againſt SPENCER was of *abſurdity* and *contradiction* in one ſingle inſtance amidſt a thouſand excellencies. Dr. Sykes aſſumes the honour of his Defence. But with what judgment, he ſoon gives us to underſtand, when he could find no other part of that immortal Book to do himſelf the credit of ſupporting, but the *diſcourſe concerning the Theocracy*; much in the ſpirit of that ancient Advocate of Cicero, who, while the Patriot's character was torn in pieces by his Enemies, would needs vindicate him from the imputation of a Wart upon his Noſe, againſt his Friends.

P. 106. [I]. It was one of the principal Accuſations which *Apion*, at that time, brought againſt the *Jews*, that they would not have Gods in

* Examination of Mr. *W*'s Account, &c. p. 173, 174.

common

common with other Nations; as we learn from *Joſephus's* tract againſt him, τί δ' ἡμῶν ἔτι καλήγορεῖ τὸ μὴ κοινὸς ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις θεὸς, Vol. ii. p. 477, 478. And *Celſus* calls that famous maxim, *A man cannot ſerve two Maſters* (on which he ſuppoſed *Chriſtians* founded the ſame principle) THE VOICE OF SEDITION when men are for breaking off all ſociety and commerce with the reſt of mankind. Εἶθ' ἑξῆς ἐκείνοις ἡμᾶς εἰσάγει λέγοντας πρὸς τὴν ἐπαπόρησιν αὐτῷ, θέλοντες ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς Δαίμονας θεραπεύειν ὅτι οὐκ οἴόν τε δυοῖν τὸν αὐτὸν πλείοσι κυρίοις. Τοῦτο δ', ὡς οἴεται ΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ εἶναι ΦΩΝΗΝ, τῶν (ὡς αὐτὸς ὠνόμασεν) ἀποτειχιζόντων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀποῤῥηγνύντων ἀπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων. *Orig. cont. Celſ.* p. 380.

P. 107. [K] In his Tract againſt *Apion* he has theſe remarkable words: *It is becoming Men of prudence and moderation carefully to obſerve their own Country Laws concerning Religious matters, and to avoid calumniating the cuſtoms of others. But this Man* [Apion] *abandoned his own Religion, and has ſince employed himſelf in inventing lies of ours.* Δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς εὐφρονοῦντας τοῖς μὲν οἰκείοις νόμοις περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀκριβῶς ἐμμένειν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων μὴ λοιδορεῖν· ὁ δὲ τοῦτος μὲν ἔφυγε, τῶν ἡμετέρων δὲ καταψεύσατο. Vol. ii. p. 480. This was carrying his complaiſance to the Gentiles extremely far. But the neceſſity was preſſing; and he miſſes no opportunity of conciliating their good-will. Thus in his *Antiquities*, a work, as we obſerved, entirely apologetical, he tells the Reader, l. iii. c. 6. that the ſeven branches of the golden Candleſtick ſignified the *ſeven Planets*. But in his *Wars of the Jews*, l. vii. c. 5. § 5. he aſſures us they ſignify the Reverence in which the *Jews* held the *Number Seven*. But, Allegory for Allegory, he thought, I ſuppoſe, one as good as the other, and therefore might be allowed to uſe what beſt ſerved his occaſions.

P. 107. [L] The Jews ſucceeded in their endeavours to diſtinguiſh Their caſe from the Chriſtians. So that while the ſtorm fell upon the latter, the other enjoyed a calm. As we may fully underſtand by that paſſage in St. Paul to the Galatians; *As many as deſire to make a fair ſhew in the fleſh, they conſtrain you to be circumciſed, only leſt they ſhould ſuffer perſecution for the croſs of Chriſt*, c. vi. 12. On which Limborch obſerves very juſtly,—Qui non zelo pietatis, aut pro lege Moſis, moti id urgebant; ſed tantum ut placerent Judæis; quia nempe videbant perſecutiones quotidie magis magiſque Chriſtianis a Gentibus inferri, *Judæos autem ab illis eſſe immunes*, hac ratione cas, tanquam ipſi eſſent Judæi, ſtuduerunt declinare. *Amic. Collatio*, p. 164.

P. 108. [M]. " There is, amongſt many other things that *Joſephus's* " copy appears to want, oneomi ſſion of ſo important a nature—the heinous " Sin

" Sin of the golden Calf.—What makes it ſtranger is this, that *Joſephus*'s " account is not only negative, by a bare omiſſion, but poſitive, by afford- " ing an exact coherence without it, *nay ſuch a coherence as is plainly incon-* " *ſiſtent with it.* And what ſtill makes it more ſurpriſing is, that *Joſephus* " frequently profeſſes, neither to add to nor to take away from the ſacred " Books." *Diſſert.* II. p. xlv. Some other Liberties, which *Joſephus* took with Scripture for the end above explained, made this learned Writer conclude that the Hiſtorian had an *earlier and more uncorrupt copy of the Old Teſtament than any we now have: for that his accounts are more exact, conſiſtent, and agreeable with Chronology, with natural Religion, and with one another*, p. xxxv. Yet, after all, the fatal omiſſion of the golden Calf brings him to confeſs, *that* Joſephus's *copy appears to* WANT *many things* which are in ours, p. xlv. Thus ſorely diſtreſſed is this good man in the ſupport of a wild extravagant hypotheſis; while every one elſe ſees that all the omiſſions and alterations (which ſometimes make his copy *good*, ſometimes *bad)* were deſigned deviations from the ſacred Volumes to conciliate the good-will of his maſters.

P. 112. [N]. Here Dr. Sykes appears again upon the ſtage. " The " Scripture repreſentation of the Theocracy, as Mr. Warburton (ſays he) " aſſures us, was, 1. *Over the State in general:* and 2. *Over private Men in* " *particular.* I have no doubts about the former of theſe caſes: For where " a law was given by God, and he condeſcended to become King of a " Nation, and a ſolemn Covenant was entered into by the People and by " God, as their King, and where bleſſings were ſolemnly promiſed upon " obedience to the Law, or curſes were denounced upon diſobedience: and " this by one who was able to execute whatever he engaged; no doubt can " be about the reciprocal obligations, or about God's performing his part " of the obligation, ſince it is his property not to lie nor deceive. Temporal " Rewards and Puniſhments being then the ſanction of the Jewiſh Law, " theſe muſt be diſpenſed by God ſo as to make the State happy and " flouriſhing if they keep the Law, or elſe miſerable if they diſobeyed it. " The Bleſſings and Curſes were general and national, agreeable to the " character of a King, and a legal Adminiſtration: ſuch as related to them " as a People; and not to particular perſons." [Exam. of Mr. W.'s account, &c. p. 186, 187.]

Here, he aſſures us, *he has no doubts about the extraordinary Providence over the State in general.* And he tells us his reaſon,—Becauſe *the Law*

was given by God, and he condeſcended to become the King *of the Nation, by a ſolemn Covenant made with the People.* Now if this very reaſon be found to hold equally ſtrong for an extraordinary Providence over particulars, the point will be ſoon decided between us. Let me aſk him then, what thoſe reaſons are whereby he infers that, from *God's becoming King of a Nation*, he muſt adminiſter an extraordinary Providence over the *State in general*, which do not equally conclude for God's adminiſtering it over *Particulars?* Is not his inference founded upon this, That where God condeſcends to aſſume a *civil* character, he condeſcends to adminiſter it in a *civil* manner? which is done by extending his care over the whole. If our Doctor ſhould ſay, his inference is not thus founded; I muſt then beg leave to tell him, that he has no foundation at all to conclude from God's being *King*, that there was an extraordinary Providence exerted over the *State in general.* If he confeſſes that it is thus founded; then I infer, upon the ſame grounds, an extraordinary Providence over *Particulars.* For the juſtice of the Regal office is equally pledged to extend its care to *Particulars* as well as to the *general.* It may be aſked then, what hindered our Doctor from ſeeing ſo ſelf-evident a truth? I reply, the miſtake with which he firſt ſet out; and which yet ſticks to him. I have obſerved before, what confuſion he ran into by not being able to diſtinguiſh between the *Form of Government* and the *Adminiſtration of it.* Here again he makes the ſame blind work, from not ſeeing the difference between a Legislator and a King.—*For where a* Law (ſays he) *was given by God, and he condeſcended to become the* King *of a Nation*, &c. implying that in his opinion, the *giving a Law*, and the *becoming a King*, was one and the ſame thing. Hence it was, that as the Legiſlative power, in the inſtitution of good Laws, extends its providence only over the State in general, he concluded, that the executive power, in the adminiſtration of thoſe Laws, does no more. Which brings him to a concluſion altogether worthy both of himſelf and his premiſes.—*The Bleſſings and Curſes* (ſays he) *were general and national, agreeable to the character of a King and a legal Adminiſtration.*—What! Is it only agreeable to the character of a King and a legal Adminiſtration to take care of the *State in general*, and not of *Particulars?* So, according to this new ſyſtem of Policy, it is agreeable to the Conſtitution of *England* to fit out fleets, to protect the public from inſults, and to enact Laws to encourage commerce; but not to erect Courts of Equity, or to ſend about itinerant Judges. What makes his ignorance in this

this matter the more inexcuſable is, that I had pointed out to him this diſtinction, in the following paſſage; the former part of which he has quoted, but dropt the latter, as if determined that neither himſelf nor his reader ſhould be the better for it. My words are theſe: *It* [the extraordinary Providence] *is repreſented as adminiſtered*, 1. *Over the State in general.* 2. *Over private men in particular. And ſuch a repreſentation we ſhould expect to find from the nature of the Republic*; BECAUSE AS AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE OVER THE STATE NECESSARILY FOLLOWS GOD'S BEING THEIR TUTELARY DEITY [in which capacity he gave them Laws], SO AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE TO PARTICULARS FOLLOWS AS NECESSARILY FROM HIS BEING THEIR SUPREME MAGISTRATE [in which capacity he adminiſtered them].

P. 113. [O]. To this it has been objected, "That Solomon here "prays for ſcarce ſo much in behalf of his own People, as he doth, "ver. 32, for every *ſtranger* that ſhall come and worſhip in the "Temple." But the Objector ſhould have obſerved that there is this difference,—the prayer for the Iſraelites was founded on a Covenant; the prayer for the Stranger, on no Covenant. That for the Iſraelites begins thus, *O Lord God of Iſrael there is no God like thee, which* KEEPETH COVENANT—and as he proceeds, the reaſon of his petition all along goes upon their being poſſeſſors of the *promiſed Land*, the great object of the Covenant, ver. 25-27-31. But the prayer for the *Stranger*, ver. 32, is founded altogether on another principle, namely, for the ſake of God's glory amongſt the heathen. *Moreover concerning the Stranger* [words implying a new conſideration] *if they come and pray in this houſe, then hear from the Heavens*—THAT ALL PEOPLE OF THE EARTH MAY KNOW THY NAME AND FEAR THEE.

P. 113. [P]. But the whole book of Pſalms is one continued declaration of the adminiſtration of an extraordinary Providence to particulars, in the exact diſtribution of rewards and puniſhments. See the *Argument of the Divine Legation fairly ſtated*, p. 57 to 75, where the learned Writer has evinced the truth in queſtion beyond the poſſibility of a reply.

P. 114. [Q]. To this teſtimony from Ezekiel, Dr. Sykes objects, that "It is but a parabolical command: and no argument "can be drawn from parables for an equal Providence over parti-

" culars, but at moſt for a particular and peculiar Diſpenſation." *Defence*, p. 61. This is the pleaſanteſt of Anſwerers.—If this *parabolical command* does not mean what itſelf ſays it does mean, namely, " that virtuous indi- " viduals ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from the wicked, in a general calamity;" what then does it mean? Why, *at moſt, but a particular and peculiar Diſpenſation.* And in what, I pray you, does a *particular and peculiar Diſpenſation* conſiſt, if not in a diſtinction between the virtuous and the wicked, in a general calamity? But he had ſome confuſed notion that there was a difference between a parabolical and a real repreſentation: and therefore he makes it to conſiſt in this, that *no argument can be drawn from* the former. —Now, if from Jeſus's parable of the rebellious Huſbandmen (who wounded their Lord's Servants and killed the Heir, and for their pains were ejected from their poſſeſſions, and the vineyard let to other Huſbandmen) I ſhould conclude, " that he meant the Jews, who had murdered the Prophets which were ſent unto them, and were ready to murder the Meſſiah likewiſe, and that for this crime they ſhould be deprived of the bleſſing of the Goſpel, and the Gentiles received into the Kingdom of Chriſt, in their ſtead, I make no doubt but, if it ſerved our Doctor's purpoſe of *anſwering*, he would reply, *It is but a parabolical tale, and no argument can be drawn from parables, of Chriſt's ſufferings and the rejection of the Jews, &c. but, at moſt, that the Jews were rebels and murderers, and would be treated as ſuch.*"

Another Anſwerer is yet more ſhameleſs. " As to the parabolical com- " mand in Ezekiel (ſays Dr. Rutherforth) the very ſame premiſes were ex- " actly fulfilled to the Chriſtians. *Rev.* vii. 1, 2, 3." If you aſk *when, where*, and *how*, you would embarras, but not diſconcert him. Yet, as he aſſures us, theſe promiſes were exactly fulfilled to Chriſtians, he muſt give us leave to aſſure him, that it could be only in a *ſpiritual* ſenſe: for St. Paul tells us, that the Jews had the *promiſe of the life that now is*, and the Chriſtians of *that which is to come.* I doubt then the learned Profeſſor was a little diſoriented when he called the *promiſes* in Ezekiel and in the Revelations, *the ſame.* There is a ſtrange perverſity in theſe men. The promiſes under the *Law*, they tell us, are to be underſtood SPIRITUALLY, and this, in order that they may bring Judaiſm to Chriſtianity: But then, to bring Chriſtianity back to Judaiſm, they tell us on the other hand, that the promiſes under the *Goſpel* are to be underſtood CARNALLY. But what is to be expected, or rather what is not to be expected, from a man who dares to aſ-

ſert,

ſert, that there was no more an extraordinary Providence under the Jewiſh than under the Chriſtian Diſpenſation; in open defiance of the Prophets and the Apoſtles, of Moſes and of Jeſus Chriſt.

P. 115. [R]. Yet Dr. Sykes ſcruples not to ſay, "The paſſage from "Amos does not prove an *equal* or *unequal* Providence, but a peculiar in- "terpoſition OCCASIONALLY adminiſtered." Def. p. 61. As I would be willing that every thing of this learned Anſwerer's ſhould be put to uſe, I would recommended this obſervation to the reader as a paraphraſe on the words of the Apoſtle, where he ſays that, under the Moſaic Diſpenſation, "the word ſpoken by Angels was STEDFAST, and EVERY tranſgreſſion and "diſobedience received a juſt recompence of reward." Heb. ii. 2.

P. 116. [S] To this Dr. Sykes replies, "The equal providence over "the Jews by his own confeſſion had ceaſed ſome hundred of years, and "therefore at the writing of this epiſtle, *Tribulation* was deemed by no "body more an opprobrium of the Jews, or a puniſhment of their crimes, "than it was of other people." Defence, p. 62. This great Divine did not perceive that St. Paul is here ſpeaking of the different *genius* of the two Religions, Judaiſm and Chriſtianity, not of the *condition* of the two People at the time he wrote: and conſequently, as what was once true would be always true, the Apoſtle conſiders the *nature* of the two Diſpenſations as invariable.

P. 119. [T]. The Writer of the *firſt Book of Maccabees* appears to have lived in the times he wrote of; and we find no wonders nor prodigies in his Hiſtory. But a long time after comes the Author of the *ſecond Book*, an Epitomizer of one *Jaſon* of *Syrene*; and he largely ſupplies what he thought the other wanted. This Man is ſuch a lover of prodigies, that, when he has made a monſtrous lye, and ſo frighted himſelf at the ſize of it that he dare not tell it out, he inſinuates it [as chap. xii. ver. 22.—ἐκ τῆς τῶ παύλα ἐφορῶν]ος ἐπιφανείας. Chap. xv. ver. 27. τῇ τῶ Θεῶ ἐπιφανείᾳ.] Nay he even ventures at an apology for *lying Wonders*, [Chap. xv. ver. 11.] and under this encouragement falls a lying to ſome purpoſe, [Chap. xii. ver. 16.]

P. 122. [U]. I will only obſerve at preſent, what the leaſt reflection on this matter ſo naturally ſuggeſts, that this *complaint of inequality* never could have come from *good men*, as it did even from *Jeremiah* himſelf, who thus expoſtulates with the Almighty: *Righteous art thou, O Lord, when I*

plead

plead with thee: yet let me talk with thee of thy judgments: Wherefore doth the way of the Wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherously? [Chap. xii. ver. 1.] It never, I say, could have come from such men, had they been *at all acquainted* with the Doctrine *of a future state of rewards and punishments*; or had they not been *long accustomed* to an *extraordinary Providence*.

P. 123. [X]. Mr. Chubb, in some or other of his Tracts, has, as I remember, made an unusual effort; an effort to be witty. He observes, that the Author of the *Divine Legation* has done the Unbeliever's business for him; "by proving that an equal Providence was *promised*; while the Bible shews that it was not *performed*." But he might have known, that the Author did not furnish Infidelity with this foolish objection; it lay open to them. And he might have seen, that the folly of it was here effectually exposed. However, Mr. Chubb was a very extraordinary personage; and might have said with the reasoning Rustic in Moliere,—Oui, si j'avois étudié j'aurois eté songer à des choses ou l'on n'a jamais songé. As it was, he did wonders. He began with defending the reasonableness of Christianity, and carried on his work so successfully, that, before he gave over, he had reasoned himself out of Religion.

P. 132. [Y]. The Atheist *Vanini*, indeed, seems to rank Moses in the number of those Politicians, who, he says, promised a *future state* that the cheat might never be found out.—In unica naturæ lege, quam *natura*, quæ Deus est *(est enim principium motus)* in omnium gentium animis inscripsit. Cæteras vero leges non nisi figmenta & illusiones esse asserebant, non a cacodæmone aliquo inductas, *fabulosum namque illorum genus dicitur a philosophis*, sed a *principibus ad subditorum pædagogiam excogitatas*, & a sacrificulis ob honoris & auri aucupium confirmatas, non miraculis, *sed scriptura, cujus nec originale ullibi adinvenitur, quæ miracula facta recitet*, & bonarum ac malarum actionum repromissiones polliceatur, *in futura tamen vita*, ne fraus detegi possit.—*De admirandis naturæ arcanis*.

P. 134. [Z]. The miserable efforts of these men to evade the force of a little plain sense is deplorable. "Moses (says one of them) could not omit "the mention of the *Devil* for the reason given by the author of the "D. L. because he mentions him expressly, and represents him as the pa-"tron, if not as the author, of idolatry." Deut. xxxii. ver. 17. Rutherforth's

forth's Eſſay, p. 294.—The words of Moſes are theſe,—*They ſacrificed to* DEVILS, *not to God; to Gods whom they knew not, to new Gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not.* The Hebrew word here tranſlated *Devils*, is *Schedim*, which, the beſt interpreters tell us, has another ſignification. The true God being *Schaddei*, the *omnipotent and all-ſufficient*; the Gentile Gods, by a beautiful oppoſition, are called *Schedim, counterfeit Gods.* And the context, where they are called *new Gods*, ſhews this interpretation to be the true. But admit that, by Schedim is to be underſtood *evil ſpirits:* by theſe ſpirits are not meant fallen Angels, but the ſouls of wicked men. Theſe were the *Demons* of Paganiſm; but the *Devils* diſcovered by Revelation have a different nature and original: Accordingly, the Septuagint, which took *Schedim* in the ſenſe of the ſouls of wicked men, tranſlates it by δαιμόνια.

P. 137. [AA] Dr. Sykes in diſputing with me, as we have ſeen above, on this queſtion, *Whether the extraordinary Providence was only over the State in general, or whether it extended to Particulars*, having ſufficiently puzzled himſelf and his reader; To recover the ground he had loſt, on a ſudden changes the queſtion, and now tells us, that it is, "*Whether an ex-*" *traordinary Providence was adminiſtered to Particulars* IN SUCH A MANNER "*that no tranſgreſſor of the Law eſcaped puniſhment, nor any obſerver of* "*the Law miſſed his reward*;"—"which Mr. Warburton repreſents (ſays he) "to be the ſtate of the Jews under an equal Providence." [Exam. p. 187, 8.] Now what his drift was in this piece of management, is eaſily underſtood. It was to introduce a commodious Fallacy under an ambiguous expreſſion; which would be always at hand to anſwer his occaſions. And indeed, the cautious reader (and I would adviſe no other to have to do with him) will ſuſpect no leſs, when he obſerves that the words, [*no Tranſgreſſor eſcaped Puniſhment, nor any Obſerver of the Law miſſed his Reward*] quoted from me, are not to be found in that place where I ſtate the nature of the extraordinary Providence; but here, where I ſpeak of the conſequences of it, in the words above—*We have ſhewn at large*, &c. What now has this ANSWERER done? He has taken the words [*no Tranſgreſſor eſcaping Puniſhment, nor any Obſerver of the Law miſſing his Reward*] from their natural place; miſrepreſented their purpoſe; and given them to the reader as my DEFINITION of an extraordinary Providence to Particulars. And not content with all this, he has put a falſe and ſophiſtical ſenſe upon them,

them, *viz.* THAT NO ONE SINGLE PERSON, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, ever eſcaped Puniſhment, or miſſed his Reward. And in this ſenſe, by the vileſt prevarication, he repeats and applies them, on every following occaſion, as the ſole anſwer to all my reaſonings on the ſubject of an extraordinary Providence. It will be proper then to ſhew, that the words could not mean, by any rules of juſt conſtruction, that every *ſingle perſon, without exception*, was thus puniſhed and rewarded; but only that this extraordinary Providence over Particulars was ſo exactly adminiſtered, that no one could hope to eſcape it, or fear to be forgotten by it.

Firſt then, let it be obſerved, that the words are no abſolute aſſertion; but a conſequence of ſomething aſſerted.—AND THEN *no Tranſgreſſor eſcaping*, etc. which illative words the honeſt Examiner omitted.—What I had aſſerted was ſimply this, that the extraordinary Providence over the Jews was in Scripture repreſented as adminiſtered over Particulars; but that this very adminiſtration would of neceſſity be attended with ſome inequalities. Muſt not then the conſequence I draw from theſe premiſes be as reſtrained as the premiſes themſelves? Secondly, I ſaid, that God had promiſed an equal Providence to Particulars, but that he had declared, at the ſame time, how it ſhould be adminiſtered, *viz.* in ſuch a manner as would occaſion ſome few exceptions. If therefore Dr. Sykes would not allow me, he ought to have allowed God Almighty at leaſt, to explain his own meaning. Thirdly, had the words been abſolute, as they then might have admitted of two ſenſes, did not common ingenuity require, that I ſhould be underſtood in that which was eaſieſt to prove, when either was alike to my purpoſe? But there was ſtill more than this to lead an ingenuous man into my meaning; which was, that he might obſerve, that I uſed, throughout my whole diſcourſe of the Jewiſh Oeconomy, the words *extraordinary Providence* and *equal Providence*, as equivalent terms. By which he might underſtand that I all along admitted of exceptions. Fourthly, If ſuch rare caſes of exception deſtroyed an equal Providence to *Particulars*, (which Providence I hold) it would deſtroy, with it, the equal Providence to the *State*, (which Dr. Sykes pretends to hold). But if not for the ſake of truth in opinion, yet for fair-dealing in practice, Dr. Sykes ſhould have interpreted my words not abſolutely, but with exceptions. For thus ſtood the caſe. He quoted two poſitions from the *Divine Legation*. 1. That there was an extraordinary Providence over the State in general. 2. Over private

private men in particular. He grants the firſt; and denies the ſecond. But is not the extent of that providence underſtood to be in both caſes the ſame? Now in that over the *State*, he underſtands it to have been with exceptions, as appears from his own mention of the caſe of Achan, p. 190; and of David, p. 197. Ought he not then, by all the rules of honeſt reaſoning, to have underſtood the propoſition denied, in the ſame ſenſe he underſtands the Propoſition granted? If in the adminiſtration over the State in general, there were ſome few exceptions, why not in That over private men in particular?

But if now the candid reader ſhall aſk me, Why I employed expreſſions, which, when divorced from the context, might be abuſed by a Caviller to a perverſe meaning, I will tell him. I uſed them in imitation of the language of the Apoſtle, who ſays that, under the Jewiſh Oeconomy, EVERY *tranſgreſſion and diſobedience received a juſt recompence of reward**. And if He be to be underſtood with latitude, why may not I?

P. 137. [BB]. But as GOD acted with them in the capacity of the Creator and Father of all Men, as well as of tutelary God and King, he was pleaſed, at the ſame time, to provide that they ſhould never loſe the memory of the attributes of the Almighty: and therefore adds, —*And ſhewing mercy unto thouſands in them that love me and keep my commandments*. Numb. xiv. 18. Deut. v. 9.

P. 137. [CC]. "The Author of the D. L. (ſays Dr. Sykes) goes on, "and obſerves that this puniſhment [of viſiting the iniquities of Fathers "upon their Children] *was only to ſupply the want of a future ſtate*. But "how will this *extraordinary œconomy* SUPPLY this want? The Children at "preſent ſuffer for their Parents' crimes; and are ſuppoſed to be puniſhed "when they have no guilt. Is not this a plain act of HARDSHIP? And "if there be no future ſtate or compenſation made, the hardſhip done "muſt continue for ever a hardſhip on the unhappy ſufferer." Exam. of Mr. W's account, p. 202, 3.] For a Reaſoner, it would be hard to find his fellow. 1. The queſtion is, whether this Law of puniſhing, was a SUPPLY to the want of a future ſtate? If it laid hold of the paſſions, as he owns it did, it certainly was a SUPPLY. However, he will prove it was none. And how? Becauſe it was a HARDSHIP. 2. He ſuppoſes, I hold,

* Heb. ii. 2.

that when Children were *puniſhed*, in the proper ſenſe of the word, they were innocent, whereas I hold, that then they were always guilty. When the innocent were affected by their Parents' crimes, it was by the deprivation of benefits, in their nature forfeitable. 3. He ſuppoſes, that if Moſes taught no future ſtate, IT WOULD FOLLOW, that there was none.

P. 137. [DD]. To this it hath been objected—" As to the proof, that " viſiting the iniquities of Parents on their Children was deſigned to ſup- " ply the want of a future ſtate, becauſe in a *new Diſpenſation*, it is " foretold, that this mode of puniſhing will be changed; this argument " will not be admitted by the Deiſts, who do not allow that a *new Diſ- " penſation* is revealed under the phraſe of a *new Covenant*." Here the Objector ſhould have diſtinguiſhed.—The Deiſts make two different attacks on Revelation. In the one, They diſpute that order, connexion, and dependency between the two Diſpenſations, as they are delivered in Scripture, and maintained by Believers: In the other, they admit (for argument's ſake) this repreſentation of revealed Religion; and pretend to ſhew its falſhood, even upon that footing. Amongſt their various arguments in this laſt method of attack, one is, that the Jewiſh Religion had no ſanction *of a future ſtate*, and ſo could not come from God. [See Lord Bolingbroke's Poſthumous Writings.] The purpoſe of this work is to turn that circumſtance againſt them: and from the omiſſion of the Doctrine, demonſtrate the Divine original of the Law. So that the Reader ſees, I am in order, when, to evince a *deſigned* omiſſion, I explain the Law of puniſhing the crimes of Fathers on the Children, from the different natures of the two Diſpenſations; as going upon principles acceded to, though it be only *diſputandi gratia*, by the Deiſts themſelves.

P. 138. [EE]. It hath been objected, " That the Prophet here upbraids " the Jews as blameable in the uſe of this proverb." Without doubt. And their fault evidently conſiſted in this, That they would inſinuate that an *innocent* poſterity were puniſhed for the crimes of their forefathers; whereas we have ſhewn, that when *the childrens' teeth were ſet on edge*, they likewiſe had been taſting.

P. 139. [FF]. Dr. Stebbing has thought fit to ſupport this charge of contradiction urged by Spinoza and Tyndal, very effectually. He inſults the author of the D. L. for pretending to clear up a difficulty, where there

was

was none. "He [the author of the D. L.] has alſo juſtified the equity "of *another* Law, that of *puniſhing poſterity for the crimes of their fore-* "*fathers*.—Though it is one of the plaineſt caſes in the world, that God "doth this EVERY DAY in the *ordinary* exerciſe of his Providence." *Hiſt. of Abr.* p. 89.—MOSES ſays, *God will viſit the iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children.* JEREMIAH and EZEKIEL ſay as expreſsly, that *God will not do ſo.* See, exclaim *Spinoza* and *Tyndal*, the diſcordancies and contradictions amongſt theſe Prophets. Softly, replies the Author of the *Divine Legation.* You miſtake the matter; the contradiction is all a fiction of your own brains: Moſes ſpeaks of the *Jewiſh* Diſpenſation; and Jeremiah and Ezekiel, of the Chriſtian. I deny that, cries Dr. Stebbing; *puniſhing poſterity for the crimes of their Fathers is done every day under the Chriſtian Diſpenſation.* And thus the objection of Spinoza and Tyndal, by the kind pains of Dr. Stebbing, remains not only unanſwered, but unanſwerable. And yet this is the man, whoſe zeal would not let him reſt till he had reſcued Revelation from the diſhonours brought upon it by the Author of the *Divine Legation.*

P. 141. [GG]. Yet Doctor Sykes modeſtly tells his reader, that "there "is not any ground or foundation for this diſtinction; for that the in- "nocent poſterity were ſometimes deprived of life for the crimes of their "Parents in virtue of this Law."—But here, as the Doctor has not to do with me, but with the Prophet, I leave it to be adjuſted between them, as the Public ſhall think fit to arbitrate.—Another has even ventured to aſk, "How the Poſterity, if it ſuffer for its own guilt, can be ſaid to "ſuffer for the tranſgreſſions of its Parents?" As this doubt ariſes from the Prophet's words, *Your iniquity and the iniquities of your fathers together*, &c. I think myſelf not concerned to ſatisfy it, till theſe Writers have more openly rejected the authority of the Prophets.

P. 141. [HH]. It is obſervable that by our own Conſtitution, no forfeitures attend capital condemnations in the Lord High Admiral's and Conſtable's Courts. And why? the reaſon is plain; thoſe Judicatures proceed on the Roman, and not on the municipal laws of a feudal Government. Not but that the neceſſities of ſtate frequently obliged other Governments which never had been feudal, to have recourſe to an extemporaneous confiſcation. Even Rome itſelf ſometimes exerciſed the ſeverity of this puniſhment, even before it fell under the feet of its Tyrants. Cicero,

to excuſe the confiſcations decreed againſt Lepidus, which affected his children, the nephews of Brutus, ſays to this latter: Nec vero me fugit quàm ſit acerbum, parentium ſcelera filiorum pœnis lui. Sed hoc PRÆCLARE LEGIBUS COMPARATUM eſt, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes reipublicæ redderet. Ep. ad Brutum liber, Ep. 12. And again: In qua videtur illud eſſe crudele, quod ad liberos, qui nihil meruerunt, pœna pervenit. SED ID ET ANTIQUUM EST, ET OMNIUM CIVITATUM. Ep. 15. Again, the ſame neceſſities of State have obliged Governments which had been originally feudal, but were ſo no longer, to retain this *Law of forfeiture*, eſſential to feudal Government even after all the feudal tenures had been aboliſhed. But he, who would ſee the LAW OF FORFEITURES defended on the more general principles of natural juſtice and civil policy, may have full ſatisfaction, in the very elegant and maſterly Diſcourſe ſo intitled.

P. 142. [II]. Here Dr. Sykes, who ſo charitably takes the *Deiſts'* part, all the way, againſt the Author of the D. L. ſays, "It would have been "well TO HAVE TOLD US what this *doctrine* was which was *brought to light*, "and which *held up* theſe daring tranſgreſſors, and which *continued* them "after death the objects of divine juſtice." Defence, p. 83. Can the Reader, when he caſts his eye upon the text, and ſees that *I had told him*, in ſo many words and letters, that it was a FUTURE STATE, think the grave Doctor in his ſenſes? But this quotation from him will have its uſe. It will ſerve for a ſpecimen and example of the miſerable diſpoſitions with which an *Anſwerer by profeſſion* addreſſes himſelf to confute Writers who have taken ſome pains to conſider their ſubject, and to expreſs their meaning.

He goes on objecting to this *unknown* doctrine. He aſks "*how this* "*doctrine did theſe things?*" That is, how the doctrine of a *future ſtate* could extend beyond the preſent life? This ſhews at leaſt, he was in earneſt in his ignorance, and perfectly well aſſured that *I had not told him what the doctrine was.*

He proceeds with his interrogations, and aſks, *Why the puniſhing Children for their Fathers' faults had no further uſe after the bringing in a future ſtate?* I had told him long ago, it was becauſe the puniſhment was employed only to ſupply the want of a future ſtate. But to this, he replies,—*nothing hindered its being added to the doctrine of a future ſtate.* It is very true:

nor

nor did any thing hinder *temporal rewards* from being added to the doctrine of a future ſtate under the Goſpel; yet when a future ſtate was brought to light, by that Diſpenſation, both one and the other were aboliſhed. But is it not a little ſtrange that the Doctor, in thus inſiſting on its *further uſe*, on account of its being able to reſtrain more daring Spirits, by laying hold of their inſtincts, at all times, as well under an *unequal* as under an *equal* providence, ſhould not ſee he was arguing againſt the DIVINE WISDOM, who by the mouth of the Prophet declared it of no further uſe under the Goſpel diſpenſation?

P. 143. [KK]. Ezechielis ſententias adeo ſententiis Moſis repugnantes invenerunt Rabini, qui nobis illos (qui jam tantum extant) libros Prophetarum reliquerunt, ut fere deliberaverint, ejus librum inter canonicos non admittere, atque eundem plane abſcondiſſent, niſi quidam Chananias in ſe ſuſcepiſſet ipſum explicare, quod tandem magno cum labore & ſtudio (ut ibi narratur) aiunt ipſum feciſſe, qua ratione autem non ſatis conſtat.—*Spinozæ Tract. Theologico-Pol.* p. 27, 28. In the mean time it may be worth obſerving, that the explanation which I have here offered, cuts off the only means the modern Jews have of accounting for their long Captivity upon the Principle of the LAW's being ſtill in force. Limborch urges Orobio with the difficulty of accounting for their preſent diſperſion any other way than for the national crime of rejecting Jeſus as the Meſſiah; ſeeing they are ſo far from falling into Pagan idolatries, the crime which brought on their other Captivities, that they are remarkably tenacious of the Moſaic Rites. To which Orobio replies, "that they are not their own ſins for which they now ſuffer, but the ſins of their forefathers." Now Ezekiel has declared (and I have reconciled that declaration to the *Law and the Prophets)* that this mode of puniſhment hath been long aboliſhed.

P. 144. [LL]. Having thus reconciled the two Prophets, Moſes and Ezekiel, on this point, one may be allowed to wonder a little at the want of good faith even in M. Voltaire, when it comes to a certain extreme.

This celebrated Poet has, like an honeſt man, written in defence of RELIGIOUS TOLERATION: and to inforce his argument has endeavoured (not indeed like a wiſe one, who ſhould weigh his ſubject before he undertakes it), to prove, that all Religions in the world, but the Chriſtian, have tolerated diverſities of opinion. This common weakneſs of rounding one's Syſtem, for the ſupport of a plain Right which requires no ſuch finiſhing,

hath

hath led him into two of the ſtrangeſt paradoxes that ever diſgraced common ſenſe.

The one, that the *Pagan Emperors* did not perſecute the Chriſtian Faith: The other, that the *Jewiſh Magiſtrate* did not puniſh for Idolatry.

In ſupport of the firſt, his *bad faith* is moſt conſpicuous; in ſupport of the latter, his *bad logic*.

If there be one truth in Antiquity better eſtabliſhed than another, it is this, That the Pagan Emperors did perſecute the Chriſtians *for their faith only*; eſtabliſhed, I ſay, both by the complaints of the Perſecuted, and the acknowledgment of their Perſecutors. But this being proved at large in the preface to this very Volume, it is enough to refer the Reader thither.

The other Paradox is much more pleaſantly ſupported. He proves that the Moſaic Law did not denounce puniſhment on religious errors (though in direct words, it does ſo), nor did the Jewiſh Magiſtrate execute it (though we have ſeveral inſtances of the infliction recorded in their hiſtory). —And what is the convincing argument he employs? It is this, *The frequent defections of the Jewiſh People into Idolatry, in the early times of their apoſtaſies*. An argument hardly ſo good as this,—*The Church of Rome did not perſecute, as appears from that general defection from it, in the ſixteenth Century*. I ſay, Mr. Voltaire's argument is hardly ſo good as my illuſtration of it, ſince the defection from the Church of Rome ſtill continues, and the Jewiſh defections into Idolatries were ſoon at an end.

But we are not to think, this Paradox was advanced for nothing, that is, for the ſake of its own ſingular boldneſs (a motive generally ſufficient to ſet reaſon at defiance), nor even for the ſupport of his general queſtion. It was apparently advanced to get the eaſier at his darling ſubject, THE ABUSE OF THE MOSAIC RELIGION, that *Marotte* of our party-coloured Philoſopher.

Take this inſtance, which is all that a curſory note will be able to afford.

Mr. Voltaire, ſpeaking of the *rewards* and *puniſhments* of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation, expreſſes himſelf in this manner, " Tout etait temporel; et c'eſt la preuve que le ſavant Evêque Warburton apporte pour démontrer que la Loi des Juifs, était divine; parce que Dieu même étant leur Roi, rendant juſtice immédiatement aupres la tranſgreſſion ou l'obéiſſance, n'avoit pas beſoin de leur révéler une Doctrine qu'il réſervait au tems, ou'il ne gouvernerait

vernerait plus ſon peuple. Ceux qui par ignorance prétendent que Moyſe enſeignait l'immortalité de l'ame, ôtent au Nouveau Teſtament un de ſes plus grands avantages ſur l'ancien*:" Would not any one now believe (who did not know Mr. Voltaire) that he quoted this argument as what he thought a good one, for the divinity of the Moſaic Religion? Nothing like it. It was only to find occaſion to accuſe the Old Teſtament of contradiction. For thus he goes on,—" Cependant malgré l'énoncé précis de cette Loi, malgré cette declaration expreſſe de Dieu, qu'il punirait juſqu'à la quatriéme génération; *Ezechiel* annonce TOUT LE CONTRAIRE aux Juifs, et leur dit, que le Fils ne portera point l'iniquité de ſon pere: il va même juſqu'à faire dire a Dieu, qu'il leur avait *donné des preceptes qui n'etaient pas bons* †."

As for the *precepts which were not good*, the Reader will ſee that matter explained at large, as we go along. What I have to do with Mr. Voltaire at preſent, is to expoſtulate with him for his ill faith; that when he had borrowed my argument for the divinity of the Moſaic Miſſion from that mode of puniſhment, he would venture to invalidate it from an apparent contradiction between MOSES and EZEKIEL; when, in that very place of the *Divine Legation* which he refers to, he ſaw the two Prophets reconciled by an argument drawn from the true natures of two approximating Diſpenſations; an argument which not only removes the pretended contradiction (firſt inſiſted on by *Spinoſa*, and, through many a dirty channel, derived, at length, to Mr. Voltaire), but likewiſe ſupports that very mark of divinity which I contend for.

But it is too late in the day to call in queſtion the Religion or the good faith of this truly ingenious man. What I want, in this Diſcourſe *ſur la Tolérance*, is his CIVIL PRUDENCE. As an ANNALIST, he might, in his *General Hiſtory*, calumniate the Jewiſh People juſt as his paſſions or his caprice inclined him: But when he had aſſumed the character of a DIVINE, to recommend *Toleration* to a Chriſtian State, could he think to ſucceed by abuſing *Revelation?* He ſeems indeed, to have ſet out under a ſenſe of the neceſſity of a different conduct: But coming to his darling ſubject an abuſe of the Jews, he could not, for his life, ſuſtain the perſonage he had aſſumed, but breaks out again into all the virulence and injuſtice with which he perſecuted this unhappy People in his *General Hiſtory*; and of which the Reader will ſee a fair account, in this volume, b. v. ſect. 1.

* Page 132. † Page 133.

P. 146. [MM]. This is the preciſe character of the writings of the Old Teſtament. And this ſtate of them (to obſerve it only by the way) is more than a thouſand anſwers to the wild ſuſpicions of thoſe writers, who fancy that the Jews, ſince Chriſt, have corrupted their ſacred Scriptures, to ſupport their ſuperſtitions againſt the Goſpel; and amongſt other eraſements have ſtruck out the Doctrine of life and immortality; which, ſay theſe Viſionaries, was, till then, as plainly taught in the Old as in the New Teſtament: For had theſe ſuppoſed Impoſtors ever ventured on ſo bold a fraud as the adulterating their ſacred Writings, we may be well aſſured their firſt attempt would have been to add the doctrine of a future ſtate, had they not found it there, rather than to take it away if they had: ſince the *omiſſion* of the doctrine is the ſtrongeſt and moſt glaring evidence of the *imperfection of the Law*; and the inſertion of it would have beſt ſupported what they now hold to be one of the moſt *fundamental* points of their Religion.—But this is not a folly of yeſterday. Irenæus tells us that certain ancient Heretics ſupported their wild fancies againſt Scripture, which was againſt them, by the ſame extravagant ſuſpicion, that it had been interpolated and corrupted. Notwithſtanding, I am far from thinking theſe Moderns borrowed it from them. They found it in our common Nature, which always goes the neareſt way to work, to relieve itſelf.

P. 146. [NN]. We ſhall now underſtand the importance of a remark, which the late Tranſlator of Joſephus employs to prove the genuineneſs of a fragment or homily, given by him to that Hiſtorian: "There is one "particular obſervation (ſays he) belonging to the contents of this frag- "ment or homily, that ſeems to me to be DECRETORY, and to determine "the queſtion that ſome of this Jewiſh church, that uſed the Hebrew copy "of the Old Teſtament, nay rather, that Joſephus himſelf in particular "was the author of it. The obſervation is this, that in the preſent addreſs "to the Greeks or Gentiles there are near forty references or alluſions to "texts of the New Teſtament; AND NOT ONE, TO ANY OF THE OLD "TESTAMENT either in Hebrew or Greek; and this in a diſcourſe concern- "ing HADES; which yet is almoſt five times as often mentioned in the "Old Teſtament as in the New. What can be the reaſon of this? But "that the Jewiſh Church at Jeruſalem uſed the Hebrew Bible alone, which "thoſe Greeks or Gentiles, to whom the addreſs is here made, could not "underſtand; and that our Joſephus always and only uſed the ſame He-

"brew

" brew Bible?" *Mr. Whiſton's Diſſert.* prefixed to his *Tranſl. of Joſephus*, p. 105.—*What can be the reaſon* (ſays he) *of this* myſtery? He unfolds it thus: *The Jewiſh Church of Jeruſalem uſed the Hebrew Bible alone, which thoſe Greeks or Gentiles, to whom the addreſs is here made, could not underſtand.* So that becauſe the Audience did not underſtand Hebrew, the Preacher could not quote the texts, he had occaſion for, in Greek. But he ſuppoſes the Author could not quote the Greek, becauſe it muſt needs have been that of the *Septuagint*; which the Jewiſh Church at Jeruſalem would not uſe. Now admit there were no other Greek to be had, or allowed of, Can any man believe that if this Jewiſh Preacher would turn himſelf to the Gentiles, he could be ſuch a bigot as to be afraid of quoting the Old Teſtament in a language they underſtood, becauſe his Church uſed only the Original which they underſtood not? Or if he had been ſuch a bigot, Would he have dared to preach to the Gentiles at all? What then but the fondneſs for an hypotheſis could make men ramble after ſuch reaſons, when ſo obvious an one lies juſt before them? Why did he this, do you aſk? For this plain reaſon: His ſubject was a *future ſtate of reward and puniſhment*, and he had more ſenſe than to ſeek for it where it was not to be found. *Oh but* HADES *is almoſt five times as often mentioned in the Old Teſtament as in the New.* Indeed! But the fragment is not about the *word*, but the *thing*. In the Old Teſtament it ſignified the receptacle of *dead bodies*; in the New, the receptacle of *living ſouls*. But though this learned writer can, without doubt, laugh at thoſe who ſeek the *Trinity* in the Old Teſtament, yet he can in good earneſt go thither in ſearch of a *Future ſtate*. Yet this latter is not in any compariſon ſo clearly hinted at as the other: and no wonder; a Future ſtate is circumſcribed to the New Teſtament, as *brought to light* by the Goſpel; but the doctrine of the Trinity is no where ſaid to be ſo circumſcribed.

P. 148. [OO]. To all this, Dr. Stebbing has an *Anſwer* ready. " The " Hiſtory of the perſecution under Antiochus (ſays he) is written by two " Hiſtorians, namely, the Author of the firſt book of Maccabees, and the " Author of the ſecond. This laſt writer has recorded the profeſſion of the " Martyrs concerning their belief of the doctrine of the Reſurrection; but " the firſt has entirely omitted it: nor is there one word about a reſurrection " or future ſtate to be found throughout his whole Hiſtory, though it is " certain it was now the national belief. *So* UNSAFE *a thing is it to rely upon*

" *the* MERE *ſilence of hiſtorians*, when they undertake to write a hiſtory *not of* " *doctrines* but of the tranſactions of men." *Exam.* p. 116.

I will tell him of an unſafer thing: which is, venturing to draw *parallel caſes*; as he has done here; for they may happen (as hath happened here) to be *caſes moſt unlike.*

In a large and miſcellaneous Volume, compoſed by various Writers of different times and ſtates, and containing the Law, the Religion, and the Hiſtory of the Jews, from Moſes to the Captivity, neither the Doctrines of the reſurrection nor a future ſtate are ever once mentioned.

This is the Fact. And to obviate my inference from it,—" That the " Jews, during that period, were unacquainted with the Doctrines," this able Divine oppoſes the two books of *Maccabees*, containing the ſtory of one ſhort period, when, it is confeſſed, theſe Doctrines were of national belief; in the firſt of which Books, there is no mention of the Doctrine, and in the ſecond, a great deal: the reaſon both of the mention and of the ſilence being ſelf-evident. It is recorded in the *ſecond* book, where there is a detailed account of the Martyrs for the Jewiſh Faith: it is omitted in the *firſt*, where there is no account of any ſuch thing.

Yet theſe are brought as *parallel caſes:* Let us therefore do them all honour.

1. Several volumes of the ſacred Canon contain a *hiſtory of doctrines.*

The two books of Maccabees contain only a *hiſtory of civil tranſactions.*

2. None of the inſpired Writers of the Canon before the Captivity ever once mention the Doctrines of a reſurrection or a future ſtate.

Of the two books of Maccabees, one of them mentions the Doctrines fully and at large.

3. The ſacred Canon compriſes a vaſt period of time, and treats of an infinite variety of matters.

The two books of Maccabees are ſmall tracts of an uniform ſubject, and contain only the ſtory of one revolution in the Jewiſh State.

Unconſcious, as ſhould ſeem, of all this difference, the learned Doctor concludes—*So unſafe a thing it is to rely on the* MERE SILENCE *of Hiſtorians, when they undertake to write a hiſtory* NOT OF DOCTRINES, *but of the tranſactions of Men.* In which, theſe THREE FALSEHOODS are very gravely and magiſterially inſinuated: That the Writers of the two books of Maccabees are equally *ſilent* with the Writers of the Canon: 2. That all the Writers of the Canon are writers of a Hiſtory, *not of the Doctrines*, but merely

merely of the civil tranſactions of men, equally with the writers of the two Books of Maccabees: And 3. That the thing relied on by me, is the MERE SILENCE of Hiſtorians. Which falſehood if the Reader does not ſee from what has been ſaid above, he may be pleaſed to conſider, that *mere ſilence* is when a Writer omits to ſay a thing which it was indifferent to his purpoſe whether he ſaid or not. But when he omits to ſay a thing, which it was much to his purpoſe to ſay, this is not a *mere ſilence*. It is a *ſilence* attended with a *circumſtance*, which makes the evidence drawn from that *ſilence* ſomething more than negative, and, conſequently, ſomething more than *mere ſilence*. So much for Dr. Stebbing.

A Corniſh Writer * purſues the ſame argument againſt the *Divine Legation*; but takes his *parallel* much higher. "There is no one (ſays he) "who reads HOMER that can doubt whether a Future ſtate were the po- "pular belief amongſt the Greeks in the times he writes of. And yet, "by what I remember of him, I believe it would be difficult to produce "SIX inſtances in all his poems of any actions either entered upon or "avoided from the EXPRESS motive of the rewards or puniſhments to be "expected in the other world."

I inferred from a Future ſtate's NEVER being mentioned in the Jewiſh Hiſtory, amongſt the motives of men's actions (after it had been omitted in the Jewiſh Law and Religion), that it was not of popular belief amongſt that people. Now here comes an Anſwerer, and ſays, that it is not mentioned above SIX TIMES EXPRESSLY in Homer, and yet that nobody *can doubt whether it were not the popular belief amongſt the Greeks*. The good cautious man! Had it been but ONCE EXPRESSLY mentioned in the Old Teſtament, I ſhould no more have doubted of its being of popular belief amongſt the Jews, than he does. Why then do we doubt ſo little, in the caſe of the Greeks, but for the ſame reaſon why we ought to doubt ſo much in the caſe of the Jews! HOMER (who gives a detailed account of a future ſtate), this writer allows, has mentioned it about *ſix times* as a motive. The SCRIPTURES (which, together with the hiſtory, deliver the Law and Religion of the Jews, in which a future ſtate is omitted) mention it *not once*, as a motive. But this Anſwerer would make the reader believe, I made my inference from the *paucity*, and not from the *want*, of the mention. The ſame may be obſerved of another expreſſion of this candid Gentleman's—*expreſs motive*.

* Mr. Peters.

Now much leſs would have ſatisfied me; and I ſhould readily have allowed that the Jews had the popular belief amongſt them had the *motive been but once fairly implied.*

But let us take him at the beſt, and ſuppoſe Homer did not afford one ſingle inſtance. What, I pray you, has Homer in common with Moses? Suppoſe, I ſhould affirm from the Greek Hiſtory, That the ancient Worthies always proportioned their work to their ſtrength and bulk; and that my Anſwerer was not in an humour to let this paſs; but, to confute me, would preſs me with the high atchievements of Tom Thumb, as they are recorded in his authentic ſtory; who was as famed for his turbulence in king Arthur's Court, as Achilles was in Agamemnon's: Would not this be juſt as much to the purpoſe, as to put the *Iliad* and the *Odyſſey* in parallel with the *Law and the Prophets?*

But Homer's poems have been ſo long called the *Bible of the Pagans*, that this Anſwerer appears, in good earneſt, to have taken them for *religious Hiſtory*; otherwiſe how could it have ever entered into his head to make ſo ridiculous a compariſon? My reaſoning with regard to Scripture ſtood thus.—As all good Hiſtory deals with the motives of men's actions, ſo the peculiar buſineſs (as it ſeems to me) of *religious Hiſtory* is to ſcrutinize their *religious Motives:* Of theſe, the principal is the conſideration of a Future ſtate. And this not being ſo much as once mentioned in the ancient Jewiſh Hiſtory, it is natural to conclude that the Jews of thoſe times had it not. But now, what has Homer's poems to do in this matter? I apprehend they are no *religious Hiſtory*; but compoſitions as far removed from it as poſſible, namely a *military* and *civil* Romance, brimfull of fabulous trumpery. Now in ſuch a work, the writer ſurely would be principally ſolicitous about the *civil* motives of his Actors. And Homer, who is confeſſed to underſtand what belonged to every kind of Compoſition, would take care to keep within his ſubject; and, to preſerve decorum, would content himſelf with ſupplying his Warriors and Politicians with ſuch motives as might beſt ſet off their Wiſdom and their Heroiſm: ſuch as the *love of power*, in which I compriſe, revenge on their Enemies: the *love of plunder*, in which is included their paſſion for fair Captives; and the *love of glory*, in which, if you pleaſe, you may reckon their regard for their Friends and their Country.—*But in Homer's* military and political Romances *there are hardly ſix inſtances in which a future ſtate is mentioned as the*

the expreſs motive; therefore the perpetual ſilence on this point, in the *religious Hiſtory* of the JEWS, and the perpetual mention of it in the *religious Hiſtories* of the SUEVI and the SARACENS, conclude nothing in favour of the argument of the *Divine Legation*.

P. 148. [PP]. To this Dr. Stebbing objects, that "it means no more "than that man was not to be reſtored to his earthly human ſtate." Exam. p. 60. and, to confirm this, he appeals to the tenth verſe of this chapter, which runs thus, *He ſhall return no more to his houſe, neither ſhall his place know him any more*. But the learned Doctor ſhould have reflected, that if Job ſays the dead man *returns no more to his houſe*, he gives a reaſon for his ſo ſaying, very inconſiſtent with the Doctor's interpretation of the 9th verſe of the viith chapter. It was, becauſe the dead man was got into *the land of darkneſs and the ſhadow of death* [chap. x. 21.] it was becauſe he was *not awake nor could be raiſed out of his ſleep* [chap. xiv. 12.] But the very ſubject which Job is here treating confutes the Doctor's interpretation: He is complaining that life is ſhort, and that after death *he ſhall no more ſee good*, for that he *who goeth down to the grave ſhall come up no more*; *he ſhall return no more to his houſe* [ver. 7, 8, 9, 10.] which at leaſt *implies* that there was no good to be expected any where, but in this world: And this expectation is cut off in *expreſs terms*.

P. 149. [QQ]. To this ſenſe of the text, Dr. Stebbing objects, and ſays, that *by no reward is meant none in this world*. Exam. p. 63, 4. and in ſupport of his interpretation, quotes the words of the verſe immediately following—*neither have they any more a portion for ever in any thing that is done under the ſun*. Now I agree with the learned Doctor that theſe words are an explanation of the foregoing, of the *dead's not having any more a reward*: and from thence draw juſt the contrary inference, That the ſacred writer, from the conſideration of the dead's not returning to life to enjoy their reward, concluded that, when once death had ſeized them, they could have no reward at all; not even that imaginary one, the living in the memory of men, *for the memory of them* (ſays he) *is forgotten*. So again from the conſideration in ver. 6. that the dead *had neither love, hatred, nor envy*, he had concluded ver 5. that THEY KNEW NOT ANY THING.—But the *premiſſes* and the *concluſion* not being in their uſual order,

order, our learned *Doctor's* Logic did not reach to take the force of the *Preacher's*.

P. 156. [RR]. To all this, it hath been ſaid,—" Chriſtians have the " promiſe of the life that now is, excepting the caſe of perſecution, Mark " x. 30." The words of Jeſus in the Evangeliſt are,—*there is no one that hath* LEFT *houſe or brethren, &c. for my ſake and the Goſpel's, but he ſhall receive an hundred fold now in this time, houſes and lands, &c. with perſecutions, and in the world to come, eternal life.* But theſe words evidently allude to the firſt Followers of Jeſus, while the Church was under an extraordinary Providence, that is, during the Age of Miracles: and as that ſort of Diſpenſation is always aided by the courſe of natural and civil events, we eaſily ſee how it would be promoted by LEAVING a country doomed to the moſt horrid and exterminating deſtruction. But St. Paul, where he aſſigns only *the life which is to come* to the followers of the Goſpel, is ſpeaking of a different thing, namely of the genius of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation in general, as it is oppoſed to Judaiſm.

P. 158. [SS]. The ſerious reader, who conſiders all this, will not be a little ſurpriſed to hear that eminent Scholar and Divine, Dr. S. Clarke, talk in the following manner, where, after having ſpoken of the doubts and uncertainties of the ancient Philoſophers concerning a future ſtate, he concludes in theſe words,—" From all which it appears that notwithſtand- " ing all the bright arguments and acute concluſions and brave ſayings " of the beſt Philoſophers, yet *life and immortality* were not FULLY and SA- " TISFACTORILY *brought to light* by BARE NATURAL REASON."—[Ev. of nat. and rev. Religion, p. 146.]—It would be very ſtrange if they had; ſince Scripture is ſo far from allowing any part of this diſcovery to *natural reaſon*, that it will not admit even the Moſaic Revelation to a ſhare, but reſerves it all for the *Goſpel of* CHRIST: ſo that had natural Religion brought *life and immortality to light*, though not *fully and ſatisfactorily*, the learned Apoſtle would be found to have ſpoken much too highly of the prerogatives of the Goſpel.

The truth is, the very learned Writer had two points to make out, in this famous work; the one was the *evidence of natural Religion*; and, under that head, he is to ſhew, that it taught life and immortality. His other point was, the *evidence of Revealed Religion*, and there, (to ſhew its uſe and neceſſity) he is to demonſtrate that bare natural reaſon could not diſcover

cover life and immortality. Thus the very method of his demonſtration obliged him, in the former part, to give to natural Religion an honour which, in the latter part, he was forced to take away: and to reconcile them with one another, was the purpoſe of the conciliating words above—*yet life and immortality were not* FULLY *and* SATISFACTORILY *brought to light by bare natural reaſon:* which indeed does the buſineſs; but it is at the expence of the learned Apoſtle, who ſays it was not brought to light at all, till the preaching of the Goſpel.

P. 158. [TT]. To this it has been ſaid, "that the *myſtery of the Goſpel* here mentioned, is rather that which is meant by the word, chap. iii. 3—9. namely the calling in of the Gentiles to be fellow-heirs with the Jews."—For a confutation of this abſurd fancy, read—*The free and candid examination of the principles advanced by the Lord Biſhop of London*, chap. i. p. 24. & ſeq. where the learned and moſt judicious Author has ſufficiently exploded it.

THE

THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK VI.

SECT. I.

AFTER ſuch convincing evidence that a FUTURE STATE did not make part of the Religion of MOSES, the reader would not have ſuſpected, he muſt once more be ſtopped to hear a long Anſwer to a ſet of texts brought from the *Old* and *New* Teſtament to prove, *That the Doctrine of a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment* DID *make the moſt eſſential part of the Moſaic Diſpenſation:* and this, not by a few fanciful Allegoriſts, or outrageous Bigots only, who will ſay, or do any thing; but by many ſober men of all Sects and Parties, of all Times, and of all Religions.

I. Several of the ancient CHRISTIAN Writers were ſo perſuaded of this point, that, not content to ſay, the doctrine of a Future ſtate made part of the Moſaic Diſpenſation, they would be confident that the very Pagans learnt it all from thence. Some modern Chriſtians have not been behind them in their *Faith*, but have far outſtripped

them in their *Charity*, while they treated the denial of this extravagant Opinion as a new ſpecies of infidelity. It is true, they are all extremely confuſed and obſcure about the way, they repreſent it to have been taught: And there have not been wanting, at all times, men of greateſt eminence for parts and piety, who have not only doubted, but plainly denied this Future ſtate to be in the Moſaic Religion; though, to be juſt to all, with the ſame inconſiſtency and embarras that the others have maintained it *. However, the more current doctrine hath always been, *That a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments was taught by the Law of Moſes.*

As ſurprizing as this may ſeem to thoſe who have weighed the foregoing Evidence, yet indeed no leſs could be expected from ſuch a number of concurrent and oddly combined Prejudices, which have ſerved, till now, to diſcredit one of the cleareſt and moſt important truths of Revelation.

1. The firſt was, that ſeveral Patriarchs and Prophets, both before and under the Moſaic Diſpenſation, were certainly favoured with the revelation of man's *Redemption*; in which the doctrine of a Future ſtate is eminently contained: And they think it utterly incredible that Theſe ſhould not have conveyed it to their People and Poſterity.

2. They could not conceive how a Religion could be worthy of God, which did not propoſe to its Followers a Future State of rewards and puniſhments; but confined their views to the carnal things of this life only.

3. The truth, here attempted to be eſtabliſhed, had been received and *abuſed* by the Enemies of all true Religion and Godlineſs; ſuch as the Sadducees of the old Jewiſh church, the Gnoſtics of the old Chriſtian, and Unbelievers in all Churches.

4. Laſtly, men were kept faſt within the error into which theſe prejudices had drawn them, by never rightly diſtinguiſhing between a Future State of reward and puniſhment, as taught by what men

* See note [A], at the end of this Book.

call

call *natural Religion*, and a future ſtate as taught by *Chriſtian Revelation*; which is the CLUE, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, to conduct us through all the errors and perplexities of this *region of darkneſs*, till we come into the full and glorious *light of the Goſpel.*

But in Religious matters, combinations much leſs ſtrange are ſufficient to defeat the credit of the plaineſt Fact. A noted inſtance of what OBSTINACY alone can do againſt the ſelf-evidence of Truth, will abate our wonder at the perverſity in queſtion; at leaſt it may be put to uſe, in the *hiſtory of the human mind*, towards which, will be found materials, neither vulgar nor few, in the courſe of this work. There is a ſect, and that no inconſiderable one, which, being eſſentially founded in Enthuſiaſm, hath, amongſt other of its ſtrange freaks, thrown out the inſtitution of WATER-BAPTISM from its ſcheme of Chriſtianity. It is very likely that the illiterate Founder, while rapt in his fanatic viſions, did not reflect that, of all the inſtitutions of our holy Religion, this of *water-baptiſm* was leaſt proper to be called in queſtion; being moſt invincibly eſtabliſhed by the practice both of PAUL and PETER. This latter finding that the houſhold of Cornelius the GENTILE *had received the Holy Ghoſt*, regarded it as a certain direction for him to admit them into the Church of Chriſt, which he did by the initiatory Rite of *water-baptiſm.* [Acts x. 47.] Paul, in his travels through the Leſſer Aſia, finding ſome of the JEWISH Converts who had *never heard of the Holy Ghoſt*, and, on enquiry, underſtanding they had been only baptized by water unto *John's Baptiſm*, thought fit to baptiſe them with water *in the name of the Lord Jeſus*, that is, to admit them into the Church; and then *laying his hands upon them the Holy Ghoſt came upon them, and they ſpake with tongues and propheſied.* [Acts xix. 4, 5, 6.]

In ſpite of theſe two memorable tranſactions, the Quakers have notwithſtanding rejected *water-baptiſm.* What is the pretence? "*Water-baptiſm* (it ſeems) is John's baptiſm, and only a type of baptiſm by the Holy Ghoſt or by Fire; ſo that when this laſt came in uſe, the former ceaſed and was aboliſhed." Yet in the two hiſ-

tories given above, both theſe fancies are reproved; and in ſuch a manner as if the ſtories had been recorded for no other purpoſe: For in the adventure of Paul, the *water-baptiſm of Jeſus* is expreſsly diſtinguiſhed from the *water-baptiſm of John:* And, in that of Peter, it appears, that *water-baptiſm* was neceſſary for admittance into the church of Chriſt, even after the miniſtration of *baptiſm by fire,* or the communicated power of the Holy Ghoſt. It is further obſervable, that theſe two Heads of the Miſſion to the two great diviſions of Mankind, the Jews and Gentiles, here acted in one another's province; Peter the Apoſtle of the Jews adminiſtering baptiſm to the Gentile houſhold of Cornelius; and Paul the Apoſtle of the Gentiles adminiſtering the ſame rite to the Jewiſh Converts. And why was this croſſing of hands but to obviate that ſilly evaſion, that *water-baptiſm* was only partial or temporary?

But what is reaſon, evidence, or truth, when oppoſed to religious Prejudice! The Quakers do not hold it to be clearer, that *repentance from dead works* is neceſſary for obtaining the ſpiritual benefits of the Goſpel-Covenant, than that WATER-BAPTISM is aboliſhed, and of no uſe to initiate into the Church of Chriſt.

II. But to proceed. The error in queſtion is, as we ſaid, not confined to the Chriſtian Church. The Jews too maintain it with equal obſtinacy, but not with equal indiſcretion; *the Children of this world are, in their generation, wiſer than the Children of light* *; their fatal adherence to their long aboliſhed Rites depending altogether upon this ſingle prejudice, that Moſes taught a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments: for if he taught it not, the conſequence is inevitable, his Religion could be only *preparatory* to one that did teach it. This therefore is their great ſupport; and wiſely have they inforced it by all the authority and power of the Synagogue †. But what Chriſtians gain by ſo doing, I confeſs I know not. What they loſe hath been ſeen in part, and will be more fully ſhewn hereafter: not one demonſtration only, of the truth of the Moſaic

* Luke xvi. 8.

† See the Dedication prefixed to Book IV.

Miſſion,

Miſſion, but all true conception of that divine harmony which inſpires every part, and runs through the whole of GOD's great Diſpenſation to Mankind.

III. The error is ſtill more extenſive; and hath ſpread from true Religion to the falſe; a fitter ſoil for its reception. For the MAHOMETANS, who hold the divine original of the Jewiſh Law, are as obſtinate as the beſt, in giving it this miſtaken advantage: but, it muſt be owned, under a modeſter pretext. Their expedient for ſaving the honour of the Law is this: They confeſs the Doctrine of a future ſtate is not at preſent to be found there: BUT THOUGH IT BE NOT THERE, IT OUGHT TO BE; for that the Jews, in pure ſpite to them, have interpolated their Bible, and taken away all mention of it *.

Matters being in this odd ſituation, the reader will excuſe me, if I turn a little to conſider thoſe texts of Scripture which CHRISTIAN writers have produced to prove, *That a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments does indeed make part of the Moſaic Religion.*

II.

But here let me obſerve, that the thing of moſt conſequence in this part of my diſcourſe will be to ſtate the queſtion clearly and plainly. When that is done, every common reader will be able, without my help, to remove the objections to my Syſtem; or rather, the queſtion being thus truly ſtated, they will fall of themſelves.

I. My declared purpoſe, in this Work †, is to demonſtrate *The Divine Legation of* MOSES, in order to uſe it for the foundation of

* *Taourat*—Les Muſulmans diſent, que c'eſt l'ancien Teſtament, que Dieu revela à Moyſe écrit en langue Hebraïque, livre qui a été alteré & corrumpu par les Juifs.—C'eſt la le ſentiment des Muſulmans qui a été recueilli de pluſieurs auteurs Arabes par *Hagi Khalfah*. Le même auteur dit—que l'on n'y trouve pas auſſi aucun endroit où il ſoit parlé de l'autre vie, ni de la Reſurrection, ni du Paradis, ni de l'Enfer, & que cela vient peut être de ce que les Juifs ont corrompu leurs exemplairs.—Voyez la Bibliotheque Orientale de M. D'Herbelot, Mot. TAQUART.

† See the Appendix to the firſt edition of the Alliance between Church and State.

a pro-

a projected defence of Revelation in general, as the Diſpenſation is compleated in Chriſtianity. The medium I employ for this purpoſe is, that there was *no future ſtate of reward and puniſhment in the Moſaic Religion.* I muſt needs therefore go upon theſe two principles: 1. That *Moſes did not diſbelieve a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment.* 2. That *his Religion was preparatory to the Religion of* JESUS *which taught ſuch future ſtate.* Hence proceed theſe conſequences:

1. From my holding that *Moſes did not diſbelieve a future ſtate*, it follows, that all thoſe texts of Scripture which are brought to prove that *the ancient Jews believed the ſoul ſurvived the body*, are nothing to the purpoſe: but do, on the contrary, greatly confirm my Theſis: for which reaſon I have myſelf ſhewn that the early Jews did indeed ſuppoſe this truth.

2. From my holding that *the Religion of Moſes was only preparatory to the Religion of* JESUS, it follows, that all ſuch texts, as imply a *Future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in their* TYPICAL *ſignification* only, are juſt as little to the purpoſe. For if Moſes's Religion was preparatory to one Future, it is, as I have ſhewn *, highly reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the eſſential doctrine of that New Religion was ſhadowed out under the Rites, or by the inſpired penmen, of the Old. But ſuch texts are not only inconcluſive, but highly corroborative of the opinion they are brought to oppoſe. For if future rewards and puniſhments were taught to the People under the Law, what occaſion was there for any *typical* repreſentation of them, which neceſſarily implies the throwing things into ſhade, and ſecreting them from vulgar knowledge? What ground was there for that diſtinction between a *carnal* and a *ſpiritual* meaning (both of which it is agreed the Moſaic Law had, in order to fit it for the uſe of two Diſpenſations) if it did not imply an ignorance of the ſpiritual ſenſe during the continuance of the firſt? Yet as clear as this is, the contrary is the doctrine of my Adverſaries; who ſeem to think that the *ſpiritual* and the *carnal* ſenſe muſt needs

* See the laſt Section of this Book.

always

always go together, like the jewel and the foil in Aaron's breaſt-plate.

Both theſe ſorts of texts, therefore, conclude only againſt SADDUCEES and INFIDELS. Yet hath this matter been ſo little attended to, in the judgements paſſed upon my argument, that both ſorts have been urged as confutations of it. I ſpeak not here of the dirty calumnies of one or two forgotten ſcriblers, but of the unequitable cenſures of ſome who better deſerve to be ſet right.

II. But farther, As my poſition is, *that a Future ſtate of reward and puniſhment was not taught in the Moſaic Diſpenſation*, all texts brought to prove the knowledge of it *after* the time of David are as impertinent as the reſt. For what was known from this time, could not ſupply the want of what was unknown for ſo many ages before. This therefore puts all the prophetic Writings out of the queſtion.

And now, when all theſe Texts are taken from my Adverſaries, what is there left, to keep up the quarrel? Should I be ſo ſevere to inſiſt on the common rights of Authors, of not being obliged to anſwer to convict impertinencies, this part of my taſk would be ſoon over. But I ſhall, in charity, conſider theſe Texts, ſuch as they are. However, that I may not appear altogether ſo abſurd as the Inforcers of them, I ſhall give the reader my reaſons for this condeſcenſion.

1. As to the FUTURE EXISTENCE OF THE SOUL, we ſhould diſtinguiſh between the mention of it by Moſes, and by the following Writers. Theſe might, and, as we have ſhewn, did conclude for its exiſtence from the nature of the thing. But Moſes, who, we ſuppoſe, intentionally omitted the mention of *Future rewards and puniſhments*, would not, we muſt needs ſuppoſe likewiſe, proclaim the preparatory doctrine of the *Exiſtence*. Nor could he, on the other hand, deny what he knew to be the truth. Thus, being neceſſitated to ſpeak of Enoch's *Tranſlation*, it could not be, but that a *ſeparate exiſtence* might be inferred, how obſcurely ſoever the ſtory

was

was delivered. But had he ſaid any thing, in his account of the Creation, which literally implied (as the words, of man's being *made in the image of God*, and the *breath of life* being breathed into his noſtrils, are ſuppoſed to do) that man had an immortal ſoul, then muſt Moſes be ſuppoſed, purpoſely, to have inculcated that Immortality; contrary to what we hold, that he purpoſely omitted the doctrine built upon it, namely, a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment. It will not be improper therefore to ſhew that ſuch texts have not this pretended meaning.

2. Concerning a FUTURE STATE OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; ſeveral texts are brought as teaching it in a *typical ſenſe*, which teach it in *no ſenſe* at all: ſeveral as teaching it in a direct and *literal* ſenſe, which only teach it in a *typical*. Both theſe, therefore, it may be proper to ſet in a true light.

3. Laſtly, concerning the texts from the *later Prophets*, which are *without* the period in queſtion; I own, and it is even incumbent on my Argument to prove, that theſe Prophets opened the firſt dawning of the doctrine of a *Reſurrection*, and conſequently of a *Future ſtate of reward and puniſhment:* even theſe therefore ſhall in their proper place be carefully conſidered. At preſent let me juſt obſerve, that the dark veil under which the *firſt ſet* of Prophets delivered their *typical* repreſentations was gradually drawn aſide by the *later*.

SECT. II.

HAVING premiſed thus much to clear the way, and ſhorten the inquiry, I now proceed to my examination.

And firſt, of the *texts* brought from the OLD TESTAMENT.

Now as the book of JOB * is ſuppoſed to teach both a SEPARATE EXISTENCE and a FUTURE STATE OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT; and is beſides thought by ſome to be the firſt of Moſes's writings;

* See note [B], at the end of this Book.

and

and by others to be written even before his time, and by the Patriarch himſelf, I ſhall give it the precedence in this inquiry: which it deſerves likewiſe on another account, the ſuperior evidence it bears to the point in queſtion; if indeed it bear any evidence at all. For it may be ſaid by thoſe who thus hold it to be the earlieſt Scripture (allowing the words of *Job*, *I know that my Redeemer liveth*, &c. to reſpect a future ſtate) that the Jewiſh people muſt not only have had the knowledge of a FUTURE STATE *of rewards and puniſhments*, but, what is more, of the RESURRECTION *of the body*, and ſtill more, of the REDEMPTION *of mankind by the Son of God*: therefore Moſes had no need to inculcate the doctrine of a future ſtate *. But I much ſuſpect that the clear knowledge of ſo ſublime a myſtery, which, St. Paul ſays, *had been hid from ages, and from generations, but was now* (on the preaching of the Goſpel) *made manifeſt to the Saints* †, was not at all ſuited to the times of Job or Moſes. The learned and impartial Divine will perhaps be rather inclined to think, that either the book of Job was written in a much later age, or that this famous paſſage has a very different meaning. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, that neither of theſe ſuſpicions would be entertained without reaſon.

I.

Firſt then concerning the book itſelf.

As to the Perſon of *Job*, the eminence of his Character, his fortitude and patience in afflictions, and his preceding and ſubſequent felicity; theſe are realities ſo unqueſtionable, that a man muſt have ſet aſide ſacred Antiquity before he can admit a doubt concerning them. But that the book which bears Job's name was written by him, or in any age near his own, a careful and capable examiner will, I perſuade myſelf, be hardly brought to believe.

* See Note [C] at the end of this Book. † Col. i. 26.

In the order of this diſcourſe therefore I ſhall inquire,

I. What kind of Compoſition the book of Job really is.

II. In what Age it was written. And,

III. Who was its Author.

I.

Even thoſe who are inclined to ſuppoſe this a Work of the higheſt Antiquity, and to believe it an exact hiſtory of Job's ſufferings and patience, and of God's extraordinary diſpenſations towards him, recorded by his own hand, are yet forced to confeſs that the Introduction and Concluſion are of another nature, and added by a later hand, to give that fulneſs and integrity to the Piece, which works of imagination, and only ſuch works, require. This is a large conceſſion, and plainly intimates that he who wrote the *Prologue* and *Epilogue*, either himſelf believed the body of the work to be a kind of *dramatic* Compoſition; or, at leaſt, intended that others ſhould have that opinion of it. I ſhall therefore the leſs ſcruple to eſpouſe the notion of thoſe who conclude the WHOLE TO BE DRAMATICAL. For the transferring the *Prologue* and *Epilogue* to a late writer was only an expedient to get rid of a circumſtance which ſhewed it to be ſuch a ſort of work; and which conſequently might bring it down to an age remote from that of the ſubject. But thoſe who contrived this expedient ſeem to have had but a ſlender idea of the ancient *Drama*, which was generally rounded with a *Prologue* and *Epilogue* of this ſort; to give, by way of narrative, information of ſuch facts as fell not within the compaſs of the one entire Action repreſented *.

I am induced to embrace this opinion from the caſt of the STYLE, the SENTIMENTS, and COMPOSITION; all perfectly ſuited to ſuch a kind of Work, and ill agreeing with any other.

1. As to the *Style*, it hath been obſerved by the Critics, even from the time of Jerom, that all but the introduction and concluſion is in meaſure. But as it was the cuſtom of antiquity to write

* See note [D], at the end of this Book.

their

their graveſt works of Religion, Law, and Hiſtory, in verſe; this circumſtance alone ſhould, I think, have little ſhare in determining the nature of the Compoſition. And as little, I think, on the other hand, ought the frequent uſe of the Arabic dialect to be inſiſted on, in ſupport of its high original, ſince, if it be of the *nature*, and of the *date*, here ſuppoſed, an able writer would chuſe to give his Fable that air of antiquity and veriſimilitude.

2. But when we take the *ſentiments* along, and find throughout the whole, not only verſe but poetry, a poetry animated by all the ſublimity of figures and luxuriance of deſcription; and this, on the cooleſt and moſt abſtracted ſubject; we cannot chuſe but conclude it to be a work of imagination. Nor is it ſufficient to ſay, that this is owing to an Eaſtern genius, whoſe kindling fancy heats all his thoughts into a glow of expreſſion: for if the two ends be his who wrote the middle, as we have no reaſon to doubt, they ſhew him not unuſed to the plaineſt form of narration. And as to that Eaſtern genius itſelf, though diſtinguiſhingly ſublime when a poetic ſubject has enflamed its enthuſiaſm, yet in mere hiſtory, nothing can be more cool and ſimple; as all acquainted either with their ancient or modern writers can inform us. But, what is more to our purpoſe, the ſacred Prophets themſelves, though wrapt in ecſtaſy of the divine impreſſions, when treating of the queſtion here debated, namely, *Whether and wherefore the Good are frequently unhappy and the Bad proſperous*, a queſtion that came ſometimes in their way, while they were reproving their impious and impatient countrymen, who by their repeated apoſtaſies had now provoked GOD to withdraw from them, by degrees, his extraordinary providence; when, I ſay, they touch upon this queſtion, they treat the matter with the utmoſt plianneſs and ſimplicity.

3. But the laſt and moſt convincing circumſtance is the *form* of the compoſition. And here I ſhall not urge, as of much weight, what hath been obſerved by ſome who take this ſide of the queſtion, the ſcenical image of Job and his friends ſitting together on the

ground ſeven days and ſeven nights without a word ſpeaking *. Becauſe we reaſonably ſuppoſe no more to be meant than that exceſs of mutual grief making them unfit to give, and him to receive conſolation, they were ſome days † before they entered on the ſubject of their viſit.

This rather is the thing to be admired, (if we ſuppoſe it all hiſtoric truth) that three cordial friends ſhould make a ſolemn appointment to go *mourn with Job and to comfort him* ‡; that they ſhould be ſo greatly affected with his extreme diſtreſſes, as to be unable to utter a word for *ſeven* whole *days* together; and yet, after this, to be no ſooner ſet in, than intirely to forget their errand, and (*miſerable comforters as they were*) inſtead of mourning with him in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, to wrangle, and contradict him in every word he ſpoke; and this without the leaſt ſoftening of Friendſhip; but with all the fierceneſs and acrimony of angry Diſputants contending for a victory. It was no trifle neither that they inſiſted on, in which indeed diſputatious men are often the warmeſt, but a contradiction in the tendereſt point. They would needs have it, againſt all Job's proteſtations to the contrary, that his misfortunes came upon him in puniſhment for his crimes. Suppoſe their Friend had been wrong in the judgement he paſſed on things, Was this a time to animadvert in ſo pitileſs a manner on his errors? Would not a ſmall ſhare of affection, pity, or even common humanity, have diſpoſed them to bear one *ſeven days* longer with their old diſtreſſed Acquaintance? Human nature is ever uniform; and the greater paſſions, ſuch as thoſe of friendſhip and natural affection, ſhew themſelves to be the ſame at all times: But we have an inſtance in theſe very times, in that amiable domeſtic ſtory of Joſeph.

* Chap ii. 13.

† —Eo quod Hebræi ſoleant multiplicare per *ſeptem* (h. e. ſeptenarium numerum pro multitudine ponere). Maimon. More Nevochim, p. 267.

‡ Chap. ii. 11.

This

This Patriarch had been cruelly injured by his brethren. Providence at length put them into his power; and, in juſt reſentment of their inhuman uſage, he thought fit to mortify and humble them: but no ſooner did he find them begin to be unhappy, than his anger ſubſided, violated affection returned, and he melted into their boſoms with all the tenderneſs of a fellow-ſufferer. This was Nature: This was Hiſtory. And ſhall we ſuppoſe the feelings of true Friendſhip to be inferior to thoſe of Family-affection? David thought otherwiſe, where, ſpeaking of Jonathan, he declares their mutual love was wonderful, ſurpaſſing that of the ſtrongeſt natural affection, the paſſion between the two ſexes. The ſame have always been the Friendſhips of good men, when founded on virtue, and ſtrengthened by a ſimilitude of manners.

So that it appears, theſe three friends were of a ſingular complexion; and deſervedly gave occaſion to a proverb which ſets them in no very honourable or advantageous light.

But ſuppoſe now the work to be *dramatical*, and we immediately ſee the reaſon of their behaviour. For had they not been indulged in their ſtrange captious humour, the Author could never have produced a piece of that integrity of action, which a ſcenic repreſentation demanded: and they might as well have held their tongues *ſeven days* longer, as not contradict, when they did begin to ſpeak *.

This, as to what the *Drama* in general required. But had this been all we could ſay for their conduct, we ſhould needs confeſs that the divine Writer had here done, what mere mortal Poets ſo frequently do; that is, had tranſgreſſed nature (in ſuch a repreſentation of friendſhip) for the ſake of his Plot. But we ſhall ſhew, when we come to examine the MORAL of the poem, that nature is exactly followed: for that under theſe three *miſerable Comforters*,

* See note [E], at the end of this Book.

how

how true friends ſoever in the *Fable*, certain falſe friends were intended to be ſhadowed out in the *Moral* *.

But now the diſpute is begun and carried on with great vehemence on both ſides. They affirm, they object, they anſwer, they reply; till, having exhauſted their whole ſtock of arguments, and made the matter more doubtful than they found it, the Author, in this embarras, has recourſe to the common expedient of dramatic writers, to draw him from his ſtraits,—Θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς. And if ever that precept of the maſters of compoſition,

Nec Deus interſit, niſi dignus Vindice nodus,

was well followed, it was here. For what can we conceive more worthy the preſence of a God than to interfere with his Authority, to ſilence thoſe frivolous or impious diſputes amongſt men concerning the MYSTERIOUS WAYS OF PROVIDENCE? And that this interpoſition was nothing more, I think, is evident from hence: The ſubject, as we obſerve, was of the higheſt importance, namely, *Whether, and why, good men are unhappy, and the evil proſperous?* The diſputants had much perplexed the queſtion by various anſwers and replies; in which each ſide had appealed to reaſon and experience; ſo that there wanted a ſuperior Wiſdom to moderate and determine. But, to the ſurpriſe of all who conſider this attentively, and conſider it as a ſtrict Hiſtory, they find God introduced to do this in a ſpeech which clears up no difficulties; but makes all hopes of deciding the queſtion deſperate, by an appeal to his Almighty power †. A plain proof that the Interpoſition was no more than a piece of poetical Machinery. And in that caſe we ſee the reaſon why the knot remains untied: for the ſacred Writer was no wiſer ‡ when he ſpoke poetically in the Perſon of God, than when he ſpoke in the perſon of Job or his friends.

* See note [F], at the end of this Book.

† See note [G], at the end of this Book.

‡ See note [H], at the end of this Book.

On

On theſe accounts, and on many more, which will be touched upon in the courſe of this diſſertation, but are here omitted to avoid repetition, I conclude, that thoſe Critics who ſuppoſe the book of Job to be of the *dramatic* kind do not judge amiſs.

Nor does ſuch idea of this truly divine Compoſition at all detract from the proofs we have of the real exiſtence of this holy Patriarch, or of the truth of his exemplary Story. On the contrary, it much confirms them: ſeeing it was the general practice of dramatic Writers, of the ſerious kind, to chuſe an illuſtrious Character or celebrated Adventure for the ſubject of the Piece, in order to give their poem its due dignity and weight. And yet, which is very ſurpriſing, the Writers on both ſides, as well thoſe who ſuppoſe the Book of Job to be dramatical, as thoſe who hold it to be hiſtorical, have fallen into this paralogiſm, *That, if dramatical, then the Perſon and Hiſtory of Job are fictitious.* Which nothing but inattention to the nature of a dramatic Work, and to the practice of dramatic Writers, could have occaſioned. Lactantius had a much better idea of this ſpecies of compoſition: "Totum autem, "quod referas, fingere, id eſt, ineptum eſſe, et Mendacem potius "quam Poetam."

But this fallacy is not of late ſtanding. Maimonides, where he ſpeaks of thoſe whoſe opinion he ſeems to incline to, that ſays the book of *Job* is parabolical, expreſſes himſelf in this manner*. *You know, there are certain men who ſay, that ſuch a man as* JOB *never exiſted. And that his* HISTORY *is nothing elſe but a parable.* Theſe *certain men* were (we know) the Talmudiſts. Now, as, by *his Hiſtory*, he means this book of Job, it is evident he ſuppoſed the fabuloſity of the book concluded againſt the exiſtence of the Patriarch. Nay, ſo inſenſibly does this inveterate fallacy inſinuate

* *Nôſti quoſdam eſſe, qui dicunt Jobum nunquam fuiſſe, neque creatum eſſe, ſed* HISTORIAM *illius nihil aliud eſſe quàm Parabolam.*

itſelf.

itſelf into our reaſonings on this ſubject, that even Grotius himſelf appears not to be quite free from the entanglement. Who, although he ſaw theſe two things, (a real Job and a dramatic repreſentation of him) ſo reconcileable, that he ſuppoſed both; yet will not allow the *book* of Job to be later than Ezekiel, becauſe that Prophet mentions Job *. Which argument, to have any ſtrength, muſt ſuppoſe Job to be unknown until this Book was written; conſequently that his Perſon was fictitious; contrary to his own ſuppoſition, that there was a real Job living in the time of Moſes †. After this, it is no wonder, that the Author of the *Archæologiæ Philoſophicæ*, whoſe talent was not critical acumen, ſhould have reaſoned ſo groſly on the ſame fallacious principle ‡. Theſe learned men, we ſee, would infer a viſionary Job from a viſionary Hiſtory. Nor is the miſtake of another celebrated Writer leſs groſs, who would, on the contrary, infer a real hiſtory from a real Job. *Ezekiel and St James* (ſays Dr. Middleton, in his eſſay on the Creation and Fall of Man) *refer to the* Book of Job *in the ſame manner as if it were a real hiſtory*. Whereas the truth is, they do not refer to the Book of Job at all.

II. The ſecond queſtion to be conſidered, is in what Age this book was compoſed.

1. Firſt then we ſay in general, that it was written ſome time under the Moſaic Diſpenſation. But to this it is objected, that, if it were compoſed in thoſe Times, it is very ſtrange that not a ſingle word of the Moſaic Law, nor any diſtant alluſion to the Rites or Ceremonies of it, nor any hiſtorical circumſtance under it, nor any ſpecies of idolatry in uſe during its period, ſhould be found in it §. I appre-

* Chap. xiv. ver. 14. † Vid. Grotii Præf. in Librum Job.

‡ See note [I], at the end of this Book.

* Jobus Arabs πολυκλαυτὸς καὶ πολυμαθὴς, in cujus hiſtoriâ multa occurrunt antiquæ ſapientiæ veſtigia, antiquior habetur Moſe. Idque multis patet indiciis: Primo, quòd nullibi

I apprehend the objection reſts on one or other of theſe ſuppoſitions, Either that the book is not a Work of the dramatic kind; or that the Hero of the Piece is fictitious. But both theſe ſuppoſitions have been ſhewn to be erroneous; ſo that the objection falls with them. For to obſerve DECORUM is one of the moſt eſſential rules of *dramatic* writing. He therefore who takes a real Perſonage for the ſubject of his poem will be obliged to ſhew him in the cuſtoms and ſentiments of his proper Age and Country; unmixed with the manners of the Writer's later Time and Place. Nature and the reaſon of the thing ſo evidently demand this conduct, and the neglect of it has ſo ungracious an effect, that the polite Roman Hiſtorian thought the Greek tragic Writers were to blame even for mentioning the more modern name of Theſſaly, in their pieces of the Trojan War. And he gives this good reaſon for his cenſure, *Nihil enim ex Perſona Poëtæ, ſed omnia ſub eorum, qui illo tempore vixerunt, dixerunt* *.

But to lay no greater ſtreſs on this argument than it will bear; I confeſs ingenuouſly, that were there not (as the objection ſuppoſes) the leaſt diſtant relation or alluſion to the Jewiſh Law or Hiſtory throughout the whole book, it might reaſonably create ſome ſuſpicion that the Author lived before thoſe times. For though this rule of *decorum* be ſo eſſential to *dramatic* writing, yet, as the greateſt Maſters in that art frequently betrayed their own Times and Country in their fictitious Works †, we can hardly ſuppoſe a Jewiſh Writer more exact in what only concerned the criti-

nullibi meminerit rerum à Moſe geſtarum, ſive in Ægypto, ſive in exitu, ſive in deſerto.—Secundo, quòd, cùm vir pius & veri numinis cultor fuerit, legi Moſaicæ contraiverit, in ſacrificiis faciendis.—Tertio, ex ætatis & vitæ ſuæ menſura, in tertio, plus minus, à Diluvio ſæculo collocandus eſſe videtur: vixit enim ultra ducentos annos.—Cùm de Idololatria loquitur, memorat primum ipſius genus Solis & Lunæ adorationem.—Neque Sabbathi neque ullius legis factitiæ meminit.—His omnibus adducor ut credam, Moſi Jobum tempore anteiſſe. Archæol. Philoſ. p. 265, 266.

* See note [K], at the end of this Book.

† See note [L], at the end of this Book.

cal perfection of his Piece. But as DECORUM is one of the plaineſt and ſimpleſt principles of Compoſition, we cannot ſuppoſe a good writer ignorant of it; and ſo are not to look for ſuch glaring abſurdities as are to be found in the dramatic writings of late barbarous ages; but ſuch only as might eaſily eſcape the moſt exact and beſt inſtructed Writer.

Some ſlight *indecorums* therefore we may reaſonably expect to find, if the Author were indeed a Jew: and ſuch, if I am not much miſtaken, we ſhall find. Job ſpeaking of the wicked man, ſays: *He that ſpeaketh flattery to his friends, even the eyes of his children ſhall fail* *—GOD *layeth up iniquity for his children* †. And in the courſe of the diſpute, and in the heat of altercation, this peculiar diſpenſation is touched upon yet more preciſely. Job, in ſupport of his doctrine, paints at large the happy condition of proſperous wicked men; a principal circumſtance of whoſe felicity is, *that they ſpend their days in wealth, and in a moment go down to the grave* ‡, i. e. without ſickneſs, or the terrors of ſlow-approaching death. The lot which proſperous libertines of all times, who believe no future reckoning, moſt ardently wiſh for. Now in the declining times of the Jewiſh Oeconomy, pious men had always their anſwer ready. The proſperous wicked man (ſay they) ſhall be puniſhed in his Poſterity, and the afflicted good man rewarded in them. To the firſt part of the ſolution concerning the wicked, Job anſwers thus, *God layeth up his iniquity for his children; he rewardeth him, and he ſhall know it* ||. As much as to ſay, the evil man ſees and knows nothing of the puniſhment; in the mean time, he feels and enjoys his own felicity, as a reward. To the ſecond part, concerning the good, he anſwers thus, *His eyes ſhall ſee his deſtruction, and he ſhall drink of the wrath of the Almighty: For what pleaſure hath he in his houſe after him, when the number*

* Chap. xvii. ver. 5.

† Chap. xxi. ver. 19. And ſee note [M], at the end of this Book.

‡ Chap. xxi. ver. 13. || Ver. 19.

of

of his months is cut off in the midſt? * i. e. The virtuous man ſees and feels nothing but his own miſeries; for what pleaſure can the good things reſerved for his poſterity afford to him who is to taſte and enjoy none of it; being not only extinct long before, but cut off untimely?

In another place, Job ſays, *That idolatry was an iniquity to be puniſhed by the judge* †. Now both this and the former ſpecies of puniſhment were, as we have ſhewn, peculiar to the Moſaic Diſpenſation. But a Jew might naturally miſtake them for a part of the general Law of God and nature: and ſo, while he was really deſcribing the Oeconomy under which he lived, ſuppoſe himſelf to be repreſenting the notions of more ancient times: which that it was his deſign to do, in the laſt inſtance at leaſt, appears from his mentioning only the moſt early ſpecies of idolatry, the worſhip of the *Sun* and *Moon* ‡. Again, the language of Job with regard to a *future ſtate* is the very ſame with the Jewiſh Writers. *He that goeth down to the grave* (ſays this writer) *ſhall come up no more:—they ſhall not awake or be raiſed out of their ſleep.* Thus the Pſalmiſt,—*In death there is no remembrance of thee.—Shall the dead* ARISE *and praiſe thee!*—And thus the author of Eccleſiaſtes,—*The dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a* REWARD §. And we know what it was that hindered the Jews from entertaining any expectations of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, which was a popular doctrine amongſt all their Pagan neighbours.

But there is, beſides this of *Cuſtoms* and *Opinions*, another circumſtance that will always betray a feigned Compoſition, made in an age remote from the ſubject: and that is, the uſe of later *phraſes*. Theſe are more eaſily diſcovered in the modern, and even in what we call the learned languages: but leſs certainly, in the very an-

* Chap. xxi. ver. 20, 21.

† Chap. xxxi. ver. 28. And ſee note [N], at the end of this Book.

‡ Ver. 26. § See the preceding Book, p. 148.

cient ones; eſpecially in the Hebrew, of which there is only one, and that no very large Volume, remaining. And yet even here, we may detect an author of a later age. For, beſides the phraſes of common growth, there are others, in every language, interwoven alike into the current ſtyle, which owe their riſe to ſome ſingular circumſtance of time and place; and ſo may be eaſily traced up to their original: though, being long uſed in common ſpeech in a general acceptation, they may well eſcape even an attentive Writer. Thus Zophar, ſpeaking of the wicked man, ſays: *He ſhall not ſee the rivers, the floods, the* BROOKS OF HONEY AND BUTTER *. This in ordinary ſpeech only conveyed the idea of *plenty* in the abſtract; but ſeems to have been firſt made a proverbial ſaying from the deſcriptions of the holy Land †. Again, Eliphaz ſays, *Receive, I pray thee,* THE LAW FROM HIS MOUTH, *and lay up his words in thine heart* ‡. That is, *be obedient:* but the phraſe was taken from the verbal delivery of the Jewiſh Law from Mount Sinai. The Rabbins were ſo ſenſible of the expreſſive peculiarity of this phraſe, that they ſay the LAW OF MOSES is here ſpoken of by a kind of prophetic anticipation. Again, Job cries out: *O that I were—as I was in the days of my youth, when the* SECRET OF GOD WAS UPON MY TABERNACLE §, that is, *in full ſecurity:* Evidently taken from the reſidence of the Divine Preſence or SHEKINAH, in a viſible form, on the ark, or on the tent where the ark was placed. And again—*O that one would hear me! Behold my deſire is that the Almighty would anſwer me, and that mine Adverſary had written a book. Surely I would take it upon my ſhoulder and bind it as a* CROWN *to me* ||. A phraſe apparently taken from the uſe of their PHYLACTERIES; which at leaſt were as ancient as their return

* Chap. xx. ver. 17.

† See Exod. iii. 8.—xiii. 5.—xxxii. 3,—Deut. xxxi. 20.—2 Kings xviii. 32.

‡ Chap. xxii. ver. 22. § Chap. xxix. ver. 4.

|| Chap. xxxi. ver. 35, 36.

from

from Captivity, and coeval with their ſcrupulous adherence to the Law.

A third circumſtance, which will betray one of theſe feigned compoſitions, is the Author's being drawn, by the vigour of his imagination, from the ſeat of Action and from the manners of the Scene, to one very different; eſpecially, if it be one of great fame and celebrity. So here, though the Scene be the deſerts of Arabia, amongſt family-heads of independent Tribes, and in the ſimplicity of primitive Manners, yet we are carried by a poetic fancy, into the midſt of EGYPT, the beſt policied, and the moſt magnificent Empire then exiſting in the world.——*Why died I not from the womb* (ſays the chief Speaker) *for now I ſhould have lien ſtill and been quiet, I ſhould have ſlept; then had I been at reſt; with* KINGS *and* COUNSELLORS OF THE EARTH, *which build* DESOLATE PLACES *for themſelves* *; i.e. magnificent buildings, in deſolate places, meaning plainly the PYRAMIDS raiſed in the midſt of barren ſands, for the burying places of the kings of Egypt —*Kings and counſellors of the earth*— was, by way of eminence, the deſignation of the Egyptian Governors. So Iſaiah—*the counſel of the wiſe counſellors of Pharaoh is become brutiſh. How ſay ye unto Pharaoh, I am the ſon of the wiſe, the ſon of ancient kings* †. But it may be obſerved in general, that though the Scene confined the Author to ſcattered Tribes in the midſt of Deſerts, yet his images and his ideas are, by an inſenſible allure, taken throughout, from crouded Cities and a civil policied People. Thus he ſpeaks of the Children of the wicked *being cruſhed in the gate* ‡, alluding to a City taken by ſtorm, and to the deſtruction of the flying inhabitants preſſing one another to death in the narrow paſſage of the City-gates.—Again, of the good man it is ſaid, that *he ſhall be hid from the ſcourge of tongues* §; that peſtilent miſ-

* Chap. iii. ver. 12, 13, 14. † Iſaiah xix. 11.

‡ Chap. v. ver. 4. The Septuagint renders it very expreſſively κολαζησθήσαν ἐπὶ θύραις ἡσσόνων.

§ See note [O], at the end of this Book.

chief

chief which rages chiefly in rich and licentious Communities. But there would be no end of giving inſtances of this kind, where they are ſo numerous.

Hitherto the Author ſeems unwarily to have betrayed his Times and Country. But we ſhall now ſee that he has made numerous alluſions to the miraculous Hiſtory of his Anceſtors with ſerious *purpoſe and deſign*. For this poem being written, as will appear, for the comfort and ſolace of his Countrymen, he reaſonably ſuppoſed it would advance his principal end, to refreſh their memories with ſome of the more ſignal deliverances of their Forefathers. In the mean time, *decorum*, of which we find him a careful obſerver, required him to preſerve the image of very different and diſtant times. This was a difficulty: and would have been ſo to the ableſt Writer. Both theſe were matters of importance; and neither one nor the other could be omitted, without neglecting his Purpoſe, or deforming his Compoſition. How then can we conceive a ſkillful Artiſt would act if not in this manner; he would touch thoſe ſtories, but with ſo ſlight an outline and ſuch airy colouring, as to make them paſs unheeded by a careleſs obſerver; yet be viſible enough to thoſe who ſtudied the Work with care and attention. Now this artful temper our divine Writer, we ſay, hath obſerved. The conduct was fine and noble: and the cloud in which he was forced to wrap his ſtudied alluſions, will be ſo far from bringing them into queſtion, that it will confirm their meaning; as it now appears, that if an able Writer would, in ſuch a work, make alluſions to his own Times, Religion, and People, it muſt be done in this covert manner. Thus Job, ſpeaking of the Omnipotence of God,—*which commandeth the ſun, and it riſeth not, and ſealeth up the ſtars* *, plainly enough alludes to the miraculous hiſtory of the people of God, in the Egyptian Darkneſs, and the ſtopping of the Sun's courſe by Joſhua. This appeared ſo evident

* Chap. ix. ver. 7.

to

to a very learned Commentator, though in the other opinion of the book's being of Job's own writing, that he was forced to ſuppoſe that his author ſpoke proleptically, as knowing by the gift of Propheſy, what GOD in a future age would do *. So where Job ſays, *God divideth the ſea with his power, and by his underſtanding he ſmiteth through the proud* †, he evidently refers to the deſtruction of *Pharaoh and his hoſt in the Red-ſea.* Again, in the following words, *He taketh away the heart of the chief of the people of the earth, and cauſeth them to wander in a wilderneſs where there is no way* ‡, who can doubt but that they allude to the wandering of the Iſraelites forty years in the wilderneſs, as a puniſhment for their cowardice, and diffidence in GOD's promiſes; Eliphaz, ſpeaking of the wonderful works of GOD, declares how he came to the knowledge of them, *I will ſhew thee; hear me; and what I have ſeen I will declare; which wiſe men have told from their fathers, and have not hid it* §: the very way in which Moſes directs the Iſraelites to preſerve the memory of the miraculous works of GOD. And who are theſe *wiſe men?* They are ſo particularly marked out as not to be miſtaken: *Unto whom alone the earth was given, and* NO STRANGER PASSED AMONGST THEM ‖. A circumſtance agreeing to no People whatſoever but to the Iſraelites ſettled in Canaan. The ſame Eliphaz, telling Job to his face, that his misfortunes came in puniſhment for his Crimes, ſays: *Thou haſt taken a pledge from thy brother for nought, and ſtripped the naked of his cloathing* **. And Job, ſpeaking of the moſt profligate of men, deſcribes them, amongſt other marks of their iniquity, by this, that *they cauſed the naked to lodge without cloathing, that they have no covering in the*

* Hoc videtur reſpicere hiſtoriam Joſuæ vel Ezechiæ, quanquam ante illa Job extiterit. Sed hæc potuerunt per anticipationem dici, quod Jobum non lateret penes Deum eſſe id efficere quandocunque luberet. *Codurcus in locum.*

† Chap. xxvi. ver. 12.

‡ Chap. xii. ver. 24.

§ Chap. xv. ver. 17, 18.

‖ Ver. 19.

** Chap. xxii. ver. 6.

cold;

cold * ; that *they take a pledge of the poor, and cauſe him to go naked without cloathing* †. Who that ſees this ranked amongſt the greateſt enormities, but will reflect that it muſt have been written by one well ſtudied in the Law of Moses, which ſays: *If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou ſhalt deliver it unto him by that the ſun goeth down; for that is his covering only, it is his raiment for his ſkin: Wherein ſhall he ſleep? And it ſhall come to paſs, when he crieth unto me, that I will hear, for I am gracious.* Which Law, as the learned Spencer obſerves, was *peculiar* to this inſtitution ‡. Elihu, ſpeaking of God's dealing with his ſervants, ſays: "That he may *withdraw man from his purpoſe*, and hide *pride* from "man, he keepeth back his ſoul *from the pit*, and his life from "*periſhing by the ſword.* He is chaſtened alſo with pain upon his "*bed*, and the multitude of his bones with ſtrong pain. His "ſoul draweth *nigh unto the grave*, and his life to the deſtroyers. "If there be a *meſſenger* with him, an *interpreter*, *one amongſt a* "*thouſand to ſhew unto man his uprightneſs*, then he is *gracious* unto "him, and ſaith, *Deliver him from going down to the pit, I have* "*found a ranſom.* His *fleſh ſhall be freſher than a child's, he ſhall* "*return to the days of his youth.* He ſhall *pray unto God*, and he "will be favourable unto him, and he ſhall *ſee his face with joy*; "for he will render unto man his righteouſneſs §." This is the moſt circumſtantial account of God's dealing with Hezekiah, as it is told in the books of *Chronicles* and *Kings*. God had delivered him from periſhing by the ſword of Sennacherib: "In "thoſe days Hezekiah was ſick to death, and prayed unto the "Lord: and he ſpake unto him, and he gave him a ſign. But

* Chap. xxiv. ver. 7.

† Ver. 9, 10. Exod. xxii. 26, 27. See alſo Deut. xxiv. 12, and 17.

‡ —— Leges illæ in Dei tantum Pandectis inveniendæ ſunt, nempe, *de veſtibus pignori datis*, quibus de pecunia concredita cavebant debitores, ante ſolis occaſum, reſtituendis.—De Leg. Hebr. Rit. vol. I. p. 263.

§ Chap. xxxiii. ver. 17, & ſeq.

"Hezekiah

" Hezekiah rendered not again, according to the benefit done unto " him, for *his heart was lifted up* *." But the ſtory is told more at large in the book of *Kings*:—" In thoſe days was Hezekiah *ſick* " *unto death*: and the *Prophet* Iſaiah, the ſon of Amos, came to " him, and ſaid unto him, Thus ſaith the LORD, Set thine houſe " in order, for thou ſhalt die and not live. Then he turned his " face to the wall, and *prayed unto the Lord*.—And it came to paſs " afore Iſaiah was gone out into the middle court, that the word " of the LORD came unto him, *ſaying, Turn again, and tell* Heze- " kiah, Thus ſaith the LORD, I have *heard thy prayer*, I have *ſeen* " *thy tears*: Behold I will heal thee; *on the third day thou ſhalt go* " *up unto the houſe of the Lord*. And Iſaiah ſaid, Take a lump of " figs; and they took and laid it on the boil, *and he recovered* †."— The following words as plainly refer to the deſtruction of the firſt-born in Egypt, and Sennacherib's army ravaging Judea: *In a moment ſhall they die, and the people ſhall be troubled at midnight and paſs away, and the mighty ſhall be taken away without hand* ‡. Theſe likewiſe clearly allude to the Egyptian Darkneſs,—*from the wicked their light is withholden* §.

No one, I think, can doubt but that the following deſcription of God's dealing with Monarchs and Rulers of the world, is a tranſcript of, or alluſion to, a paſſage in the ſecond book of Chronicles. Elihu (who is made to paſs judgment on the diſpute) ſays, *He withdraweth not his eyes from the righteous: but, with kings are they on the throne, yea he doth eſtabliſh them for ever and they are exalted.* [This ſeems plainly to refer to the houſe of David, as we ſhall ſee preſently.] He proceeds; *And if they be bound in fetters, and be holden in cords of affliction: then he ſheweth their work, and their tranſgreſſions that they have exceeded. He openeth alſo their ear to diſcipline, and commandeth that they return from iniquity. If they obey*

* 2 Chron. xxxii. 24, 25.
† 2 Kings xx. 1. & ſeq.
‡ Chap. xxxiv. ver. 20.
§ Chap. xxxviii. ver. 15.

and ſerve him, they ſhall ſpend their days in proſperity and their years in pleaſure; but if they obey not, they ſhall periſh by the ſword, &c. *. Now hear the ſacred Hiſtorian.—" God had ſaid to David and to " Solomon his ſon, In this houſe and in Jeruſalem, which I have " choſen before all the tribes of Iſrael, will I put my name for ever. " Neither will I any more remove the foot of Iſrael from out of " the land which I have appointed for your fathers, ſo that they " will take heed to do all that I have commanded them.—So Ma- " naſſeh made Judah and the Inhabitants of Jeruſalem to err.— " And the Lord ſpake to Manaſſeh, and to his people: but they " would not hearken. Wherefore the Lord brought upon them " the captains of the hoſt of the king of Aſſyria, which took Ma- " naſſeh amongſt the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and " carried him to Babylon. And when he was in affliction, he be- " ſought the Lord his God, and humbled himſelf greatly before " the God of his Fathers, and prayed unto him, and he was en- " treated of him, and heard his ſupplication, and brought him again " to Jeruſalem into his kingdom. Then Manaſſeh knew that the " Lord he was God †."

But the moſt extraordinary alluſion of all to the *Jewiſh Oeconomy*, and the moſt inconteſtable, is in the following words, where ſpeaking of the *clouds of rain*, our tranſlation has it, *He cauſeth it to come, whether for correction, or* FOR HIS LAND, *or for mercy* ‡. The Septuagint underſtood the ſacred text in the ſame manner. Ταῦτα συντέτωικ̣αι ϖαρ' αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐάν τε εἰς ϖαιδείαν, ἐὰν εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ, ἐὰν εἰς ἔλεῳ εὑρήσει αὐτόν. The meaning of which is, he bringeth it at ſuch junctures, and in ſuch exceſs, as to cauſe dearth, [*for correction*;] or ſo timely and moderately, as to cauſe plenty, [*for mercy*;] or laſtly, ſo tempered, in a long continued courſe, as to produce that fertility of ſoil which was to

* Chap. xxxvi. ver. 7—12.

† 2 Chron. xxxiii. ver. 7—13.

‡ Chap. xxxvii 13.

make

make one of the bleſſings of the promiſed land, [FOR HIS LAND:] a providence as diſtinct from the other two, of *correction* and *mercy*, as the genus is from the ſpecies. This is a ſufficient anſwer to the learned Father Houbigant's criticiſm on this verſe, who corrects the common reading of the Hebrew text, and thinks the words, *or for the land*, to be a marginal illuſtration crept into the text. St. Jerom, and the vulgar Latin, inſtead of,—*whether for* CORRECTION, *or for his land*, tranſlate, ſive in UNA TRIBU, *ſive in terra ſua*. If this be the true rendering of the Hebrew, then it plainly appears that the writer of the book of Job alluded to the words of his contemporary prophet, AMOS.—"And alſo I have "witholden the rain from you, when there were yet three months "to the harveſt; and I cauſed it to rain upon one city, and cauſed "it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, "and the piece whereupon it rained not, withered." Without controverſy, however, the Writer ſpeaks of a SPECIAL PROVIDENCE upon God's own Land, the land of Judea; which plainly ſhews that the *peculiarity of the Jewiſh Oeconomy* was ſtill uppermoſt in his thoughts. In a word, this Oeconomy is deſcribed by MOSES* as altogether different from that of other people. JOB's account of God's Oeconomy exactly quadrates with it. What are we then to think, but that there is a continued alluſion to the LAW? in many places indeed ſo general, as not to be diſcovered without the aſſiſtance of thoſe which are more particular. Beſides, (which is the laſt obſervation I ſhall make on this point) in the management of theſe Alluſions, we ſee, the Author has obſerved a ſtrict *decorum*: and, to take off any offenſive glare, has thrown over them a ſober image of ancient manners. So that here we have the plain marks of former times intermixed with circumſtances peculiar to the latter. What are we therefore to conclude, but that the Work is a ſpecies of dramatic writing, compoſed long after the age of the ſubject?

* Deut. iv. 39.

On the whole then it appears that this Objection of no alluſions, which, if well grounded, had made nothing againſt the low date of a poetic Compoſition, is not indeed ſupported by fact: and this will be ſeen yet more fully hereafter.

But had the Objection any real foundation, They who make it, had been ſtill much puzzled to account for the Author's ſilence concerning the *ſix days Creation*, and the inſtitution of the *Sabbath*; as it muſt reduce them to the neceſſity of ſuppoſing that theſe things were unknown to Job. And conſequently, that the *Sabbath* was not a moral, but a poſitive Law only of the Jews; though Moſes, to impreſs the greater reverence upon it, ſeems to make it coeval with the Creation. How they will get over this difficulty I know not. On the other hand, They who, with the low date of this book of Job, hold the *Sabbath* to be a poſitive Law, will find no difficulty at all. For, as they would have put the mention of it, had it been mentioned, on the ſame footing with that of other things under the Moſaic Oeconomy; ſo, the ſilence they will eaſily account for, on the received opinion of that time, that the *Sabbath* was a poſitive Law, inſtituted to ſeparate and diſtinguiſh the Iſraelites from all others; and that therefore the mention of a thing ſo well known to be a Rite peculiarly Jewiſh, would have had an ill effect, in the mouths of men who lived before the Moſaic Law was given.

After ſuch clear evidence that the book of Job was written under the Law, we have little need of Grotius's argument, for the ſupport of this point, from the book's containing many paſſages ſimilar to what we find in the Pſalms. And it is well we have not, becauſe I think his argument very equivocal. For if the ſacred writers muſt needs have borrowed trite moral ſentences from one another: it may be as fairly ſaid, that the authors of the Pſalms borrowed from the book of Job; as that the anthor of Job borrowed from the book of Pſalms. But Mr. Le Clerc would mend this argument, by refining upon it, a way that ſeldom mends any thing.

thing. He ſays, one may know an original from a copy, by the latter's having leſs nature and force; and he thinks he ſees this in the book of Job *." Now admitting the truth of the obſervation, it would be ſo far from ſupporting, that it would overturn his concluſion. Mr Le Clerc ſeems to have been miſled into this criticiſm by what he had obſerved of writers of leſs poliſhed ages borrowing from thoſe of more. In this caſe, the copy will be always much inferior to the original. But the effect would have been juſt the contrary in a writer of the time of David borrowing from one of the time of Moſes. And as the common opinion places the two books in thoſe two different periods, they are to be ſuppoſed rightly placed, till the contrary be ſhewn. This obſervation we ſee verified in the Greek authors of the Socratic age, and in the Roman authors of the Auguſtan, when they borrowed from their very early country writers. But the matter of fact is, I think, juſt otherwiſe. The advantage of the ſublime in the parallel paſſages ſeems to lie on the ſide of Job. And from hence we may draw Mr. Le Clerc's concluſion with much greater force. But indeed, take it either way, the argument, as I ſaid, is of little weight. But it is pleaſant to hear Schultens, and his epitomiſer Dr. Grey, ſpeak of the grandeur, the purity, and ſublimity of the language

* —Grotius croit avec beaucoup plus de vrai-ſemblance, que cet auteur eſt poſterieur à David & à Salomon, dont il ſemble qu'il ait imité divers endroits, & remarque fort judicieuſement, qu'il y a dans ce livre des manieres de parler, qu'on ne trouve que dans Eſdras, dans Daniel, & dans les Paraphraſes Caldaïques. *Codure*, dans ſon Commentaire ſur Job, a auſſi remarqué pluſieurs Caldaïſmes dans ce livre, & quelques perſonnes ſavantes ſoûtiennent, que les Arabiſmes qu'on y croit avoir remarqué ne ſont que des maniéres de parler Caldéenes. On y trouve des imitations de divers endroits des Pſeaumes.—Mais vous me demanderez peut-être, comment on peut ſavoir, que c'eſt l'auteur du livre de Job qui a imité ces Pſeaumes, & non pas les auteurs de ces Pſeaumes qui ont imité le livre de Job? Il eſt aiſé de vous ſatisfaire. On connoit, qu'un auteur en imite un autre, à ceci, c'eſt que l'imitation n'eſt pas ſi belle que l'original, qui exprime ordinairement les choſes d'une maniere plus nette & plus naturelle que la copie. Sentimens de quelques Theol. de Hol. p. 183.

ſpoken

ſpoken in the time of Job, as if the Hebrew had partaken of the nature and fortunes of the two languages made perfect by a long ſtudy of eloquence, in the Socratic and Auguſtan ages; and as if it was equally impoſſible for a Hebrew after the captivity (though inſpired into the bargain) to imitate theſe excellencies of ſtyle, as for a writer of the iron age of Latin to have expreſſed the *beauty and weight* of Ennius's elegance. We know what Enthuſiaſm can do on every object to which it turns itſelf. There have been Critics of this ſort, who have found, even in the Hebrew of the Rabbins, graces and ſublimities of ſtyle to match thoſe in the beſt Greek and Roman hiſtorians; though, in reality, the graces it boaſts partake much of thoſe we ſee in the Law-French of our Engliſh-Reporters. The truth is, the language of the times of Job had its grandeur, its purity, and ſublimities: but they were of that kind which the learned Miſſionaries have obſerved in the languages of certain Warrior-tribes in North America. And this language of the time of Job preſerved its genius to late ages, by the aſſiſtance of that uniformity of Character which makes the more ſequeſtered inhabitants of the Eaſt ſo tenacious of all their ancient modes and cuſtoms.

2. We now come cloſer to the queſtion; and having proved the book of Job to be written under the *Moſaic Oeconomy*, We ſay further, that it muſt be *ſomewhere between the time of their approaching captivity, and their thorough re-eſtabliſhment in Judea.* This is the wideſt interval we can afford it. The reaſon ſeems to be deciſive. It is this, That no other poſſible period can be aſſigned, in which the GRAND QUESTION, debated in this book, could ever come into diſpute. This deſerves to be conſidered.

The queſtion *, a very foreign one to us, and therefore no wonder it ſhould have been ſo little attended to, is, *Whether God adminiſters his government over men here with an equal providence, ſo as*

* See note [P], at the end of this Book.

that

that the good are always proſperous, and the bad unhappy; or whether, on the contrary, there be not ſuch apparent inequalities, as that proſperity and adverſity often happen indifferently to good and bad. Job maintains the latter part *, and his three friends the former. They argue theſe points throughout the whole book, and each party ſticks firm to his firſt opinion.

Now this could never have been made matter of diſpute, from the moſt early ſuppoſed time of Job's exiſtence †, even to ours, in any place out of the land of Judea; the adminiſtration of Providence, which, throughout that large period, all People and Nations have experienced, being viſibly and confeſſedly unequal. Men, indeed, at all times, have been indiſcreetly prone to enquire how this inequality could be made conſiſtent with GOD's juſtice or goodneſs: But, amidſt the great variety of human opinions, as extravagant as many of thoſe are which philoſophic men have ſome time or other maintained, we do not find any of them ever held or conceived that *God's providence was equally adminiſtered.* This therefore, as we ſay, could be no queſtion any where out of the land of Judea. But we ſay farther,

Nor in that land neither, in any period of the Jewiſh nation either before or after the time wherein we place it. Not *before*, becauſe the diſpenſation of Providence to that people was ſeen and owned by all, to be equal: Not *after*, becauſe by the total ceaſing of God's extraordinary adminiſtration, the contrary was as evident.

Of this period then, there are three portions; 1. The time immediately *preceding* the captivity; 2. The *duration* of it; and 3. The *return* from it.

To the opinions which place it in either of the two firſt portions, as ſuppoſing it to be written for the conſolation of the people going into or remaining in captivity, a celebrated Writer has oppoſed

* See note [Q], at the end of this Book.

† See note [R], at the end of this Book.

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an unanſwerable objection: "The Jews (ſays he) undoubtedly "ſuffered for their iniquity; and the example of Job is the exam- "ple of an innocent man ſuffering for no demerit of his own: Apply "this to the Jews in their captivity, and the book contradicts all "the Prophets before, and at the time of, their captivity, and is "calculated to harden the Jews in their ſufferings, and to reproach "the Providence of God *.

There remains only the third portion; that is to ſay, the time of their return, and ſettlement in their own land. And this ſtands clear of the above objection. For the Jews came from the Captivity with hearts full of zeal for the Law, and abhorrence of their former idolatries. This is the account Ezra and Nehemiah † give of them: And with theſe diſpoſitions, Jeremiah foretold, their reſtoration ſhould be attended. *I will bring Iſrael again to his habitation, and he ſhall feed on Carmel and Baſhan, and his ſoul ſhall be ſatisfied upon mount Ephraim and Gilead. In thoſe days, and in that time, ſaith the Lord, the iniquity of Iſrael ſhall be ſought for, and there ſhall be none; and the ſins of Judah, and they ſhall not be found* ‡.

3. We ſay then (to come home to the queſtion) that the Book of Job was written ſome time between the return and the thorough ſettlement of the Jews in their own country.

Having ſuited the *Time* to the People, let us try if we can ſuit the People to the *Subject*; and ſee whether this, which was foreign and unnatural to every other period, was proper and ſeaſonable to this here aſſigned.

The Jews had hitherto, from their entrance into the land of Canaan to their laſt race of kings, lived under an extraordinary, and, for the moſt part, equal Providence. For theſe two ſtates muſt be diſtinguiſhed, and indeed are diſtinguiſhed not only through-

* See note [S], at the end of this Book.

† Ezra, chapters iii. vi. Neh. chapters iii, viii, ix.

‡ Chap. l. ver. 19, 20.

out

out this diſcourſe, but throughout the whole Scripture hiſtory, although the terms, in both, be ſometimes uſed indifferently to ſignify either one ſtate or the other, where the nature of the ſubject leads directly to the ſenſe in which they are employed. As their ſins grew ripe and the time of their Captivity approached, God ſo tempered juſtice with his mercy, as to mix, with the prophetic denunciations of their impending puniſhment, the repeated promiſes of a ſpeedy Return; to be attended with more illuſtrious advantages for the Jewiſh Republic than it had ever before enjoyed. The appointed time was now come. And their Return (predicted in ſo plain and public a manner) was brought about with as uncommon circumſtances. Thoſe moſt zealous for the Law, and moſt confiding in the promiſes of GOD, as inſtructed by their parents in all his extraordinary Diſpenſations, embraced this opportunity of returning to their own country, to promote the reſtoration of their Law and Religion. And who can doubt but that they expected the ſame manifeſtations of GOD's Providence in their Re-eſtabliſhment, that their Forefathers had experienced in their firſt Settlement? That they were indeed full of theſe expectations appears from the remarkable account Ezra gives us of his diſtreſs, when about to return with Artaxerxes's commiſſion, to regulate the affairs of Judea and Jeruſalem. The way was long and dangerous; yet the Jews had told the king ſo much of their being under the peculiar protection of their God, that he was aſhamed to aſk a Guard for himſelf and his companions; and therefore had recourſe to prayer and faſting: *Then I proclaimed a faſt there at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourſelves before our God, to ſeek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our ſubſtance. For I was aſhamed to require of the king a band of ſoldiers and horſemen, to help us againſt the enemy in the way: becauſe* WE *had ſpoken unto the king, ſaying, The hand of our God is upon all them for good that ſeek him, but his power and his wrath is againſt all them that forſake him* *. But in theſe their expectations of the old extra-

* Ezra viii. 21, 22.

ordinary Providence, they were greatly deceived; and the long traverſes they underwent from the malice and perſecution of their idolatrous neighbours, made them but too ſenſible of the difference of their condition from that of their Forefathers, in their firſt eſtabliſhment. What then muſt be their ſurprize and diſappointment to find their expectations fruſtrate, and their Nation about to be reduced to the common level of the *People of the earth*, under the ordinary providence of Heaven? At firſt it would be difficult for many habituated to, and long poſſeſſed of, the notion of an extraordinary Providence, to comprehend the true ſtate of their preſent circumſtances. This aſtoniſhment is finely deſcribed in the following words of Job, *As for me, is my complaint to man? and if it were ſo, why ſhould not my ſpirit be troubled? Mark me, and be* ASTONISHED, *and lay your hand upon your mouth. Even when I remember, I am afraid, and* TREMBLING *taketh hold of my fleſh.* WHEREFORE *do the wicked live, become old, yea are mighty in power?* &c *.— But others leſs pious would fall into doubts about GOD's juſtice; as not conceiving how he could diſcharge the expectations he had raiſed, without ſome very ſpecial regard to the ſafety of his choſen People: Nay there were ſome, as there always will be in national diſtreſſes of this nature, ſo impious as even to deny *the moral government* of God. Whom the Prophet Zephaniah thus deſcribes,— "*Men that are ſettled on their lees*; *that ſay in their heart*, THE LORD WILL NOT DO GOOD, NEITHER WILL HE DO EVIL †." All would be in a ſtate of anxiety and diſorder. And this greatly increaſed, 1. From the bad ſituation of affairs *without*: For, till the coming of Nehemiah, the Walls of Jeruſalem were in many places broken down; the Gates taken away; and the inhabitants expoſed not only to the inſults and ravages of their enemies, but to the reproach and contempt of all their neighbours, as a deſpicable and abandoned People. 2. From the bad ſituation of affairs *within*: Several diſorders

* Chap. xxi. ver. 4, 5, 6, 7. † Chap. i. ver. 12.

contrary

contrary to the Law had crept in amongſt them; as the *marrying ſtrange wives*, and practiſing *uſury* with one another. Add to all this (what would infinitely increaſe the confuſion), that a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments was not yet become a popular Doctrine. That this is a faithful account of their condition will be ſeen when we deſcend to particulars: That it would have this effect on the religious ſentiments even of the better ſort is evident from the expoſtulation of Jeremiah, in whoſe time this *inequality* firſt ſtruck their obſervation, *Righteous art thou, O Lord*, (ſays he) *when I plead with thee: yet let me talk with thee of thy judgments.* WHEREFORE *doth the way of the wicked proſper? Wherefore are all they happy that deal very treacherouſly* * *?* If it be ſaid, "that the *inequality* could not now firſt ſtrike their obſervation, in a Diſpenſation where the equal Providence had been gradually declining from the time of Saul;" I aſk, Why not? Since there muſt be ſome preciſe point of time or other, when the fact was firſt attended to. And where can we find a more likely one than this?

Could any thing therefore be conceived more ſeaſonable and neceſſary, at this time, than ſuch a conſolation as the book of Job afforded? In which, on a traditional ſtory, of great fame and reputation over all the Eaſt, a good man was repreſented as afflicted for the trial of his virtue, and rewarded for the well-bearing his afflictions; and in which, their doubts concerning GOD's Providence were appeaſed by an humble acquieſcence under his almighty power. And, therefore, I ſuppoſe it was, that in order to quiet all their anxieties, and to comfort them under their preſent diſtreſſes, one of their Prophets at this very period compoſed the BOOK OF JOB. And here let me obſerve, that, to the arguments already given for fixing the date of the book of Job at this preciſe time of the Jewiſh Republic, may be added the following: Job

* Chap. xii. ver. 1.

ſays, *He knoweth the way that I take: When he hath* TRIED *me, I ſhall come forth as* GOLD *. But we have ſhewn, in ſpeaking of what Maimonides calls the *Chaſtiſements of Love*, that they were unknown to the Jewiſh religion till the times of their later Prophets †. Now here the *Chaſtiſements of Love* are expreſsly deſcribed.

To proceed, If ſuch were the end of compoſing this poetic ſtory, we cannot but believe that every thing in it would be fitted to the circumſtances of the Times. But this could not be done without making the poem ALLEGORICAL as well as *dramatic*. That is, without repreſenting the real perſons of that age under the perſons of the *drama*. And this would be according to the exacteſt rules of good writing: For when ſome *general moral* fitted for all times is to be recommended, it is beſt ſhewn in a ſimple DRAMATIC habit: but when the author's purpoſe is to convey ſome *peculiar truths*, circumſcribed by time and place, they have need to be inforced by ALLEGORIC Images. And in fact, we ſhall find this poem to be wholly allegorical: The reaſon is convincing. There are divers circumſtances added to each character, which can by no means belong to the perſons *repreſenting*: we conclude, therefore, that others are meant under thoſe characters, namely, the perſons *repreſented*. Nor did the Author ſeem much ſolicitous to conceal his purpoſe, while in his introduction to ſome of Job's ſpeeches he expreſſeth himſelf in this manner, —*moreover Job continued his* PARABLE *and ſaid* ‡. Which word *parable* properly ſignifies in Scripture the repreſenting one thing by another. Jerom in his preface to the book of Job, if I underſtand him right, ſeems to ſay much the ſame thing. "OBLIQUUS enim "etiam apud Hebræos totus liber fertur, et lubricus, et quod "Græci Rhetores ἐσχηματισμένον §, DUM QUI ALIUD LOQUITUR, "ALIUD AGIT: ut ſi velis anguillam vel murenulam ſtrictis tenere "manibus, quanto fortius preſſeris tanto citius elabitur." This deſcription of the work, and the compariſon by which Jerom illuſ-

* Chap. xxiii. ver. 10.
† See Book V.
‡ Chap. xxvii. ver. 1. Chap. xxix. ver. 1.
§ Λόγος.

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trates his deſcription, is a lively picture of an ALLEGORY; in which the literal ſenſe, when you begin to graſp it cloſely, ſlips through your fingers like an eel. And in this ſenſe we ſhall find the ſpeeches of Job to be extremely *parabolical*. For it is to be obſerved, that, from this place, where Job is ſaid to *continue his Parable*, from ch. xxvii. to chap. xxxi. which is the winding up of the controverſy between him and his friends, there are more alluſions to the Jewiſh ſtate than in all the reſt of the book together. — But to leave no room for doubt in this matter, let us now examine each character apart*.

I. In the perſon of JOB we have a good man afflicted, and maintaining his innocence; equally impatient of pain and contradiction; yet, at length with all ſubmiſſion bowing to the hand of GOD; and finally rewarded for it. Had this been a fictitious Character in an invented ſtory, we could have only gathered this general moral from it, "That virtue and ſubmiſſion to the divine pleaſure, notwithſtanding the common frailties of humanity, will aſſuredly engage the care of Providence." But as this Hero of the poem was a real Perſonage; and ſo greatly famed for his exemplary patience in afflictions, that his caſe became proverbial †; we can never, on the common principles, account for his behaviour, when we find him breaking out ever and anon into ſuch exceſſes of impatience as border nearly upon blaſphemy ‡. The judicious Calmet cannot forbear obſerving on this occaſion: "En effet Job avoit marqué "dans ſes plaintes une vivacité que pouvoit être interprétée en "mauvaiſe part. Il s'etoit plaint de la rigeur de Dieu; il avoit "deploré ſon malheur d'une maniere qui avoit beſoin d'une inter"pretation bénigne §." And to the ſame purpoſe Albert Schultens: "In eo exceſſu ut ne nunc quidem Jobum culpa liberare

* See note [T], at the end of this Book.

† *Ye have heard of the Patience of Job*, James v. 11.

‡ See note [U], at the end of this Book.

§ Sur chap. xxxiii. ver. 10.

"poſſumus,

" poſſumus, ita facile intelligitur, multo magis talibus dictis offendi " tunc debuiſſe Elihuum, ignarum hactenus, quid Deus de Jobo " ejuſque cauſa pronunciaturus eſſet *." Thus ſoftly do theſe Commentators ſpeak, in their embarras to reconcile this repreſentation of Job to his traditional Character for patience. The *Writing* then and the *Tradition* being ſo glaringly inconſiſtent, we muſt needs conclude, 1. That the fame of ſo great Patience aroſe not from this book. And 2dly, That ſome other Character, ſhadowed under that of Job, was the real cauſe of the Author's deviation from the general Tradition.

And this character, I ſay, was no other than the Jewish people. The ſingularity of whoſe ſituation as a *ſelected Nation* is graphically deſcribed in the beginning of the book, where Satan is brought in, ſpeaking of the diſtinguiſhed honour done to Job by his Maker. *Haſt thou not made a* HEDGE *about him, and about his houſe, and about all that he hath, on every ſide* †? The great point which Job ſo much inſiſts upon throughout the whole book is his *innocence:* and yet, to our ſurpriſe, we hear him, in one place, thus expoſtulating with God: *Thou writeſt bitter things againſt me, and makeſt me to poſſeſs the* INIQUITIES OF MY YOUTH ‡. This can be accounted for no otherwiſe than by underſtanding it of the people: whoſe repeated iniquities on their firſt coming out of Egypt, were in every Age remembered, and puniſhed on their Poſterity. Again, the twenty-ninth chapter is an exact and circumſtantial deſcription of the proſperous times of the Jewiſh People; ſeveral parts of which can be applied with no tolerable propriety to the condition of a private man:—" O that I were as in the days when God pre- " ſerved me, when his candle ſhined upon my head, and when " by his LIGHT, I walked through darkneſs: As I was in the " days of my youth, when the SECRET OF GOD was upon my TA- " BERNACLE:—When I waſhed my ſteps with BUTTER, and the

* On the ſame place. † Chap. i. ver. 10. ‡ Chap. xiii. ver. 26.

" rock

" rock poured me out rivers of OIL —I put on righteouſneſs and " it clothed me: my judgment was as a robe and a diadem.—I brake " the jaws of the WICKED, and pluckt the ſpoil out of his teeth. " —I CHOSE OUT THEIR WAY, and ſat chief, and dwelt as a KING " in the army *." In theſe words the writer evidently alludes to the *pillar of fire* in the Wilderneſs;—The *Schekinah* in the tabernacle;—The *land flowing with milk and honey*;—The adminiſtration of the *judges*;—The curbing the ravages of the *Philiſtians*;—And the glory of their firſt *Monarchs*. Well therefore might the Writer, in his introduction to this ſpeech, call it a PARABLE.

This will lead us next to conſider the *Age*, as well as *People* meant. Job, ſpeaking of his misfortunes, ſays: *For the thing which I greatly feared is come upon me, and that which I was afraid of is come unto me. I was not in ſafety, neither had I reſt, neither was I quiet, yet trouble came* †. But in other places he ſpeaks very differently. He wiſhes *he were as in months paſt, for then* (ſays he) *I ſhall die in my neſt, and I ſhall multiply my days as the ſand* ‡. And again, *When I looked for good, then evil came upon me: and when I waited for light, there came darkneſs* §. Theſe things are very diſcordant, if underſtood of one and the ſame perſon; and can never be reconciled but on the ſuppoſition of an *allegorical* reference to another Character; and, on that, all will be ſet right. For this diſquiet, and fear of approaching trouble, was the very condition of the Jews on their firſt return from the Captivity. Thus Ezra expreſſeth it: *And they ſet up the altar upon his baſes (for fear was upon them, becauſe of the people of thoſe countries) and they offered burnt-offerings thereon unto the Lord* ||. And thus Zechariah, who propheſied at this time: *For before theſe days there was no hire for man, nor any hire for beaſt, neither was there any peace to him that went out or came in, becauſe of the affliction; for I ſet all men every*

* Chap. xxix. ver. 2, & ſeq.
† Chap. iii. ver. 25, 26.
‡ Chap. xxix. ver. 18.
§ Chap. xxx. ver. 26.
‖ Ezra, iii. 3.

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no againſt his neighbour *. Job, amongſt his other diſtreſſes, complains to God;——*Thou feareſt me with dreams, and terrifieſt me with viſions* †: this, I ſuppoſe, refers to the comminations of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, who all propheſied at this time, and were very troubleſome on that account to the impatient Jews, to whoſe circumſtances only, and ſpirit of complaint, theſe obſcure words of Job, expoſtulating with God, can agree;—*and why doſt thou not pardon my tranſgreſſion, and take away mine iniquity? For now I ſhall ſleep in the duſt, and thou ſhalt ſeek me in the morning, but I ſhall not be* ‡. There is not a more difficult paſſage in the whole book of Job; and yet, on the principles here laid down, it admits and conveys this natural and eaſy meaning, "In thus puniſhing, thou will defeat thy own deſign. It is thy purpoſe to continue us a peculiar People; yet ſuch traverſes as we have met with, on our return, will ſoon deſtroy thoſe already come into Judea, and deter the reſt from hazarding the ſame fortune." Job goes on in the ſame ſtrain: *Is it good unto thee that thou ſhouldeſt oppreſs? that thou ſhouldeſt d ſpiſe the work of thine hands? and ſhine upon the counſel of the wicked* §? The Jews of this time made this very complaint. *I have loved you, ſaith the Lord, yet ye ſay, Wherein haſt thou loved us* ‖? And again, *And now we call the proud happy; yea they that work wickedneſs are ſet up; yea they that tempt God are even delivered* **.—But Job goes on,—O *that thou wouldeſt hide me in the* GRAVE, *that thou wouldeſt keep me ſecret, until thy wrath be paſt; that thou wouldeſt appoint me a ſet time, and remember me* ††. By which words, the complaints of the Jews of that time are again referred to; which were, as appears from the words of Job, to this effect: "Would to God we had ſtill continued in Captivity [the *Grave*, which was the very figure uſed by the Prophets for

* Zech. viii. 10.
† Chap. vii. ver. 14.
‡ Chap. vii. ver. 21.
§ Chap. x. ver. 3.
‖ Malac. i. 2.
** Malac. iii. 15.
†† Chap. xiv. ver. 13.

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the Captivity] expecting a more favourable ſeaſon for our Reſtoration; or that we might be permitted to return unto it, 'till the remains of puniſhment for our forefathers' ſins are overpaſt, and all things fitly prepared for our reception." And in theſe cowardly and impatient ſentiments were they, on their Return, as were their Anceſtors, on their firſt coming out of the land of Egypt; to which, this Return is frequently compared by the Prophets.—Job goes on expreſſing his condition in this manner: *His troops come together, and raiſe up their way againſt me, and encamp round about my tabernacle. He hath put my brethren far from me, and mine acquaintance are verily eſtranged from me. My kinsfolk have failed, and my familiar friends have forgotten me* *. The firſt part of this complaint evidently relates to the *Arabians, the Ammonites, and the Aſhdodites*; who (as Nehemiah tells us) *hearing that the walls of Jeruſalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be ſtopped, were very wroth, and conſpired all of them together to come and fight againſt Jeruſalem and to hinder it* †. The ſecond part relates to their rich Brethren remaining in Babylon, who ſeemed, by Nehemiah's account, to have much neglected the diſtreſſed Remnant that eſcaped from the Captivity to Jeruſalem. *Then Hanani* (ſays he) *one of my brethren came, he and certain men of Judah, and I aſked them concerning the Jews that had eſcaped, which were left of the Captivity, and concerning Jeruſalem. And they ſaid unto me, The Remnant that are left of the Captivity there in the Province are in great affliction and reproach: the wall of Jeruſalem is alſo broken down, and the gates thereof are burnt with fire* ‡.—Job goes on, *O that I knew where I might find him* [God], *that I might come even to his ſeat. Behold I go forward, but he is not there; and backward, but I cannot perceive him: on the left hand where he doth work, but I cannot behold him: he hideth himſelf on the right hand, that I cannot ſee him* §. Could any thing more pa-

* Chap xix. ver. 12, 13, 14.

† Nehemiah iv. 7, 8.

‡ Nehem. i. 2, 3.

§ Chap. xxiii. ver. 3, 8, 9.

thetically expreſs the lamentations of a People who ſaw the extraordinary Providence, under which they had ſo long lived, departing from them?—From God, Job turns to Man, and ſays, "But "now they that are younger than I have me in deriſion, whoſe "fathers I would have diſdained to have ſet with the dogs of my "flock. Yea, whereto might the ſtrength of their hands profit "me, in whom old age was periſhed? For want and famine they "were ſolitary; fleeing into the Wilderneſs in former time deſo-"late and waſte: who cut up mallows by the buſhes, and juniper-"roots for their meat. They were driven forth from among men "(they cried after them as after a thief) to dwell in the clifts of "the valleys, in the caves of the earth, and in the rocks. Amongſt "the buſhes they brayed, under the nettles they were gathered to-"gether. They were Children of *fools*, yea Children of *baſe* men: "they were *viler* than the earth *." This is a deſcription, and a very exact one, of the *Cutheans* or *Samaritans*; of their behaviour to the Jews; and the ſentiments of the Jews concerning them. Theſe *had him in deriſion*, he ſays, and ſo Nehemiah informs us: "But it came to paſs, that when *Sanballot* heard that we builded "the wall, he was wroth, and took great indignation, and *mocked* "*the Jews*. And he ſpake before his brethren and the army of Sa-"maria, and ſaid: What do theſe feeble Jews? will they fortify "themſelves? will they ſacrifice? will they make an end in a "day? will they revive the ſtones out of the heaps of the rubbiſh, "which are burnt? Now *Tobiah* the Ammonite was by him, and "he ſaid, even that which they build, if a fox go up, he ſhall "even break down their ſtone wall. Hear, O our God, for we "are *deſpiſed*, and turn their *reproach* upon their own head †." And God, by the Prophet Malachi, tells the Jews the reaſon why he ſuffered them to be thus humbled: *Therefore have I alſo made you contemptible and baſe before all the people, according as ye have not kept*

* Chap. xxx. ver. 1, & ſeq. † Neh. iv, 1, & ſeq.

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my ways, but have been partial in the Law *.—Job ſays he would *have diſdained to have ſet theſe with the dogs of his flock, that they were younger than him, that they were children of fools, yea of baſe men, viler than the earth.* It is well known in what ſovereign contempt the Jews held the Cutheans or Samaritans above all People. The character here given of the baſeneſs of their Extraction, without doubt, was very juſt. For when a Conqueror, as here the king of Aſſyria, would repeople, with his own ſubjects, a ſtrange country entirely ravaged and burnt up by an exterminating war, none but the very ſcum of a People would be ſent upon ſuch an errand. And by the account Ezra gives us of this Colony, as gathered out of many parts of the Aſſyrian Empire, we may fairly conclude them to be the offſcourings of the Eaſt. "Then wrote "Rehum the chancellor, and Shimſhai the ſcribe, and the reſt of "their companions, the *Dinaites*, the *Apharſathchites*, the *Tarpe-* "*lites*, the *Apharſites*, the *Archevites*, the *Babylonians*, the *Suſan-* "*chites*, the *Dehavites*, and the *Elamites*, and the reſt of the Na- "tions whom the great and noble Aſnapper brought over and ſet "in the cities of Samaria †."—Job deſcribes them as being at firſt reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſſes for food and harbour, in *a deſolate and waſte wilderneſs*, living upon *roots*, and dwelling in *caves* and *clifts of the rock:* and aſſuredly ſuch muſt have been the firſt entertainment of this wretched Colony, tranſplanted into a Country entirely waſted and deſtroyed by a three years inceſſant ravage ‡. Nay, before they could come up to take poſſeſſion of their *deſolate places*, the wild beaſts of the field were got before them, and a ſcourge of Lions prepared to receive them for their idolatrous pollutions of the holy Land §.

Job has now ended his *Parable*; and GOD is brought in to judge the Diſputants; whoſe ſpeech opens in this manner: *Then the*

* Mal. ii. 9.
† Ezra iv. 9, 10.
‡ 2 Kings xvii. 5.
§ 2 Kings xvii. 25.

Lord anſwered Job out of the whirlwind, and ſaid, Who is this that darkeneth counſel by words without knowledge *? The character which God here gives of Job is that which the Prophets give of the People of this time. *Ye have wearied the Lord with your words* †, ſays Malachi. And again: *Your words have been ſtout againſt me, ſaith the Lord* ‡. But on Job's repeated ſubmiſſion and humiliation, GOD at length declares his acceptance of him. And thus he received the People into grace, as we learn by the Prophet Zechariah:—*Thus ſaith the Lord, I am returned unto Zion, and will dwell in the midſt of Jeruſalem* §. It is added, *Alſo the Lord gave Job* TWICE *as much as he had before* ‖: and in the ſame manner GOD ſpeaks to the People by the Prophet: *Turn ye to the ſtrong-hold, ye priſoners of hope, even to-day do I declare that I will render* DOUBLE *unto thee* **.—Job's brethren now came to comfort him, and *every man gave him a piece of money, and every one an ear-ring of gold* ††. This, without queſtion, alludes to the preſents which Ezra tells us the Jews of Babylon made to their brethren in Judea: *And all they that were about them ſtrengthened their hands with veſſels of ſilver, with gold, with goods, and with beaſts, and with precious things, beſides all that was willingly offered* ‡‡.—The hiſtory adds, *So the Lord bleſſed the latter end of Job more than the beginning* §§: and thus the future proſperity of the People was predicted by the Prophets of this time: *The glory of this latter houſe ſhall be greater than the former, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts: And in this place will I give peace, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts* ‖‖. *For I, ſaith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midſt of her* ***.—The Book concludes with theſe words: *After this lived Job*

* Chap. xxxviii. ver. 1, 2.
† Mal. ii. 17.
‡ Mal. iii. 13.
§ Zech. viii. 3.
‖ Chap. xlii. ver. 10.
** Zech. ix. 12.
†† Chap. xlii. ver. 11.
‡‡ Ezra i. 6.
§§ Chap. xlii. ver. 12.
‖‖ Haggai ii. 10.
*** Zech. ii. 5.

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an hundred and forty years, and ſaw his ſons, and his ſons ſons, even four generations. So Job died being old and full of days *: this too was the ſpecific bleſſing promiſed by GOD to the People, in the Prophet Zechariah: *Thus ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, There ſhall yet old men and old women dwell in the ſtreets of Jeruſalem, and every man with his ſtaff in his hand for very age. And the ſtreets of the city ſhall be full of boys and girls playing in the ſtreets thereof* †.

II. The next Perſon in the drama is Job's WIFE. Let us take her, as ſhe is preſented to us, on the common footing. She acts a ſhort part indeed, but a very ſpirited one. *Then ſaid his wife unto him: Doſt thou ſtill retain thine integrity? Curſe God and die* ‡. Tender and pious! He might ſee, by this prelude of his Spouſe, what he was to expect from his Friends. The Devil indeed aſſaulted Job, but he ſeems to have got poſſeſſion of his Wife. Happineſs was ſo little to be expected with ſuch a Woman, that one almoſt wonders, that the ſacred Writer, when he aims to give us the higheſt idea of Job's ſucceeding felicity, did not tell us, in expreſs words, that he lived to bury his Wife. In theſe modern ages of luxury and poliſhed manners, a Character like this is ſo little of a prodigy, that both the learned and unlearned are accuſtomed to read it without much reflection: But ſuch a Woman in the age of Job had been thought to need a Luſtration. In the hiſtory of the Patriarchs we have a large account of their Wives; but theſe are all examples of piety, tenderneſs, and obedience; the natural growth of old ſimplicity of manners. Something lower down, indeed, we find a *Delilah*; but ſhe was of the *uncircumciſed*, a pure Pagan; as, on examination, I believe, this Wife of Job will prove: another very extraordinary circumſtance in her Character. For the Patriarchs either took care to marry Believers, or, if haply idolaters, to inſtruct them in the true Religion; as we may ſee by the

* Chap. xlii. ver. 16, 17.

† Zech. viii. 4, 5.

‡ Chap. ii. ver. 9.

hiſtory.

hiſtory of Jacob.—*Then ſaid his wife unto him, Doſt thou ſtill retain thine* INTEGRITY? THUMMAH, *perfectio*, that is, *Religion*. This was altogether in the Pagan mode; Idolaters, as we find in ancient ſtory, generally growing atheiſtical under calamities *.—*Curſe God*, BARECH, *benedicmaledic:* here rightly † tranſlated *curſe*. So the *Syr.* and *Arab.* verſions, *Conviciare Deo tuo*. This was another Pagan practice, when they had implored or bribed the Gods to no purpoſe. Thucydides affords us a terrible inſtance: When the Athenians in the height of their proſperity went upon the Syracuſian Expedition, the Fleet ſet ſail amidſt the prayers and hymns of the Adventurers: but on its unhappy iſſue, theſe very men, on the point of their fatal diſperſion, proſecuted the ſame Gods with the direſt curſes and imprecations ‡.—*Curſe God and* DIE; that is, offer violence to yourſelf. Another impiety of Paganiſm; which, under irretrievable misfortunes, deemed ſuicide not only juſt but laudable. A crime much abhorred by the Hebrews, as forbidden by their Law; till, in after-times, they became corrupted by Gentile manners. All this ſhews the Woman to have been a rank idolater. But Job's reply ſeems to put this ſuſpicion out of doubt: *Thou ſpeakeſt as one of the* FOOLISH WOMEN *ſpeaketh. What? Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and ſhall we not receive evil* §? *A* FOOLISH WOMAN is a Hebrew phraſe to ſignify a *foreign woman*, an *Idolater*, an *Adultereſs*; for theſe qualifications were always joined together in their ideas. On this account the *Chald. Paraph.* explains it, *Sicut una de mulieribus quæ operantur ignominiam in domo patris ſui.* So David, ſpeaking of the condition of the Pagan world, ſays: *The* FOOL *hath ſaid in his heart* ||, i. e. the PAGAN; and in the character Job gives of the *Cutheans*, quoted above, he calls them

* See Note [X], at the end of this Book.

† See note [Y], at the end of this Book.

‡ —ἀλλὰ δ' εὐχῆς τε καὶ παιάνων, μεθ' ὧν ἐξέπλεον, πάλιν τάτων τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιφημίσμασιν ἀφορμᾶσθαι. Lib. vii. § 75. Ed. Hud.

§ Chap. ii. ver. 10. || Pſal. xiv. 1. liii. 1.

Children

Children of FOOLS*; that is, of Gentile extraction, as indeed they were. Now can we ſuppoſe that Job would marry an Infidel, in a country which abounded with true believers? *Job*, who thought idolatry *a crime to be puniſhed by the Judge?* Theſe are difficulties not to be gotten over on the received idea of this book; and appeared ſo great to Cocceius and Schultens, the two moſt elaborate of Job's Commentators, that they are for gloſſing the kind Woman's words into an innocent or excuſable ſenſe; though her Huſband's reply ſo unavoidably confines them to a bad one: *Thou ſpeakeſt* (ſays he) *as one of the fooliſh women ſpeaketh. What? Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and ſhall we not receive evil?* Beſides, they did not conſider that *Satan* had, as it were, engaged that Job ſhould *curſe God to his face* †; which impiety he was here endeavouring to bring about by his agent, the Woman. But now, on our interpretation, it will be found that this character was introduced with exquiſite art and contrivance. We have obſerved, that this *Remnant of the Captivity* returned into their own Country with hearts full of zeal for the Law. Yet, with this general good diſpoſition, there was one folly they were ſtill infected with, and that was the taking *ſtrange wives* of the idolatrous nations round about; which, amongſt other, had this terrible inconvenience, that the children, who in their tender years are principally under the care of the mother, would be early tainted with Pagan principles: a miſchief ſo general that Hoſea calls the children of ſuch marriages, *ſtrange children* ‡, i. e. *idolatrous*. This ſoon become a crying enormity. Their Prophets awaked them with the thunder of divine menaces; and their Rulers improved their penitence to a thorough reformation. *Judah* (ſaith the Prophet Malachi) *hath dealt treacherouſly, and an abomination is committed in Iſrael and in Jeruſalem: For Judah hath profaned the holineſs of the Lord which he loved, and hath married the daughter of*

* Chap. xxx. ver. 8.

† Chap. ii. ver. 5.

‡ Chap. v. ver. 7.

a ſtrange

a ſtrange God. The Lord will cut off the man that doth this *. Nehemiah informs us of his zeal againſt this offence: *In theſe days alſo ſaw I Jews that had married wives of Aſhdod, of Ammon, and of Moab: And I contended with them, and curſed them, and ſmote certain of them, and pluckt off their hair, and made them ſwear by God, ſaying, Ye ſhall not give your daughters unto their ſons nor take their daughters unto your ſons, or for yourſelves* †. But Ezra gives us a very circumſtantial account of the Crime and of the Reformation: *Now when theſe things were done, the Princes came to me, ſaying, The People of Iſrael, and the Prieſts, and the Levites, have not ſeparated themſelves from the people of the lands, doing according to their abominations: for they have taken of their daughters for themſelves and for their ſons; ſo that the holy ſeed have mingled themſelves with the people of thoſe lands: Yea, the hand of the Princes and Rulers hath been chief in this treſpaſs* ‡. Shechaniah then encourages Ezra to reform this abuſe §. Ezra aſſembles the people ‖: they promiſe amendment; and propoſe a method of Inquiry: *Let now our Rulers of all the congregation ſtand, and let all them which have taken ſtrange wives in our cities, come at appointed times, and with them the Elders of every city, and the Judges thereof* **. Ezra approved of this method, *And they ſet down in the firſt day of the tenth month to examine the matter. And they made an end with all the men that had taken ſtrange wives by the firſt day of the firſt month* ††. The ſtate and condition of a weak and thin Colony, 'tis probable, encouraged them in this tranſgreſſion: yet, as it was ſo expreſſly againſt the LAW, they were altogether without excuſe: And indeed, the prohibition was an admirable expedient againſt idolatry; *ſtrange wives* inevitably drawing the wiſeſt, as it did Solomon himſelf, into foreign idolatries. On this account the Prophet quoted above, finely calls

* Mal. ii. 11, 12.
‡ Ezra ix. 1, 2.
‖ Ver. 7.
†† Chap. x. ver. 16, 17.
† Nehem xiii. 23, 25.
§ Chap. x. ver. 2.
** Ver. 14.

them

them *the daughters of a* STRANGE God. Jeremiah gives us a remarkable inſtance of their influence over their huſbands in his time: *Then all the men which knew that their wives had burnt incenſe unto other Gods, and all the women that ſtood by, a great multitude, even all the people that dwelt in the land of Egypt, in Pathros, anſwered Jeremiah, ſaying, As for the word that thou haſt ſpoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hearken unto thee* *. And Nehemiah had good reaſon to tell theſe Tranſgreſſors,—*Did not Solomon king of Iſrael ſin by theſe things? Yet among many nations was there no king like him, who was beloved of his God, and God made him King over all Iſrael: Nevertheleſs even him did outlandiſh women cauſe to ſin* †. For Ezra expreſsly aſſures us, that thoſe who had taken *ſtrange* women were drawn into *the abominations of the people of the lands* ‡.

The ſacred Writer, therefore, who compoſed his work for the uſe of theſe People repreſented under the perſon of Job, could not better characterize their manners, nor give them a more uſeful leſſon, than by making Job's wife, the author of ſuch wicked counſel, a *Heathen*. It was indeed the principal ſtudy of their Rulers to deter them from theſe marriages, and to recommend the *daughters of Iſrael*; of whom the Prophet *Malachi* thus ſpeaks: *Becauſe the Lord hath been witneſs between thee and the wife of thy youth, againſt whom thou haſt dealt treacherouſly: yet is ſhe thy companion, and the wife of thy covenant* §. This will help us to clear up a difficulty in the concluſion of the book which very much perplexes the Commentators: (where, let it be obſerved, his *misfortunes* are called his CAPTIVITY ||; which figure, of the ſpecies for the genus, could hardly be of uſe in the Jewiſh language till after their repeated puniſhments by *Captivities.*) *So the Lord bleſſed the latter*

* Jer. xliv. 15. † Neh. xiii. 26.

‡ Ezra ix. 1.

§ Mal. ii. 14. And ſee note [Z], at the end of this Book.

‖ Chap. xlii. ver. 10.

end of Job—He had alſo ſeven ſons and three DAUGHTERS. *And he called the name of the firſt* Jemima, *and the name of the ſecond* Kezia, *and the name of the third* Keren-happuch. *And in all the land were no women found ſo fair as the daughters of Job, and their father gave them inheritance among their brethren* *. *Albert Schultens* ſays †: "Men are wont to aſk why the names of Job's ſons are ſup-"preſſed, and the names of his daughters only mentioned. The "Ancients have recourſe to myſtery in this caſe, and trifle ſtrangely "with the etymologies of *Jemima*, *Kezia*, and *Keren-happuch*: "which are commonly ſuppoſed to ſignify Diana or the day, "Caſſia, and the horn of antimony. In theſe, they find juſt ſo "many characters of the Church; which to the ſplendor of truth, "joins the odour of virtue, that ſhe may ſtand a perfect beauty in "preſence of her ſpouſe, &c. &c. Others make them ſymbolical "appellations, by which the happy father would repreſent the "former ſplendor, fame and glory of his family returned again "unto it." And Mr. Le Clerc on the ſame place ‡;—"If it is "aſked why the names of the daughters are recorded and not the "ſons: Of this, no reaſon can be given, unleſs, perhaps, the "daughters were more illuſtrious. Theſe names are urged as a "certain proof of its being a true hiſtory. But who can ſay how far

* Chap. xliii. ver. 12. & ſeq.

† "Cur ſuppreſſis filiorum nominibus, filiarum illa appoſita ſint, quæri ſolet. Ad "*myſterium* confugiunt veteres, mire ludentes in etymis *Jemimæ*, *Ketziæ*, & *Keren-hap-*"*puchæ*, ſive *Dianæ* vel *Dici*, *Caſſiæ*, & *Cornu ſtibii*, ut vulgato hæc convenire viſum. "In his inveniunt totidem characteres *Eccleſiæ*, quæ cum ſplendore lucis conjungat odo-"rem fragrantiſſimum virtutis, ut tota pulchra ſponſo ſuo ſiſtatur, &c. &c. Alii ſymbo-"licas has faciunt appellationes, quibus familiæ ſuæ redivivam lucem, famam, gloriam "repræſentatam voluerit fortunatiſſimus pater."

‡ *Quæritur cur ſint filiarum nomina memorata, non filiorum; cujus rei ratio reddi non poteſt, niſi fortè illuſtriores fuerint filiæ. Hæc nomina proferuntur, ut argumentum certum, quo conſtet hanc veram eſſe hiſtoriam. Sed quis dicat quò uſque Orientales parabolas errare ſolebant? In parabola Evangelica eſt quidem nomen* Lazari, *quod non obſtat quo minus Parabola habeatur. Verum rem in medio relinquimus.*

"the

" the oriental writers were wont to go, in dreſſing out their Parables? " In a Goſpel parable we find the name of Lazarus; which does " not on that account hinder us from conſidering the ſtory as of " that claſs. However we think it beſt to leave the matter juſt as " we found it." But now all this difficulty is removed, and the paſſage is ſeen in its full force and beauty. It was the writer's deſign to recommend the *daughters of Iſrael* as the moſt deſirable Parties, [*And in all the land were no women found ſo fair as the daughters of Job*;] and to commemorate the reformation now made amongſt the *people*, when they put away their *ſtrange wives*, and took an oath to ſhare the holy inheritance, for the future, only with the *daughters of Iſrael.—And their father gave them inheritance amongſt their brethren:* words that have been as troubleſome to the Commentators as the reſt; and have occaſioned many a learned Diſſertation *de Jure Succeſſionis apud Hebræos, Arabas, Græcos, Latinos, & quamplurimas Gentes.*

III. We come next to Job's THREE FRIENDS.—Their ſolemn appointment to go and comfort Job; the neglect of their errand when they came thither; their inhumanity and ſtrange humour of contradiction; have been already taken notice of, and explained, and reconciled to decorum, on the nature and principles of a *dramatic* compoſition. But this is not all: We find, on the iſſue of their debate, ſo many marks of inſult, falſhood, and malice, that we muſt needs conclude their Friendſhip to have been all pretence; that they were enemies in their hearts; and that the true purpoſe of their viſit was to imbitter and aggravate his miſeries. This requires other principles to explain it: for, in the *hiſtorical* part they are repreſented as *real* friends: and this makes ſuch a difficulty as nothing but our idea of the work can remove. Who then will doubt but that, as the PEOPLE were repreſented under Job, theſe *three friends* were their three capital Enemies, who ſo greatly hindered and obſtructed the rebuilding Jeruſalem and the temple,

SANBALLAT, TOBIAH, and GESHEM? Of whom Nehemiah gives us this account: *Then I came to the governors beyond the river, and gave them the king's letters. When* Sanballat *the Horonite, and* Tobiah *the ſervant the Ammonite, heard of it, it grieved them exceedingly that there was come a man to ſeek the welfare of the children of Iſrael* *. And again: *But it came to paſs that when* Sanballat, *and* Tobiah, *and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Aſhdodites heard that the walls of Jeruſalem were made up, and that the breaches began to be ſtopped, then they were very wroth, and conſpired all of them together, to come and to fight againſt Jeruſalem and to hinder it* †. When force would not do, they aſſayed fraud: *Now it came to paſs, when* SANBALLAT, *and* TOBIAH, *and* GESHAM *the Arabian, and the reſt of our enemies, heard that I had builded the wall, and that there was no breach left therein, then* Sanballat *and* Geſhem *ſent unto me, ſaying, Come, let us meet together in ſome one of the villages in the plain of Ono: but they thought to do me miſchief* ‡. The Writer of the book of *Tobit* ſeems to have had this idea of the three friends, where he ſays: *Nam ſicut beato Job inſultabant Reges, ita iſti parentes & cognati ejus irridebant vitam ejus* §. But we are to obſerve this is now only to be found in the Latin tranſlation, which, St. Jerom tells us, he made from the Chaldee. But, what is ſtill of more moment, is a paragraph at the end of the Septuagint tranſlation of the book of Job, which makes of theſe three friends, two Kings and a Tyrant.

The marks of reſemblance between the *allegorical* and *real* perſons, are many and ſtrong.

Eliphaz, *Bildad*, and *Zophar*, are delivered as the allies and friends of Job: So *Sanballat* the Horonite had given his daughter to one of the ſons of Joiada the ſon of Eliaſhib the high prieſt ‖: And *Tobiah* had made two alliances with the Jews: his ſon Johanan had

* Nehem. ii. 9, 10.
† Chap. iv. ver. 7, 8.
‡ Chap. vi. ver. 1, 2.
§ Tob. ii. 14.
‖ Nehem. xiii. 28.

married

married the daughter of Meſhullam the ſon of Berechiah; and he himſelf had taken to wife the daughter of Shechaniah the ſon of Arah *.

Eliphaz, *Bildad*, and *Zophar*, came in a friendly manner with offers of ſervice and aſſiſtance: So did theſe enemies of the Jews, as we are informed both by Ezra and Nehemiah: "Now when "the ADVERSARIES of Judah and Benjamin heard that the chil- "dren of the captivity builded the temple unto the Lord God of "Iſrael: Then they came to Zerubbabel, and to the chief of the "fathers, and ſaid unto them, LET US BUILD WITH YOU. But "Zerubbabel and Jeſhua and the reſt of the chief of the fathers of "Iſrael, ſaid unto them, You have nothing to do with us to "build a houſe unto our God, but we ourſelves will build unto "the Lord God of Iſrael, as king Cyrus the king of Perſia hath "commanded us †." And Nehemiah's anſwer to *Sanballat*, *Tobiah*, and *Geſhem*, ſhews, they had made this requeſt:—"then "anſwered I them, and ſaid unto them, The God of heaven he "will proſper us; therefore we his ſervants will ariſe and build, "*but you have no portion, nor right, nor memorial in Jeruſalem* ‡." And of *Tobiah* in particular, he ſays: *Moreover in theſe days the nobles of Judah ſent many letters unto* Tobiah: *and the letters of* Tobiah *came unto them. Alſo they reported his good deeds before me, and uttered my words to him. And* Tobiah *ſent letters to put me in fear* §.

The *three Friends of* JOB were worſhippers of the true God; and ſo were theſe *Adverſaries* of the JEWS: For when, in the place quoted above, they aſked to *build with* the Jews, they give this reaſon of their requeſt: FOR WE SEEK YOUR GOD *as ye do, and we do ſacrifice unto him ſince the days of Eſarhaddon king of Aſſur, which brought us up hither* ||.

* Neh. vi. 18.
† Ezra iv. 1, 2, 3.
‡ Neh. ii. 20.
§ Neh. vi. 17, 19.
|| Ezra iv. 2.

The

The *three Friends* were perpetually deriding and upbraiding him for his ſins: And of this Job frequently complains in the courſe of the diſputation *. So Nehemiah tells us, that *when* Sanballat *the Horonite, and* Tobiah *the ſervant, the Ammonite, and* Geſhem *the Arabian, heard that they were ſet upon building the walls of Jeruſalem, they laughed them to ſcorn, and deſpiſed them, and ſaid, What is this thing that ye do? Will ye rebel againſt the king* †? And again: *But it came to paſs that when* Sanballat *heard that we builded the wall, he was wroth, and took great indignation, and mocked the Jews. Now* Tobiah *the Ammonite was by him, and he ſaid, Even that which they build, if a fox go up, he ſhall even break down their ſtone wall* ‡. God, by the Prophet Malachi, tells them, *Judah hath profaned the holineſs of the Lord which he loved, and hath married the daughter of a ſtrange God* §. And it is remarkable that they with whom the Jews had committed this crime, as *Sanballat*, *Tobiah*, and *the Cutheans*, were made the inſtruments of their puniſhment. Eliphaz the Temanite charges and upbraids Job with the moſt flagitious crimes: *Is not thy wickedneſs great, and thine iniquities infinite* ‖? And thus the Cutheans repreſented the Jews, to Artaxerxes: "Be it known "unto the king, that the Jews, which came up from thee to us, "are come unto Jeruſalem, building the rebellious and the bad city, "and have ſet up the walls thereof.—Therefore have we certified "the king that ſearch may be made in the book of the records of "thy fathers, ſo ſhalt thou find in the book of the records, and "know, that this city is a rebellious city, and hurtful unto kings "and provinces; and that they have moved ſedition within the "ſame of old time; for which cauſe was this city deſtroyed **."— If their Adverſaries could accuſe them thus unjuſtly, we are not to

* Chap. iv. 17. Chap. xii. ver. 4. Chap. xiii. ver. 4. Chap. xvi. ver. 1, 20. Chap. xvii. ver. 2. Chap. xix. ver. 2. Chap. xxi. ver. 3. Chap. xxvi. ver. 4.

† Neh. ii. 19.

‡ Chap. iv. ver. 1, 3.

§ Mal. ii. 11.

‖ Chap. xxii. ver. 5.

** Ezra iv. 12, 14, 15.

think

think they would ſpare them where there was more ground for condemnation. When Nehemiah came to the adminiſtration of affairs, the Rich had oppreſſed the Poor by a rigorous exaction of their debts: *And there was a great cry of the people and of their wives, againſt their brethren the Jews. For there were that ſaid, We, our ſons, and our daughters, are many: therefore we take up corn for them, that we may eat and live. Some alſo there were that ſaid, We have mortgaged our lands, vineyards, and houſes, that we may buy corn becauſe of the dearth. There were alſo that ſaid, We have borrowed money for the king's tribute, and that upon our lands and vineyards. Yet now our fleſh is as the fleſh of our brethren, our children as their children: and lo we bring into bondage our ſons and our daughters to be ſervants, and ſome of our daughters are brought into bondage already, neither is it in our power to redeem them; for other men have our lands and vineyards* *. This abuſe Nehemiah reformed: and in reproving the oppreſſors, he ſaid: *It is not good that ye do: Ought ye not to walk in the fear of our Lord, becauſe of the* REPROACH OF THE HEATHEN OUR ENEMIES †? which *reproach* was intended to be repreſented in theſe words of Eliphaz: *For thou haſt taken a pledge from thy brother for nought, and ſtripped the naked of their cloathing* ‡.

But the *three Friends* are at length condemned by GOD himſelf: *The Lord ſaid to Eliphaz the Temanite: My wrath is kindled againſt thee, and againſt the two friends: For ye have not ſpoken of me the thing that is right, as my ſervant Job hath* §. And in the ſame manner he ſpeaks, by the Prophet, concerning theſe *Adverſaries* of the Jews: *And I am very ſore diſpleaſed with the Heathen that are* AT EASE: *For I was but a* LITTLE DISPLEASED, *and they* HELPED FORWARD THE AFFLICTION ‖.—His ſentence againſt the three Friends goes on in theſe words: *Therefore take now unto you ſeven*

* Neh. v. 1, & ſeq.
† Ver. 9.
‡ Chap. xxii. ver. 6.
§ Chap. xlii. ver 7.
‖ Zech. i. 15.

bullocks

bullocks and ſeven rams, and go to my ſervant Job, and offer up your-ſelves a burnt-offering, and my ſervant Job ſhall pray for you, for him will I accept: Leſt I deal with you after your folly, in that ye have not ſpoken of me the thing which is right, like my ſervant Job *. This, I ſuppoſe, is deſigned to repreſent the defeat of their *Adverſaries*, in the decree which the Jews, by the good providence of God, procured from Darius, commanding the *Cutheans* (who had hitherto ſo much hindered) now to aſſiſt the Jews to the utmoſt of their power in rebuilding the Temple: "Then Darius the king "made a decree—Now therefore Tatnai, Governor beyond the "river Shetharboznai, and your companions the Apharſachites, "which are beyond the river, be ye far from thence: Let the "work of this houſe of God alone, let the governor of the Jews, "and the elders of the Jews, build this houſe of God in his place. "Moreover I make a decree, what ye ſhall do to the elders of theſe "Jews, for the building of this houſe of God: that, of the king's "goods, even of the tribute beyond the river, forthwith expences "be given unto theſe men, that they be not hindered. And that "which they have need of, both young bullocks and rams, and "lambs, for the BURNT-OFFERINGS of the God of heaven, wheat, "ſalt, wine, and oil, according to the appointment of the prieſts "which are at Jeruſalem, let it be given them day by day without "fail; that they may offer ſacrifices of ſweet ſavours unto the God "of heaven, and pray FOR THE LIFE OF THE KING AND OF HIS "SONS †."

The reaſon why the *three Friends* are condemned as *not having ſpoken of God the thing that was right* was, 1. Becauſe uſing the argument of an *equal Providence* only to condemn Job with the heart of an enemy, they made the honour of God a ſtale to their malignant purpoſes. To underſtand this more fully we muſt conſider that the great conteſt was concerning an *equal Providence:*

* Chap. xlii. ver. 8. † Ezra vi. 1. 6, & ſeq.

What

What occaſioned it was their ſuſpicion of Job's ſecret iniquity; conſequently theſe two points take their turns occaſionally in the courſe of the diſputation. Job, after many ſtruggles, at laſt gave up the general queſtion; but the particular one of his own righteouſneſs, he adheres to, throughout, and makes it the ſubject of all he ſays from chap. xxvii. to chap. xxxi. This ended the diſpute: for, in the beginning of the next chapter *, the writer tells us,—*So theſe three men ceaſed to anſwer Job, becauſe he was righteous in his own eyes*; that is, they gave Job this contemptuous reaſon why they would argue no longer with him. By this we may ſee, how finely the diſpute was conducted, to anſwer, what I ſuppoſe was, the end of writing the book. JOB, who repreſented the PEOPLE, was to ſpeak their ſentiments concerning their doubts of an equal Providence; but he was at laſt to acquieſce, to teach them a leſſon of obedience and ſubmiſſion.

2. The ſecond reaſon of the condemnation of theſe falſe *Friends* was, becauſe they had ſupported their condemnation of Job by a pretended Revelation.—*Now a thing was ſecretly brought to me* (ſays Eliphaz) *and mine ear received a little thereof. In thoughts from the viſions of the night, when deep ſleep falleth on men, fear came upon me, and trembling, which made all my bones to ſhake: then a Spirit paſſed before my face, the hair of my fleſh ſtood up: I ſtood ſtill, but I could not diſcern the form thereof: an image was before mine eyes, there was ſilence, and I heard a voice ſaying*, "Shall mortal "man be more juſt than God," &c. †. This was the character, and conduct, of the enemies of the Republic, as the Prophet Ezekiel informs us; whoſe words are ſo very appoſite, that we may well think they were the original to thoſe above in the fourth chapter of Job. *Thus ſaith the Lord God, Woe unto the fooliſh Prophets that follow their own ſpirit and have ſeen nothing—They have ſeen vanity and lying divination, ſaying, The Lord ſaith; and the*

* Chap. xxxii. † Chap. iv. ver. 12, & ſeq.

Lord hath not ſent them.—Have ye not ſeen a vain viſion, and have ye not ſpoken a lying divination, whereas ye ſay, The Lord ſaith it, albeit I have not ſpoken? Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, Becauſe ye have ſpoken vanity and ſeen lyes, therefore behold I am againſt you, ſaith the Lord God *.

IV. The laſt Perſon in the Oppoſition is the Devil himſelf, Satan, the Author and Contriver of all the miſchief. And now we are come to that part of the *Allegory*, where the fable and the moral meet, and, as it were, concur to throw off the Maſk, and expoſe the true face of the Subject; this aſſault upon Job being that very attack which, the Prophet Zechariah tells us, Satan made, at this time, on the People. The only difference is, that, in this Poem, it is *Job*; in that Prophecy, it is *Joſhua the high prieſt*, who ſtands for the *People*. In all the reſt, the identity is ſo ſtrongly marked, that this ſingle circumſtance alone is ſufficient to confirm the truth of our whole interpretation. There needs only ſetting the two paſſages together to convince the moſt Prejudiced:—The Hiſtorian ſays, "Now there was a day when the ſons of God "came to preſent themſelves before the Lord, and Satan came "alſo among them. And the Lord ſaid unto Satan: Whence "comeſt thou? Then Satan anſwered the Lord, and ſaid, From "going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down "in it. And the Lord ſaid unto Satan: Haſt thou conſidered my "ſervant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect "and an upright man, one that feareth God and eſcheweth evil? "Then Satan anſwered the Lord and ſaid: Doth Job fear God for "nought? But put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he "hath, and he will curſe thee to thy face. And the Lord ſaid "unto Satan: Behold all that he hath is in thy power, only upon "himſelf put not forth thine hand. So Satan went forth from "the preſence of the Lord †."—The Prophet's account is in theſe

* Ezek. xiii. ver. 3, & ſeq.

† Chap. i. ver. 6, & ſeq.

words:

words: "Be ſilent, O all fleſh, before the Lord: for he is raiſed "up out of his holy habitation. And he ſhewed me JOSHUA the "high prieſt ſtanding before the angel of the Lord, and SATAN "ſtanding at his right hand to reſiſt him. And the Lord ſaid "unto Satan: The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan, even the Lord "that hath choſen Jeruſalem, rebuke thee: Is not this a brand "pluckt out of the fire? Now *Joſhua was clothed with filthy gar-* "*ments*, and ſtood before the angel. And he anſwered and ſpake "unto thoſe that ſtood before him, ſaying, *Take away* the filthy "garments from him. And unto him, he ſaid, Behold I have "*cauſed thine iniquity to paſs from thee*, and I will clothe thee with "change of Raiment. And I ſaid, Let them ſet a fair mitre "upon his head; ſo they ſet a fair mitre upon his head, and "clothed him with garments, and *the angel of the Lord ſtood by* *." JOB's whole dramatic life lies here in its ſtamina.—*Satan ſtanding at the angel's right hand to reſiſt Joſhua* is, (when drawn out more at length) his perſecution of Job.—*Joſhua clothed with filthy garments*, is Job amidſt the Aſhes.—The *clothing of Joſhua with change of raiment and ſetting a fair mitre on his head*, is Job's returning Proſperity. And *the angel of the Lord ſtanding by*, is GOD's Interpoſition from the Whirlwind.

But we have not yet done with this Character. The finding SATAN in the ſcene is a ſtrong proof that the Work was compoſed in the age we have aſſigned to it. This evil Being was little known to the Jewiſh People till about this time. Their great Lawgiver, where he ſo frequently enumerates, and warns them of, the ſnares and temptations which would draw them to tranſgreſs the Law of GOD, never once mentions this Capital enemy of Heaven; yet this was an expedient which the wiſeſt Pagan Lawgivers † thought of uſe, to keep the Populace in the ways of virtue.

* Zech. ii. 13. Chap. iii. ver. 1. & ſeq.

† See Divine Legation, vol. I. Book II. p. 160.

Thus Zaleucus, in the preface to his book of Laws, ſpeaks of *an evil* DEMON *tempting men to miſchief:* And in the popular Religion there was always a FURY at hand, to purſue the more atrocious Offenders through the world. Nay, when the end of that ſacred Hiſtory which Moſes compoſed, obliged him to treat of *Satan's* firſt grand machination againſt mankind, he entirely hides this wicked Spirit under the Animal which he made his inſtrument. (The reaſon of this wiſe conduct hath been in part explained already, and will be more exactly treated in the courſe of our general argument*.) But, as the fulneſs of time drew near, they were made more and more acquainted with this their capital Enemy. When Ahab, for the crimes and follies of the People, was ſuffered to be infatuated, we have this account of the matter in the firſt book of Kings: *And Micaiah ſaid, Hear thou therefore the word of the Lord: I ſaw the Lord ſitting on his throne, and all the hoſt of heaven ſtanding by him, on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord ſaid: Who ſhall perſuade Ahab that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-Gilead? And one ſaid on this manner, and another ſaid on that manner. And there came forth a* SPIRIT *and ſtood before the Lord, and ſaid, I will perſuade him. And the Lord ſaid unto him: Wherewith? And he ſaid, I will go forth, and I will be a lying ſpirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And he ſaid, Thou ſhalt perſuade him, and prevail alſo; Go forth and do ſo* †. SATAN is not here recorded by name; and ſo we muſt conclude that the People were yet to know little of his *hiſtory:* However, this undertaking ſufficiently declared his *nature.* On the return from the Captivity, we find him better known; and things then are aſcribed to him, as the immediate and proper Author, which (while divine Providence thought fit to keep back the knowledge of him) were before given, in an improper ſenſe, to the firſt and ultimate Cauſe of all things. Thus, in the ſecond book of Samuel, it is ſaid, that

* See note [AA], at the end of this Book.

† 1 Kings xxii. 19, & ſeq.

GOD

GOD moved David to number the people,—*And again, the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt Iſrael, and he moved David againſt them to ſay, Go number Iſrael and Judah* *. But in the firſt book of Chronicles, which was written after the Captivity, *Satan* is ſaid to have moved David to this folly. *And* Satan *ſtood up againſt Iſrael, and provoked David to number Iſrael* †. For, His hiſtory having an inſeparable connexion with the *Redemption* of Mankind, the knowledge of them was to be conveyed together: and now, their later Prophets had given leſs obſcure deſcriptions of the REDEEMER and the other attendant truths.

Here let me ſtop a moment, though I anticipate my ſubject, to adore the viſible ſplendor of the divine Wiſdom, in this period of GOD's moral Diſpenſation: We have obſerved that the fullneſs of time approaching, the writings of the Prophets, after the Captivity, had given leſs obſcure intimations of the *Redemption*; and that the Truths, which had a neceſſary connexion with it, were proportionably laid open. Two of the principal of theſe were the HISTORY OF SATAN and the DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE; which, ſoon after this time, were conveyed to their knowledge. Now, beſides the uſe of theſe two truths to the general Oeconomy, they were of great advantage to the Jewiſh people at thoſe very junctures when each was firſt made known unto them. The *hiſtory of Satan*, it is evident, they were brought acquainted with in their *Captivity*; and nothing could better ſecure them from the dangerous error of the TWO PRINCIPLES, which was part of the national Religion of the Country into which they were led captive. The *doctrine of a future ſtate* they learnt ſome ſmall time after their thorough *Re-eſtabliſhment*; and this being at a time when their extraordinary Providence was departed from them, was of the higheſt advantage and ſupport to them, as a Nation and a People. But this, as I ſay, is anticipating my ſubject, and will be explained at large hereafter:

* 2 Sam. xxiv. 1. † 1 Chron. xxi. 1.

The

The other is the point we are at preſent concerned with, namely, the knowledge of this wicked Spirit; and the ſecurity this knowledge afforded, againſt the error of the *two Principles:* Which leads us to another uſe the writer of the book of Job hath made of this *Perſonage* of the Drama.

We have obſerved, that the principal deſign of the Author of this work was to remove all errors, concerning the SUPREME CAUSE, from amongſt a People now about to come under the *ordinary* Providence of Heaven, after having been long accuſtomed to the *extraordinary*. The common fault which the Ancients were prone to commit, on ſeeing good and bad happen indifferently to all men, was to bring in queſtion the GOODNESS of their Maker. And they were apt to ſatisfy themſelves in this difficulty, by another miſtake as abſurd as that was impious; the belief of TWO PRINCIPLES, a Good and an Evil. The Jews, of this time particularly, were moſt obnoxious to the danger, as coming from a place where this ſtrange Doctrine made part of the public Religion. It was of the higheſt importance therefore to guard againſt both theſe errors. And this the ſacred Writer hath effectually done, by ſhewing that SATAN, or the *evil Spirit* (whoſe hiſtory, miſunderſtood, or imperfectly told, in the firſt Ages of mankind, much favoured the notion of an *evil Principle*) was, like all other immaterial Beings, even of the higheſt rank, a creature of GOD; at enmity with him; but entirely in his power; and uſed by him as an inſtrument to puniſh wicked men; yet ſometimes permitted to afflict the Good, for a trial of their patience, and to render their Faith and Virtue more perfect and conſpicuous. Hence we ſee (which deſerves our ſerious reflection) how uſeful it was to this purpoſe (what little light ſoever it gave to the Queſtion) to reſolve all, when the diſpute came to be moderated and determined, into the OMNIPOTENCE OF GOD, who is repreſented as the SOLE Creator and Governor of all things. And, what the Wiſdom of the Holy Spirit directed the Writer of the book of Job to do, in this point, on their *coming* from the Land which

which held the belief of TWO PRINCIPLES, the ſame Wiſdom directed Iſaiah to do, on their going thither. This Prophet, in the perſon of God, addreſſing his ſpeech to Cyrus, whom God had appointed to be the inſtrument of his People's Reſtoration, ſays: *I am the Lord, and there is none elſe, there is no God beſides me. I girded thee, though thou haſt not known me.*—I FORM THE LIGHT AND CREATE DARKNESS, I MAKE PEACE AND CREATE EVIL: *I the Lord do all theſe things* *.

This declaration of God by Iſaiah naturally leads us, ere we conclude this head, to conſider another text of the book of Job, which confirms all that is here ſaid of SATAN and the TWO PRINCIPLES; and, by conſequence, the opinion here advanced, of the time in which the book was written. Job, ſpeaking of the works of Creation and Providence, ſays, *He divided the* SEA *with his power, and his underſtanding ſmiteth through the* PROUD †.—This evidently alludes to the miracle of the *Red-ſea*, and the deſtruction of *Pharaoh*. From theſe works of Providence upon earth, the writer proceeds to ſpeak of God's work of Creation above; both *material* and *intellectual.*—*By his Spirit he hath* GARNISHED *the heavens*; *his Hand hath formed the* CROOKED SERPENT ‡; i. e. He made the material and intellectual world; and in this latter, the *evil Being* himſelf, (that pretended Rival of his power, and Oppoſer of all his good) is equally the work of his hands. The progreſſion and connexions of the parts, contained in this whole period, are extremely beautiful. His work of Providence, as Lord of Nature upon earth, led properly to his work of Creation above, as the Maker and Governor of all things: and his chaſtiſement of the proudeſt and moſt powerful Monarch then on earth, in his character of Governor of the Moral world, as naturally introduced the mention of his creating, and his keeping in ſubjection, the EVIL

* Iſ. xlv. 5, 7.

† Chap. xxvi. ver. 12.

‡ Ver. 13.

SPIRIT,

Spirit, in his character of the firſt Cauſe of all things. And, to connect theſe two relations together with the greater juſtneſs, the writer with much elegance calls the *evil Spirit* by that name wherewith the ſacred Writers, and eſpecially Iſaiah, (whom we ſhall ſee preſently the writer of the book of Job had particularly in his eye) denote the king of Egypt. *In that day the Lord, with his ſore and great and ſtrong ſword, ſhall puniſh Leviathan the piercing ſerpent, even Leviathan that* crooked serpent, *and he ſhall ſlay the Dragon that is in the ſea* *. Let us obſerve, that the Writer of the book of Job, in the laſt verſe, evidently alludes to, or rather paraphraſes thoſe words of Iſaiah quoted before.—*I form the light and create darkneſs; I make peace, and* create evil: *I the Lord do all theſe things:* For what is this but *garniſhing the Heavens*, and forming the crooked Serpent? But the relation and connexion between the 12th and 13th verſes † not being obſerved, ſeveral eminent Commentators, both Jews and Chriſtians, were inclined to underſtand the *crooked ſerpent* as ſignifying the great Conſtellation ſo named, ſituate near the arctic pole; or at leaſt, that enormous trail of light called the Galaxy or Via lactea. And thoſe Moderns who have been as backward to find a Devil for the tempter, as a God for their Redeemer, thought it agreed beſt with their Socinian reaſoning-ſcheme; the general mention of the *garniture of the Heavens*, being well followed by a particular deſcription of one of its pieces of furniture. But whatever their force of Logic may be, their taſte of Rhetoric ſeems none of the beſt. It is a ſtrange kind of amplification to ſay, "He made all the conſtellations, and "he made one of them." But that interpretation of Scripture which receives its chief ſtrength from the rules of human eloquence, and art of compoſition, hath often but a ſlender ſupport. I ſhall go on therefore to ſhew, that an Hebrew Writer (and he who, after all that has been ſaid, will not allow the Author of

* Chap. xxvii. 1. † Job xxvi.

the

the book of Job to be an Hebrew, may grant or deny what he pleaſes, for me)—to ſhew, I ſay, that *an Hebrew Writer*, by *the crooked Serpent* could not mean a *Conſtellation*.

The Rabbins tell us, (who in this caſe ſeem to be competent Evidence) that the ancient Hebrews in their Aſtronomy, which the moveable Feaſts of their Ritual neceſſitated them to cultivate, did not repreſent the Stars, either ſingle or in Conſtellations, by the name or figure of any Animal whatſoever; but diſtinguiſhed them by the letters of their alphabet, artificially combined. And this they aſſure us was the conſtant practice, till, in the later ages, they became acquainted with the Grecian Sciences: Then, indeed, they learnt the art of tricking up their SPHERE, and making it as pictureſque as their neighbours. But ſtill they did it with modeſty and reſerve; and heſitated even then, to admit of any human Figure. The reaſon given for this ſcrupulous obſervance, namely, the danger of Idolatry, is the higheſt confirmation of the truth of their account. For it is not to be believed, that, when the ASTRONOMY and SUPERSTITION of Egypt were ſo cloſely colleagued, and that the combination was ſupported by this very means, the NAMES given to the Conſtellations, it is not to be believed, I ſay, that Moſes, who, under the miniſtry of God, forbad the Iſraelites *to make any likeneſs of any thing in* HEAVEN *above* according to the old mode, would ſuffer them to mak *new likeneſſes* there: which, if not in the firſt intention ſet up to be worſhipped, yet, we know, never waited long to obtain that honour. To corroborate this Rabbinical account relative to the Hebrew Aſtronomy, we may obſerve, that the Tranſlators of the Septuagint, the Heads and Doctors of the Jewiſh Law, who muſt needs know what was conformable to the practice derived from that Law, underſtood the Writer of the book of Job to mean no more nor leſs than the DEVIL by this periphraſis of the *crooked Serpent*; and ſo tranſlated it, ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΑΤΗΝ, the *apoſtate Dragon*.

From all this it appears, that neither MOSES nor ESDRAS could call a Conſtellation by the name of the *crooked Serpent*.

V. The laſt Actor in this repreſentation, is Job's fourth friend, Elihu *the ſon of Barachel the Buzite*, who is brought upon the ſtage in the thirty-ſecond chapter. He is made to reprove Job with great aſperity; and, like the other three, to have his *wrath kindled againſt him:* and yet, to the ſurpriſe of all the Commentators, he is not involved in their Sentence, when God paſſes judgment on the Controverſy. Here again, the only ſolution of the difficulty is our interpretation of the book of Job. Elihu's oppoſition was the ſeverity of a true friend; the others' the malice of pretended ones. His ſeverity againſt Job aroſe from this, that *Job juſtified himſelf rather than God* *, that is, was more anxious to vindicate his own innocence than the equity of God's Providence. For under the perſon of Elihu was deſigned the *ſacred Writer himſelf.* He begins with the character of a true Prophet, under which, as in the act of inſpiration, he repreſents himſelf. *I am full of matter, the Spirit within me conſtraineth me. Behold my belly is as wine which hath no vent, it is ready to burſt like new bottles* †. And this, he contraſts with the character of the falſe Prophets of that time,— *Let me not, I pray you, accept any man's perſon, neither let me give flattering titles unto man* ‡. But all this will appear from the following conſiderations.

Elihu, on the entrance upon his argument, addreſſes the three friends in the following manner: *Now he hath not directed his words againſt* me: *neither will I anſwer him with* your *ſpeeches* §. This ſufficiently diſcriminates his cauſe and character from theirs. He then turns to Job: "My words (ſays he) ſhall be of the *up-*
"*rightneſs* of my heart; and my lips ſhall utter *knowledge* clearly.
"The *Spirit of God hath made me*, and the *breath of the Almighty*
"hath given me *life*. If thou canſt anſwer me, ſet thy words
"in order before me, and ſtand up. Behold I am, according

* Chap. xxxii. ver. 2.
† Chap. xxxii. ver. 18, 19.
‡ Ver. 21.
§ Chap. xxxii. ver. 14.

"to

"TO THY WISH, IN GOD'S STEAD: I alſo am formed out of the "clay *," &c. This clearly intimates the character of God's choſen Servant: Theſe were of approved integrity, they received the divine inſpiration, and were therefore in *God's ſtead* to the People. Elihu goes on in the ſame ſtrain.—"He excites Job to attention,—accuſes him of charging GOD with injuſtice,—reproves his impiety,—tells him that men cry in their afflictions, and are not heard for want of faith:——that his ſins hinder the deſcent of GOD's bleſſings; whoſe wiſdom and ways are unſearchable."—But is this the converſation of one private man to another? Is it not rather a public exhortation of an Hebrew Prophet ſpeaking to the People? Hence too, we may ſee the great propriety of that alluſion to the caſe of Hezekiah †, mentioned above, which the writer of the book of Job, in this place, puts into the mouth of Elihu. The Spirit with which Elihu ſpeaks is farther ſeen from his telling Job that *he deſires to juſtify him* ‡. And yet he accuſes him of ſaying, *It profiteth a man nothing, that he ſhould delight himſelf with God* §: and expoſtulates with him yet further; *Thinkeſt thou this to be right that thou ſaidſt, My righteouſneſs is more than God's? For thou ſaidſt, What advantage will it be unto thee, and what profit ſhall I have, if I be cleanſed from my ſin* ||? Here the Commentators are much ſcandalized, as not ſeeing how this could be fairly collected from what had paſſed: yet it is certain he ſays no more of Job than what the Prophets ſay of the People repreſented under him. Thus Malachi: "Ye have wearied the Lord with your words: yet ye ſay, Wherein "have we wearied him? When ye ſay, *Every one that doth evil is* "*good in the ſight of the Lord, and he delighteth in them*; *or, Where* "*is the God of judgment* **?" And again: *Ye have ſaid, It is vain to ſerve God: and what profit is it, that we have kept his ordinance, and that we have walked mournfully before the Lord of hoſts? And*

* Chap. xxxiii. ver. 3, & ſeq.
‡ Chap. xxxiii. ver. 32.
‖ Chap. xxxv. ver. 2, 3.
† Chap. xxxiii. ver. 18, & ſeq.
§ Chap. xxxiv. ver. 9.
** Mal. ii. 17.

*now we call the proud happy: Yea they that work wickedneſs are ſet up; yea they that tempt God are even delivered**. It was this which kindled Elihu's wrath againſt Job; who, in this work, is repreſented to be really guilty; as appears not only from the beginning of God's ſpeech to him †; but from his own confeſſion ‡, which follows. It is remarkable that Job, from the beginning of his misfortunes to the coming of his three comforters, though greatly provoked by his Wife, *ſinned not* (as we are told) *with his lips* §. But, perſecuted by the malice and bitterneſs of their words, he began to lay ſuch ſtreſs on his own innocence as even to accuſe the juſtice of God. This was the very ſtate of the Jews at this time: So exactly has the ſacred Writer conducted his allegory! They bore their ſtraits and difficulties with temper, till their enemies the *Cutheans*, and afterwards *Sanballat*, *Tobiah*, and the *Arabians*, confederated againſt them; and then they fell into indecent murmurings againſt God. And here let us obſerve a difference in the conduct of Elihu and the three friends, a difference which well diſtinguiſhes their characters: They accuſe Job of *preceding* faults; Elihu accuſes him of the *preſent*, namely, his impatience and impiety: which evidently ſhews that *his* charge was *true*, and that theirs was unjuſt ‖.

Again, Elihu uſes the very ſame reaſonings againſt Job and his three friends **, which are afterwards put into the mouth of God himſelf ††, reſolving all into his OMNIPOTENCY. *Elihu's* ſpeech is indeed in every reſpect the ſame with God's, except in the ſeverity of his reproof to Job. And, in that, the Writer hath ſhewn much addreſs in conducting his ſubject. The end and purpoſe of this Work was to encourage the Jews to a perſeverance in their duty from the aſſured care and protection of Providence. At

* Mal. iii. 14, 15.
† Chap. xxxviii.
‡ Chap. xlii. ver. 1. & ſeq.
§ Chap. ii. ver. 10.
‖ See note [BB], at the end of this Book.
** From chap. xxxii. to xxxvii.
†† From chap. xxxviii. to xlii.

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the ſame time, as they were growing impatient, it was neceſſary this temper ſhould be rebuked. But as the ordonance of the Poem is diſpoſed, the putting the reproof into the mouth of the Almighty would have greatly weakened the end and purpoſe of the Work. This part therefore is given to his ſervant Elihu: and GOD's ſentence is all grace and favour on the ſide of Job, and indignation and reſentment againſt his falſe Friends. For this event, the Writer had finely prepared us, in making Job, in the heat of the diſputation, ſay to theſe friends, *Wilt thou ſpeak wickedly for God? and talk deceitfully for him? Will ye accept his perſon? will ye contend for God? Is it good that he ſhould ſearch you out? or as one man mocketh another do ye ſo mock him?* HE WILL SURELY REPROVE YOU, *if ye do ſecretly accept Perſons* *. The judicious reader will obſerve another artful circumſtance in the caſt of Elihu's oration. The three friends, in the grand queſtion concerning an *equal Providence*, went directly over to one ſide, and Job to another: Elihu inclines to neither, but reſolves all into ſubmiſſion to the Almighty power of GOD. For it was yet inconvenient to acquaint the Jews, (who were juſt going to fall under a *common Providence*) with the truth of their caſe. Hence, to obſerve it by the way, another circumſtance ariſes to determine the date of the poem. We have ſhewn that the *Subject* ſuited only this time: We now ſee that the *manner* of treating the Subject could agree to no other. On the whole, this intermediate ſpeech of Elihu's was the fineſt preparative for the deciſive one which was to follow.

Farther, The true character of Elihu is ſeen from hence, that Job replies nothing to theſe words, as conſcious of the truth of his reproofs; and that they were the reproofs of a Friend. And, indeed, his ſubmiſſion, on this occaſion, was to repreſent the repentance of the Jews on the preaching of their Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

* Chap. xiii. ver. 7, 8, & ſeq.

But

But laſtly, Elihu's not being involved in the condemnation of the three friends is the moſt convincing argument of his very different Character. This, as we have ſaid, exceedingly perplexed the Commentators. But where was the wonder, he ſhould be acquitted, when he had ſaid nothing but what God himſelf repeated and confirmed? What is rather to be admired is the ſevere ſentence paſſed upon the three friends; and that, for the crime of *impiety*. A thing utterly inexplicable on the common interpretation. For let them be as guilty as you pleaſe, to Job, they are all the way advocates for God; and hold nothing concerning his Government that did not become his Nature and Character. But let us once ſuppoſe, theſe three friends to repreſent the Adverſaries of the Jews, and the difficulty ceaſes. All their pretences are then hypocritical: and they impiouſly aſſume the Patronage of God only to carry on their malice to more advantage againſt Job. Why the Writer of this book did not *openly* expoſe the wickedneſs of their hearts, as is done in the book of Ezra and Nehemiah, was becauſe the nature of the work would not ſuffer it; the queſtion in debate, and the managers of the queſtion, neceſſarily requiring that the part they took ſhould have a ſpecious outſide of piety and veneration toward God. In a word, Job is made to ſay ſomething wrong, becauſe he repreſents the impatient Jews of that time: His three falſe friends, to ſay ſomething right, becauſe the nature of the drama ſo required: And Elihu to moderate with a perfect rectitude, becauſe he repreſented the perſon of a Prophet.

But to ſee the truth of this interpretation in its beſt light, one ſhould have before one's eyes all thoſe difficulties with which the Commentators of the book of Job are entangled at almoſt every ſtep. A view of this would draw us into an unreaſonable length. I ſhall only take notice of one of the moſt judicious of them, (who has collected from all the reſt) in the very caſe of this Elihu. Calmet characteriſes the fourth friend in this manner: *There was now none but Elihu the youngeſt and leaſt judicious that held out againſt*

againſt Job's arguments—Elihu here by a vain parade and overflow of words gives a reaſon, &c.* Again: *Elihu was given to repreſent one who knew not how to be ſilent, a great talker* †. And again: *It cannot be denied but that there is a mixture of ignorance and preſumption in what Elihu ſays: and, above all, a ſtrange prejudice and viſible injuſtice in moſt of the accuſations he brings againſt Job* ‡. This he ſays indeed. But when he comes to find Elihu eſcape GOD's condemnation, in which the other three are involved, he alters his note, and unſays all the hard things he had thrown out againſt him. *Although Elihu* (ſays he) *had miſtaken the ſenſe of his friend's words, yet, for all that, God ſeems, at leaſt, to have approved his intention, becauſe when he declares to Job's friends that they had ſpoken amiſs, and commands them to offer up burnt-offerings for themſelves, he only ſpeaks of Bildad, Eliphaz, and Zophar, without mentioning Elihu. Beſides, Job anſwers not a word to this laſt, and by his ſilence ſeems to approve of his diſcourſe* §. GROTIUS, who ſtrove to be more conſiſtent in his character of Elihu, which yet his acquittal in GOD's ſentence will not ſuffer any Commentator to be, upon the received idea of this Book, has run into a very ſtrange imagination. He ſuppoſes Elihu might be a domeſtic, or retainer to one of the three friends, and ſo be involved in the condemna-

* Il n'y eut qu'Eliu, qui étoit le plus jeune & le moins judicieux, qui ne ſe rendit pas—par un vain etalage des paroles Eliu e nd ici raiſon, &c. Sur C. xxxii. ver. 1.

† Pour deſigner un homme qui ne ſe peut taire, un grand cauſeur. Sur C. xxxii. ver. 18.

‡ On ne peut nier, qu'il n'y ait & de l'ignorance & de la preſumption dans ce que dit Eliu, &, ſur tout, une etrange prevention & une injuſtice viſible dans la plupart des accuſations, qu'il forma contre Job. Sur C. xxviii. ver. 2.

§ Quoiqu'Eliu eût mal pris le ſens des paroles de ſon ami, toutefois Dieu ſemble approuver au moins ſon intention: puiſque lorſqu'il declare aux amis de Job qu'ils ont mal parlé, & qu'il ordonne qu'on offre pour eux des holocauſtres, il ne fait mention que de Bildad, d'Eliphaz, & de Sophar, ſans parler d'Eliu. De plus, Job ne repond point à ce dernier, & par ſon ſilence il ſemble approuver ſon diſcours.

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tion of his principal *.—But, now mark the force of prejudice to inveterate notions! It is viſible to every one who regards the two ſpeeches of Elihu and God with the leaſt attention, that the doctrine and the reaſoning are the ſame. Yet Calmet's general character of Elihu is, that there is *a vain parade and overflow of words*; that there is a *mixture of ignorance and preſumption*, and *a viſible injuſtice, in moſt of the accuſations he brings againſt Job.* And yet of God's ſpeech he ſays, *Here we have* A CLEAR SOLUTION *of the difficulties which had perplexed and embarraſſed theſe five friends* †.—Pity that thhis *clear ſolution* ſhould turn out to be no *ſolution* at all.

III. Having thus fixed the date of the book, our next enquiry will be concerning its Author. That it was compoſed by an inſpired writer is beyond all queſtion. Not only its uncontroverted reception and conſtant place in the Canon, and its internal marks of divinity, which this Expoſition has much illuſtrated and enlarged, but its being quoted as inſpired ſcripture by St. Paul ‡, will ſuffer no reaſonable man to doubt of it. By this time therefore, I ſuppoſe, the Reader will be beforehand with me in judging it could ſcarce be any other than Ezra himſelf; who was a *ready ſcribe in the Law of Moſes*, and had *prepared his heart to ſeek the Law of the Lord, and to do it, and to teach in Iſrael ſtatutes and judgments* §. For he had the welfare of his People exceedingly at heart, as appears from the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. And this of Job, we have ſhewn, was written purpoſely for their inſtruction and conſolation. He made a correct edition of the Scriptures, ſettled the Canon, and *added in ſeveral places throughout the books of his edition, what*

* Elihu hîc non nominatur, ut nec ſupra ii. 11. fortè quod affecta eſſet alicujus trium. In ℭ. xlii. ver. 7.

† C'eſt ici le denouement de la piece, & la ſolution des difficultez, qui avoient été agitées entre ces cinque amis.

‡ 1 Cor. iii. 10. *He taketh the wiſe in their own craftineſs.*. Job. v. 13.

§ Ezra vii. 6, 10.

appeared

appeared neceſſary for the illuſtrating, connecting, or compleating of them *. He is reaſonably ſuppoſed to be the author of the two books of Chronicles and the book of Eſther. It was a common tradition too amongſt the Jews, that he was the ſame with Malachi. And his great reputation as *a ready ſcribe in the Law of Moſes*, apparently gave birth to that wretched fable of the deſtruction of the Scriptures in the Babylonian captivity, and Ezra's re-production of them by divine inſpiration.

Thus is our interpretation of the BOOK OF JOB ſo far from taking away any dignity, or authenticity it was before poſſeſſed of, that it eſtabliſhes and enlarges both. The ſhewing it principally reſpected a whole People highly ennobles the ſubject: and the fixing an anonymous writing on one of the moſt eminent of GOD's Prophets greatly ſtrengthens its authority. But the chief advantage of my interpretation, I preſume, lies in this, That it renders one of the moſt difficult and obſcure books in the whole Canon, the moſt eaſy and intelligible; reconciles all the characters to Nature, all the arguments to Logic, and all the doctrines to the courſe and order of GOD's Diſpenſations. And theſe things ſhewing it ſuperior, in excellence, to any human Compoſition, prove, what univerſal Tradition hath always taught, that it is of divine Original.

II.

Having brought down the date of this book ſo low, it is of little importance to our ſubject, whether the famous paſſage in the nineteenth chapter be underſtood of a RESURRECTION *from the dead*, or only of TEMPORAL DELIVERANCE *from afflictions* †. Yet as our interpretation affords new aſſiſtance for determining this long debated queſtion, it will not be improper to ſift it to the bottom.

I make no ſcruple then to declare for the opinion of thoſe who ſay that the words [*I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he ſhall*

* Prideaux's Conn. P. i. b. 5.

† See note [CC], at the end of this Book.

ſtand at the latter day upon the earth. And though after my ſkin, worms deſtroy this body, yet in my fleſh ſhall I ſee God. Whom I ſhall ſee for myſelf, and mine eyes ſhall behold, and not another *,] can ſignify no more than Job's confidence in a TEMPORAL DELIVERANCE; as all agree they *may* ſignify. And therefore I ſhall the leſs inſiſt upon a common obſervation, "That our Tranſlators, who were in the other opinion, have given a force to their expreſſion which the Original will by no means bear."

My reaſons are theſe, 1. To underſtand the words, of a *Reſurrection*, is repugnant to the whole tenor of the Argument: and to underſtand them of a *temporal deliverance*, is perfectly agreeable thereto. 2. The end and deſign of the Compoſition, as explained above, abſolutely requires this latter ſenſe, and diſclaims the former. 3. The former ſenſe is repugnant to Job's own expreſs declaration in other places.

I. We muſt obſerve that the book of Job is ſtrictly argumentative: and though ſententious, and abounding with poetic figures, yet they are all ſubſervient to the matter in diſpute. In this reſpect, much unlike the writings of David and Solomon, which treat of divine or moral matters in ſhort and detached ſentences. On which account, the ableſt of thoſe, who go into the ſenſe of a *Reſurrection*, have found the neceſſity of reconciling it to the Context. Thus much being granted, we argue againſt the ſenſe they put upon it, from theſe conſiderations. 1. Firſt the Diſputants are all equally embarraſſed in adjuſting the ways of Providence. Job affirms that the Good man is ſometimes unhappy: yet he appears to regard that Diſpenſation as a *new thing* and matter of wonder, *upright men ſhall be aſtoniſhed at this* †; which, our interpretation well accounts for. The *three friends* contend that the Good man can never be unhappy, becauſe ſuch a ſituation would reflect diſhonour on God's attributes. Now the doctrine of a *Reſurrection*,

* Chap. xix. ver. 25, & ſeq. † Chap. xvii. ver. 8.

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed to be here urged by Job, cleared up all this embarras. If therefore his Friends thought it true, it ended the diſpute: if falſe, it lay upon them to confute it. Yet they do neither: they neither call it into queſtion, nor allow it to be deciſive. But, without the leaſt notice that any ſuch thing had been urged, they go on, as they began, to inforce their former arguments, and to confute that which, they ſeem to underſtand, was the only one Job had urged againſt them, *viz.* The *conſciouſneſs of his own innocence*. But to be a little more particular. It fell to Zophar's part to anſwer the argument contained in the words in queſtion, which I underſtand to be this – "Take, ſays Job, this proof of my innocence: I believe, "and confidently expect, that God will viſit me again in mercy, "and reſtore me to my former condition." To this Zophar, in effect, replies: But why are you ſo miſerable now? For he goes on, in the twentieth chapter, to deſcribe the puniſhment of the Wicked to be juſt ſuch a ſtate as Job then laboured under. He does not directly ſay, *The Good are not miſerable*; but that follows from the other part of the propoſition (which he here inforces as being a little more decent) *The bad are never happy*. Now ſuppoſe Job ſpoke of the *Reſurrection*, Zophar's anſwer is wide of the purpoſe. 2. But what is ſtill more unaccountable, Job, when he reſumes the diſpute, ſticks to the argument he firſt ſet out with; and though he found it gave his Friends little ſatisfaction, yet he repeats it again and again. But this other argument of a *Reſurrection*, ſo full of Piety and Conviction, which they had never ventured to reply to, he never once reſumes; never upbraids his Adverſaries for their ſilence; nor triumphs, as he well might, in their inability to anſwer it. But, if ever it were the object of their thoughts, it paſſed off like a Dream or Reverie to which neither ſide gave any attention. In a word, the Diſpute between Job and his Friends ſtands thus: They hold, that if GOD afflicted the Good man, it would be unjuſt; therefore the Good man was not afflicted. Job ſays, that GOD did afflict the Good man: but that Reaſon muſt

here ſubmit, and own God's ways to be inſcrutable. Could he poſſibly reſt in that anſwer, how pious ſoever, if he had the more ſatisfactory ſolution of a FUTURE STATE? To this let me add, that if Job ſpoke of a *Reſurrection*, he not only contradicts the general tenor of his argument, maintained throughout the whole diſputation, but likewiſe what he ſays in many places concerning the *irrecoverable diſſolution* of the body*. It is true, that even in the ſenſe of a *temporal deliverance* he contradicts what he had ſaid, in his deſpair, in the ſeventeenth chapter: But there is a manifeſt difference between a contradiction of *opinion and belief*, as in the firſt caſe; and of *paſſion and affection* only, as in the latter. And for this contradiction he ſeems to apologiſe, when he comes to himſelf, by deſiring that this confidence in his Deliverer might be engraved on a Rock, as the opinion he would ſtand to. 3. But what is ſtrangeſt of all, When each party had confounded themſelves, and one another, for want, as one would think, of this principle of a *Reſurrection*, which ſo eaſily unraveled all the perplexities of the diſpute, the fourth Friend, the Moderator, ſteps in, as the precurſor of the Almighty, who afterwards makes his appearance as the great Decider of the Controverſy. Here then we might reaſonably expect the Doctrine of the *Reſurrection* to be reſumed; and that the honour of the ſolution which it affords, was reſerved for Theſe; but, to our great ſurpriſe, they neither of them give us the leaſt hint concerning it.—Thoſe who contend for this interpretation ſuppoſe that the notion was here delivered in order to ſupport its truth. What reaſon then can they give why neither

* See chap vii. ver. 9. 21. Chap. x. ver. 21. Chap. xvi. ver. 22. Chap. xiv. ver. 7, & ſeq. Could one who ſaid, *For there is hope of a tree, if it be cut down, that it will ſprout again*, &c. *But man dieth*, &c. could ſuch a one (I ſpeak of the perſonated character) think of the body like him who ſaid, *But ſome man will ſay, How are the dead raiſed up, and with what body do they come? Thou fool, that which thou ſoweſt is not quickned except it die. And that which thou ſoweſt thou ſoweſt not that body that ſhall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat or ſome other grain*, &c.

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the Moderator nor Decider ſhould employ it, to clear up difficulties, when Job himſelf had touched upon it before? Elihu juſtifies GOD's conduct; God bears witneſs to Job's innocence: yet both concur in reſolving all into Power Omnipotent. This tends more to cloud than clear up the obſcurities of the debate: Whereas the doctrine of a *Reſurrection* had rendered every thing plain and eaſy. In a word, no ſolution is given, though a deciſion be made. All this, on the common Syſtem, is quite unaccountable to our faculties of underſtanding.

Let us ſee next whether my ſenſe of the words agree better with the tenor of the Diſpute. Job, now provoked paſt ſufferance at the inhumanity and malice of his pretended Friends, gives himſelf up to deſpair *; and ſeems, as we have obſerved, to contradict that part of his poſition which he had hitherto held †, "that GOD "would at length bring the Good man out of trouble." For which being reproved by Bildad, (*Shall the earth be forſaken for thee? and ſhall the* ROCK *be removed out of his place* ‡*?* i. e. becauſe it is thy pleaſure ſo obſtinately to maintain that God does govern by equal Laws, ſhall it therefore be ſo? The conſequence of which would be a ſpeedy deſolation. – Shall the *Rock* § or Providence of GOD be removed to humour your paſſions?) Job recollects himſelf in the nineteenth chapter, and comes again to his former mind. He begins by complaining of their cruel uſage: Says, that if indeed he were in an error, his caſe was ſo deplorable that they ought rather

* Chap. xvii. † Chap. xiii. ver. 15, 16.—Chap. xiv. ver. 13.

‡ Chap. xviii ver. 4.

§ By the ROCK I ſuppoſe is meant the *extraordinary Providence of God*; this being the common name by which it went amongſt the Jewiſh People. *He is the* Rock, *his work is perfect*, *For all* his Ways *are Judgment*, Deut. xxxii. 4. *The* Rock *of his Salvation*, ver. 15.—*Of the* Rock *that begat thee*, ver. 18. *Except their* Rock *had ſold them*, ver. 30. *Their* Rock *is not as our* Rock, *even our Enemies themſelves being Judges*, ver. 31. *Their* Rock *in whom they truſted*, ver. 37. *Neither is there any* Rock *like our God*, 1 Sam. ii. 2. *The* Rock *of* Iſrael *ſpake to me*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. *O* Rock, *thou haſt eſtabliſhed them*, Heb i. 10. and a great number of other places.

to

to treat him with indulgence: that this was no ſeaſon for ſeverity: begs they would have pity on him; and then retracts what had fallen from him in the anguiſh and bitterneſs of his ſoul: and laſtly delivers this as his fixed ſentiment, in which he was determined to abide; (and in which he had indeed acquieſced, till made impatient and deſperate by the harſhneſs of their treatment) namely, that God would at length bring the Good man out of trouble. I know that my redeemer liveth, &c. Which he introduces thus: *Oh that my words were now written, Oh that they were printed in a book, that they were graven with an iron pen and lead, in the rock for ever* *. As much as to ſay, What I uttered juſt before, through the diſtemperature of paſſion, I here retract, and deſire may be forgotten, and that this may be underſtood as my fixed and unſhaken belief †. And in this ſentiment, it is remarkable, he henceforward perſeveres; never relapſing again into the like extravagance of paſſion. Which conduct agrees exactly with his general Theſis, "that Providence is not equally adminiſtered; for that the Good Man is frequently unhappy, and the Wicked proſperous; yet that, at laſt, God will bring the Good Man out of trouble, and puniſh the Wicked doers."

II. In the ſecond place, if I have given a right interpretation of the book of Job, a *temporal deliverance*, and not the *reſurrection of the body*, muſt needs be meant: For the moral of the dramatic piece was to aſſure the *People*, repreſented under the perſon of this venerable Patriarch, of thoſe great temporal bleſſings which the three Prophets, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, had predicted, in order to allay that tumult of mind which aroſe in every one, on ſeeing the extraordinary Providence, which protected their Forefathers, now juſt about to be withdrawn from them.

* Chap. xix. ver. 23, 24.

† See note [DD], at the end of this Book.

III. Thirdly

III. Thirdly and laſtly, To underſtand theſe words of a *reſurrection of the body*, expreſsly contradicts Job's plain declaration againſt any ſuch hope, in the following words, *As the cloud is conſumed and vaniſheth away, ſo he that goeth down to the grave, ſhall come up no more* *. Again,--*So man lyeth down and riſeth not till the heavens be no more, they ſhall not awake, nor be raiſed out of their ſleep* †. And again, *If a man die, ſhall he live again* ‡? Clarius and Druſius on the words, *till the heavens be no more*, ſay, *Intellige in æternum*—eſt ſenſus, nullo unquam tempore, nam cœlum ſemper erit. It is not in human language to expreſs a denial of the *Reſurrection of the body* in ſtronger or plainer terms. So that it is no wonder the SADDUCEES ſhould, as they always did, urge the firſt of theſe texts as the palmary argument againſt the Phariſees; but as an argument *ad homines* only, for they refuſed to have their opinions tried by any thing but the *Law of Moſes*. However, to make it pertinent to the ſupport of their impiety, they underſtood the book of Job to be an inſpired relation of a *real* conference between the Patriarch and his Friends. And give me leave to obſerve, that my Adverſaries who have the ſame idea of this book will never be able to acquit the Prophet of this impious Sadducean opinion. Whereas the dramatic nature of it, here contended for, frees him entirely from the charge; which I deſire may be accepted as another proof of the truth of our general interpretation of the Work. Manaſſah Ben Iſrael, who holds that Job taught the very contrary to a future State (not apprehending the nature of the Compoſition) has a whole chapter againſt the Sadducees, to ſhew, that this makes nothing againſt the reality of ſuch a State.

I cannot better conclude what hath been here ſaid, on this famous paſſage, or better introduce what will be ſaid on others to come next under examination, than with the judicious remark of an ancient Catholic Biſhop, on this very book: IT IS FIT WE

* Chap. vii. ver. 9. † Chap. xiv. ver. 12. ‡ Ver. 14.

SHOULD

SHOULD UNDERSTAND NAMES AGREEABLY TO THE NATURE OF THE SUBJECT MATTER; AND NOT MOLD AND MODEL THE TRUTH OF THINGS ON THE ABUSIVE SIGNFICATION OF WORDS*. This, though a maxim of the moſt obvious reaſon, can never, in theologic matters eſpecially, be too often inculcated. How uſual is it, for inſtance, to have the following words of St. Paul quoted as a proof for the general reſurrection of the dead, by thoſe who (as the good Biſhop ſays) *mold the truth of things on the abuſive ſignification of words*. "He that raiſed up Chriſt from the dead ſhall alſo quicken "your mortal bodies by his ſpirit that dwelleth in you †."

III. But as the *terms*, in this paſſage of Job, are ſuppoſed, by me, to be metaphorical, and to *allude* to the reſtoration of a dead body to life, ſome have ventured to infer, that thoſe who uſe ſuch terms and make ſuch alluſions muſt needs have had the ſaving knowledge of the thing alluded to, *Reſurrection of the Body*: And the following obſervation has been repeated, by more than one Writer, with that air of complacency, which men uſually have for arguments they think unanſwerable—*If the Scriptures ſpeak of temporal misfortunes and deliverance, in terms of death and a Reſurrection, then the doctrine of a reſurrection muſt have been well known, or the language would have been unintelligible. And here I will lay down this rule, All words that are uſed in a figurative ſenſe, muſt be firſt underſtood in a literal* ‡.

This looks, at firſt ſight, like ſaying ſomething; but is indeed an empty fallacy; in which two very different things are confounded with one another; namely, the *idea* of a Reſurrection, and the *belief* of it. I ſhall ſhew therefore that the very contrary to the firſt part of the learned Doctor's obſervation is true, and that the latter is nothing to the purpoſe.

* Πλὴν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα προσήκει νοεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὑποκειμένων πραγμάτων φυσιότητα, καὶ ὐ πρὸς τὴν καταχρησιν τῶν λέξεων τ' ἀληθῆ κανονίζειν. Serv. in Catena Græca in Job.

† Rom. viii. 11.

‡ Dr Felton's two Sermons before the Univerſity of Oxford, p. 18, 19.

I. The

I. The Meſſengers of God, propheſying for the people's conſolation in diſaſtrous times, frequently promiſe a reſtoration to the former days of felicity: and to obviate all diſtruſt from unpromiſing appearances, they put the caſe even at the worſt; and aſſure the People, in metaphorical expreſſions, that though the Community were as entirely diſſolved as a dead body reduced to duſt, yet God would raiſe that Community again to life. Thus Iſaiah: *Thy dead men ſhall live, together with my dead body ſhall they ariſe: Awake and ſing, ye that dwell in the duſt: For thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth ſhall caſt out the dead* *. And that we may have no doubt of the Prophet's meaning, he himſelf explains it afterwards in the following words †: *And I will camp againſt thee round about, and I will lay ſiege againſt thee with a mount, and I will raiſe forts againſt thee. And thou ſhalt be brought down, and ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voice ſhall be as one that hath a familiar ſpirit, out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the duſt.* Nothing could be more plain or ſimple than ſuch a metaphoric image, even amongſt men who had no knowledge that the natural body was indeed to riſe again; becauſe every man knowing what it is to *live* and to *die*, every man knows what it is to *revive*, this being only an idea compounded of the other two: So that we ſee there was no occaſion for the *doctrine of the Reſurrection* to make *the language intelligible.*

Nay farther, this metaphorical expreſſion muſt have there moſt efficacy where the *doctrine of the Reſurrection* was unknown. For we have obſerved it was employed to inſpire the higheſt ſentiments of God's Omnipotency; but that always ſtrikes the mind moſt forcibly which is as well *new* as *ſuperior* to its comprehenſion. Therefore *life from the dead* was uſed, (and from the force with which a new idea ſtrikes) it became almoſt proverbial in the writings of the Prophets, to expreſs the moſt unlikely deliverance, by the exertion of Almighty power.

* Chap. xxvi. ver. 19. † Chap. xxix. 3, 4.

The following inſtance will ſupport both theſe obſervations; and ſhew, that the Doctrine was unknown; and that the Image was of more force for its being unknown. The Prophet Ezekiel *, when the ſtate of things was moſt deſperate, is carried, by the Spirit, into a valley full of dry bones, and aſked this queſtion, *Son of man, Can theſe dry bones live?* A queſtion which God would hardly have made to a Prophet brought up in the knowledge and belief of a Reſurrection. But ſuppoſing the queſtion had been made; the anſwer by men ſo brought up, muſt needs have been, without heſitation, in the affirmative. But we find the Prophet altogether ſurprized at the ſtrangeneſs of the demand. He was drawn one way by the apparent impoſſibility of it to natural conceptions; he was drawn the other, by his belief in the Omnipotence of God. Divided between theſe two ſentiments, he makes the only anſwer which a man in ſuch circumſtances could make, *O Lord God thou knoweſt* †. This ſurprizing act of Omnipotency is therefore ſhewn in Viſion, either real or imaginary. The bones come together; they are cloathed with fleſh, and receive the *breath of life* ‡. And then God declares the meaning of the repreſentation. "Then he ſaid "unto me, Son of Man, theſe bones are the whole houſe of Iſrael: "Behold, they ſay, Our bones are dried, and our hope is loſt, we are "cut off for our parts. Therefore propheſy and ſay unto them, "Thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, O my People, I will open "your graves, and cauſe you to come up out of your graves, and "bring you into the land of Iſrael. And ye ſhall know that I "am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my People, "and brought you up out of your graves, and ſhall put my Spirit "in you, and ye ſhall live; and I ſhall place you in your own Land. "Then ſhall ye know that I the Lord have ſpoken it, and per-"formed it, ſaith the Lord §."

* Chap. xxxvii.
† Ver. 3.
‡ Ver. 8, 10.
§ Ver. 11, & ſeq.

Here

Here we ſee, in a Prophecy delivered in Action or Viſion, inſtead of *Words* (the nature and original of which has been diſcourſed of elſewhere) and afterwards explained by *words*, to aſcertain its meaning, that the figurative ideas of Death and Reſurrection are uſed for temporal diſtreſſes and deliverance: and this, at a time when the *Doctrine of the Reſurrection*, from whence the metaphor is ſuppoſed to ariſe, was ſo far from being well known, that the figure could never have acquired its force and energy but from the People's ignorance of ſuch a doctrine; the ſcenical repreſentation, without all queſtion, alluding to that proverbial ſpeech amongſt the Jews: *Wilt thou ſhew wonders to the dead? Shall the dead ariſe and praiſe thee* *? On the whole then nothing was ever worſe grounded than the obſervation, that *if the Scriptures ſpeak of temporal misfortunes and deliverance in the terms of death and a reſurrection, then the* DOCTRINE *of a reſurrection muſt have been well known, or the language would have been unintelligible.*

II. And now for the general Rule which follows: *All words that are uſed in a figurative ſenſe muſt be firſt underſtood in a literal.* If no more be meant than that every figurative ſenſe has a literal, the propoſition is true, but trifling, becauſe *figurative* is a relative term, and implies *literal* as its correlative. If it means, that he who uſes words in a figurative ſenſe muſt have an *idea* of the literal, this is likewiſe true, but nothing to the purpoſe, becauſe the *idea* of a thing does not imply either the *truth* or the *belief* of it. But if it means, that a figurative propoſition implies the Uſer's *belief* of its literal ſenſe, this is to the purpoſe, but not true. The People had an *Idea* of dry bones being clothed again with fleſh, and the breath of life inſpired into the carcaſe; but they were ſo far from *believing* that was to be the caſe of all mankind, that they did not know whether it was poſſible that thoſe bones in the valley could be reſtored.

* Pſ. lxxxviii. 11.

To conclude with the Answerers of this Diſſertation, the miſcellaneous *Writers* on the Book of Job; It may not be improper to remind them, that they would have done their duty better, and have given the learned and impartial Public more ſatisfaction, if, inſtead of labouring to evade two or three independent arguments, though corroborative of my interpretation, they had, in any reaſonable manner, accounted, How this interpretation, which they affect to repreſent as viſionary and groundleſs, ſhould be able to lay open and unfold the whole conduct of the Poem upon one entire, perfect, elegant and noble plan, which does more than vulgar honour to the Writer who compoſed it. And that it ſhould at the ſame time, be as uſeful in defining the Parts as in developing the Whole; ſo that particular texts, which, for want of ſufficient light, had hitherto been an eaſy prey to Critics from every quarter, are now no longer affected by the common opprobrium affixed to this book, of its being a *noſe of wax*, made to ſuit every religious Syſtem. Of which, amongſt many others, may be reckoned the famous text juſt now explained. All this, our Hypotheſis (as it is called) has been able to perform, in a Poem become, through length of time and negligence, ſo deſperately perplexed, that Commentators have choſen, as the eaſier taſk, rather to find their own notions in it than to ſeek out thoſe of the Author.

For the reſt, For any fuller ſatisfaction, He that wants it is referred to the third chapter of the *Free and candid examination of the Biſhop of London's* * *principles, &c.* where he will ſee, in a fuller light than perhaps he has been accuſtomed to ſee ſuch matters, the great ſuperiority of acute and ſolid reaſoning over chicane and ſophiſtry.

* Dr. Sherlock.

SECT.

SECT. III.

THE book of JOB hath engaged me longer than I intended: but I ſhall make amends, by diſpatching the remainder of the objections with great brevity.

Thoſe brought from the OLD TESTAMENT are of two kinds:

I. Such as are ſuppoſed to prove the *ſeparate* Exiſtence, or, as it is called, the *immortality* of the Soul.

II. Such as are ſuppoſed to prove a future ſtate of *Reward and puniſhment*, together with a *Reſurrection* of the body.

I. To ſupport the firſt point, the following words of Moſes are urged,—"And God ſaid, Let us make Man in *our image*, after "our *likeneſs*: and let them have DOMINION, *&c.*—And God created "man in *his own image*, in the *image of God* created he him *:" From whence it is inferred, that Man was created with an *immaterial ſoul*. On the contrary, I ſuppoſe, that Moſes was here giving intimation of a very different thing, namely, its *rationality*. My reaſons are theſe:—I think, indeed, it may be ſtrictly demonſtrated that Man's ſoul is *immaterial*; but then the ſame arguments which prove his *immateriality*, prove likewiſe that the ſouls of all living animals are *immaterial*; and this too without the leaſt injury to Religion †. An *immaterial* ſoul therefore being common to him with the whole brute creation, and it being ſomething peculiar to man, in which the image of God is ſaid to conſiſt, I conclude the Hiſtorian did not here teach any thing concerning an *immaterial Soul*. The only two things peculiar to Man are his *Shape* and his *Reaſon*. None but an Anthropomorphite will ſay it was his *ſhape*; I conclude therefore it was his REASON: And this farther appears from hence, When God ſays, *Let us make man in our image, after our likeneſs*, he immediately adds, *And let him have*

* Gen. i. 27.

† See Dr. Clarke againſt Mr. Collins on the Soul; and The Enquiry into the Nature of the human Soul, by Mr. Baxter.

DOMINION,

DOMINION over the whole Brute Creation: Which plainly marks in what the *image* or *likeneſs* conſiſted: for what was it that could inveſt man with a Dominion *de facto*, after he had it by this grant, *de jure*, but his REASON only? This Dominion too was apparently given for ſome preeminence; but man's preeminence conſiſts not in his having an *immaterial* ſoul, for that he has in common with all other animals: But in his *Reaſon* alone, which is peculiar to him: The *likeneſs* therefore or *image* conſiſted in REASON. And thus Philo Judæus underſtood the matter, where alluding to this text, he ſays, Λόγος ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, *Reaſon is the image of God.* So much for the firſt Objection.

2. The next is drawn from the following words of the ſame Writer: "And the Lord God formed man of the duſt of the "ground, and breathed into his noſtrils the *breath of life*, and "man became *a living ſoul* *;" that is, ſay theſe Reaſoners, he had an *immortal ſoul.* But this is only building on the ſtrength of an Engliſh expreſſion. Every one knows that what the tranſlation calls a *living ſoul*, ſignifies in the original, *a living animal:* Hence the ſame Writer ſpeaks of a *dead ſoul* †, as well as *a living ſoul.* And indeed not only the propriety of the terms, but the very ſenſe of the Context requires us to confine the meaning of *living ſoul*, to *living animal.* GOD, the great plaſtic Artiſt, is here repreſented as making and ſhaping out a figure of earth or clay, which he afterwards animates or inſpires with life. He *breathed*, ſays the ſacred Hiſtorian, into this Statue, *the breath of life*; and the lump became a living creature. But St. Paul, I hope, may be believed whatever becomes of my explanation: who thus comments the very text in queſtion: – *And ſo it was written the firſt man Adam was made* A LIVING SOUL, *The laſt was made* A QUICKENING SPIRIT ‡. Here we find the Apoſtle is ſo far from underſtanding any *immortality* in

* Gen. ii. 7. † Numb. vi. 6. See alſo Lev. xxi. 1, & 11.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 45—49.

this

this account of Man's Creation, that he oppoſes the mortal animal ADAM, to the immortal-making Spirit of CHRIST.

3. Again, God in his ſentence of condemnation denounced againſt all the parties concerned in Adam's tranſgreſſion, ſays to the ſerpent, *I will put enmity between thee and the woman; and between thy ſeed and her ſeed: it ſhall bruiſe thy head, and thou ſhalt bruiſe his heel* *. It will be allowed that even the moſt early could not be ſo ſtupid as modern infidels would make them, to underſtand theſe words in their ſtrict literal ſenſe, that "ſerpents would be apt to bite men by the heel, and men as ready to cruſh their heads." But to enable them to underſtand, by this part of the ſentence, that "man ſhould be reſtored to his loſt inheritance of immortality by the ſacrifice of Chriſt on the croſs," needed an expreſs revelation of this myſtery. What then did the Jews underſtand by it? This certainly, and nothing but this, that "the evil Spirit, who actuated the Serpent, would continue his enmity to the human race; but that man, by the divine aſſiſtance, ſhould be at length enabled to defeat all his machinations."

4. Again, the phraſe uſed by the ſacred Hiſtorian to indicate the deaths of the Patriarchs is further urged in ſupport of the oppoſition.—"*He died and was gathered to his People* †. And *dying* is expreſſed by *going down into the grave*, or into *Hell*, SCHEOL.—*I will go down into the grave* (ſays *Jacob*) [or into *Hell*] *to my ſon mourning* ‡; which phraſes are ſuppoſed to intimate the ſoul's ſurviving the body, and retiring, on the diſſolution of the union, to one common Receptacle of Souls: for that it is not only ſaid, the man *died and was buried*, but likewiſe that he *was gathered to his fathers*: And Jacob ſaid, he *would go down into the grave to his ſon*, who was ſuppoſed to have been devoured by wild beaſts." But 1. The Ob-

* Gen. iii. 15.

† Gen. xxv. 8—17. Chap. xxxv. ver. 29. Chap. xlix. ver. 29, & 33. Numb. xx. 24—26—28. Chap. xxvii. ver. 13.

‡ Gen. xxxvii. 35.

jectors

jectors do not reflect on the genius of the Eaſtern ſpeech, which gives action and motion to every thing; in which to be reduced to one common lot or condition is called being *gathered to their People*; in this ſenſe Jacob might properly ſay, he would go down to the grave to a dead ſon, who was never buried, *i. e.* that he ſhould find no eaſe to his ſorrows till he was reduced to the ſame condition. 2. The Objectors forget too the peculiar genius of the Hebrew tongue, that delights ſo much in Pleonaſms; in which *to die*, and *to be gathered to their people*, are but two different phraſes for the ſame thing. At the ſame time, I am ready to allow that this latter phraſe originally aroſe (whatever People firſt employed it) from the notion of ſome common Receptacle of Souls. But we know how ſoon, and from what various cauſes, *terms* and *phraſes* loſe the memory of their original. 3. The truth of this interpretation is confirmed by the ſeveral contexts, where all theſe expreſſions occur; the Hiſtorian's purpoſe being evidently nothing elſe than to record the period of their exiſtence here on earth.

Theſe (except ſuch as have been conſidered elſewhere) are all the texts I can find objected to my poſition, that *immortality* was not taught by the LAW. How little they are to the purpoſe is now ſeen. But little or much, the Reader will remember they make nothing againſt my general argument, which maintains that the early Jews, (thoſe of them, I mean, and they certainly were but few, who thought any thing of the matter) had at leaſt ſome vague notion of the Soul's ſurviving the body. But the particular reaſon I had to examine them hath been given above.

II. We come next to thoſe SCRIPTURES which are urged to prove, that *a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment*, or a *reſurrection of the body*, was taught by the Moſaic Law. But before we proceed to the particular texts, it will be proper to conſider the general argument brought from the genius of the whole Jewiſh Law: "which, as they ſay, being entirely TYPICAL, or, as the Apoſtle ſays, SPIRITUAL, all the promiſes and denunciations of temporal good and evil

evil, did denote and obumbrate a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment; for that it was *a ſhadow of things to come, but that the body was of* CHRIST *." If the Objectors mean by this, that the ſanction of Temporal reward and puniſhment was no more than a mere repreſentation, in figurative expreſſions, of the Doctrine of a *future ſtate*, without any real meaning in the then Providential diſpoſition of the things of this life †: If, I ſay, this be their meaning, the whole pretence to Moſes's divine Miſſion is irrecoverably given up. Not to ſay, that the very *pretence* would be as abſurd as it was falſe. For a THEOCRACY (from whence flowed temporal rewards and puniſhments) was no figurative Expreſſion, as appears from the real and ſubſtantial Laws made in ſupport of the Thing. In a word, it is a vile and impious imagination, originally conceived by certain *Jewiſh* Allegoriſts after the *extraordinary Providence* was departed from them: and only to be matched by a like madneſs in certain *Mahometan* Allegoriſts, whoſe early ſucceſſes made them fancy this *extraordinary Providence* was come to them; and therefore ſuppoſed, on the other hand, that Hell and Paradiſe in the *Alcoran* mean no more than the pleaſures and afflictions of this life ‡. In which, Both have been outdone by a late Madman of our own, in his Diſcourſes on the Goſpel-Miracles. So odly perverſe is the human underſtanding when it has once forſaken the road of common ſenſe.

But if by the Law's being TYPICAL or SPIRITUAL, no more be meant (as I think no ſober man can mean more) than that the TEMPORAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, equally and *really* diſtributed, and the RITUAL WORSHIP, daily performed, were typical or ſignificative of the GOSPEL DISPENSATION, and of the *life and im-*

* Coloſſ. ii. 17.

† See note [FF], at the end of this Book.

‡ Il y a parmi les ſectateurs d'Ali, une ſecte qui prend ſon nom d'un Docteur nommé Alkhatthab, lequel a enſeigné que les delices du Paradis & les peines de l'Enfer ne ſont autre choſe que les plaiſirs & les afflictions de la vie. Herbelot, Bibl. Orientale, Mot AKHRAT, & AKHRET.

mortality which that Diſpenſation *brought to light*, I acknowledge it for a truth: And, what is more, I require nothing farther to prove my Propoſition, *That a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments was not taught to the Jewiſh People by their Law.* The Objectors ſuppoſe, as I do, that the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Religions are two parts of one entire Diſpenſation. St. Paul tells us the order of theſe two parts, THAT WAS NOT FIRST WHICH IS SPIRITUAL, BUT THAT WHICH IS NATURAL; AFTERWARDS THAT WHICH IS SPIRITUAL *. Yet, at the ſame time, he tells us, THE LAW IS SPIRITUAL †. How is this to be reconciled? No otherwiſe than thus, That the Law was TYPICAL of the future ſpiritual part of the one entire Diſpenſation.—Again, The Apoſtles, in order to ſhew the ſuperior excellence of the GOSPEL, in their reaſoning againſt Jews and Judaizing Chriſtians, ſet the LAW in oppoſition to it, under the titles of *The Law of a carnal Commandment*; *The miniſtration of Death*; *The Law of Works*: and call ſubjection to it, *Subjection to the Fleſh.* Yet theſe very Writers at the ſame time own that *the Law was* SPIRITUAL, or had a ſpiritual meaning. But if by this they would teach that the ſpiritual meaning was generally underſtood *under the Law*, their whole argument had concluded in a ſelf-contradiction. For then it was not a *Law of a carnal commandment, a miniſtration of death*; but, indeed, *a Law of ſpirit, a miniſtration of life*; only under a dead and carnal cover; which being clearly ſeen through, or eaſily taken off, ſerved for no more than a trick of *hocus pocus.* The conſequence of all this would be, that the LAW was of equal dignity, and, though not of equal ſimplicity, yet, indeed, eſſentially the ſame with the GOSPEL. They owned, we ſee, that the *Law* had a *ſpiritual ſenſe*: but when, and by whom diſcovered, the Apoſtle Paul informs us, by calling that ſenſe the NEWNESS OF SPIRIT ‡; which he oppoſes to *the oldneſs of the letter*, that is, the *letter of the Law.* In the former part

* 1 Cor. xv. 46. † Rom. vii. 14.

‡ Rom. vii. 6.

of.

of the verſe, he ſpeaks of the *Law being dead*; and, here, of its being *revived* with a *new ſpirit*, in contradiſtinction to the *oldneſs of the letter*. So true was it, what in another place he obſerves, that *the Law was a* SHADOW *of things to come*; *but the* BODY *was of Chriſt* *. The *ſhadow* not of a *body* then to be ſeen or underſtood, as theſe Anſwerers imagine, but of a *body that was to come*, and, by its preſence, to explain the meaning and reaſon of the *ſhadow*. For the Jews being, as the Apoſtle ſays, *in bondage under the elements of the world* †, were as men ſhut up in priſon, with their faces kept turned from the light, towards the whited wall of CEREMONIES: on which indeed they ſaw many *ſhadows*; but the *body* or oppoſite ſubſtance at their backs, to which they could not turn, they ſaw not. And, in this ſtate, ſays the ſame Apoſtle, they were *kept ſhut up unto the Faith, which ſhould afterwards be reveal'd* ‡. Therefore till that time came, it appears that the great community of the Jews had no knowledge of this *Faith*; one of the eſſential articles of which is *life everlaſting*. This, we muſt needs have concluded even though he had not ſaid, that till that time came, they *were in bondage under the elements of the world*. A proper character truly of a People acquainted with the revealed Doctrine of *life and immortality*. But the Objectors pretend that the reaſon why Moſes did not PLAINLY teach a future ſtate, in the manner CHRIST hath taught it, was becauſe the Jews were a carnal people, incapable of *ſpiritual* things. Now what is the conſequence of this incapacity, but that the *ſpiritual* ſenſe was reſerved for better times, when their minds ſhould grow more pure and defecated from carnal things; which all along continued ſo groſs and bounded that even the moſt eaſy of their typical informations, the *calling in of the Gentiles*, was never underſtood by them; yet this truth the Prophets had, from time to time, ſo plainly cultivated, that the vail of typical embroidery ſeems often to have been drawn aſide, to aſſiſt

* Col. ii. 17. † Gal. iv. 3.

‡ Gal. iii. 23.

their weak ſight. But farther, The better part of the Objectors, I ſuppoſe, will allow that *temporal* good and evil were not only propoſed, but *actually diſpenſed* to the Jews, living for ſome time under an equal Providence. And what was the conſequence of this but to *confine* them to the *literal ſenſe* of their Sanction, and ſtop them from looking farther? Yet in defiance of Reaſon, of Scripture, of the order of things, nay even of their own ſyſtems, theſe men will ſuppoſe, becauſe the Law is ſaid to *be ſpiritual*, or to have a ſpiritual ſenſe, that therefore this ſenſe always went along with, and was inſeparably attached to, the *literal*, in the underſtandings of the Jewiſh People. Which is ſo ſtrangely abſurd, that it takes away the very cauſe and occaſion of *two ſenſes*. For, Why, let me aſk, had the Law a ſpiritual ſenſe, under a *carnal cover*, but for this reaſon, that the firſt Jews were ſo groſsly minded as to be incapable of ſpiritual things; and were therefore, in order to direct and govern their affections, preſented with the *carnal*, to repoſe upon? That *Schoolmaſter*, as St. Paul calls the Law, which was to bring them by degrees, through thoſe carnal elements, to the ſpiritual and ſublime Doctrines of Christ.—Yet ſee the ſcheme of theſe Objectors. The early Jews are ſuppoſed of ſo ſordid a taſte as to be incapable of a ſpiritual Repaſt, and therefore they had a carnal Cover laid before them: yet were they, at the ſame time, ſo quick ſcented as to pierce through this carnal ſhell to which they were attached, into the ſpiritual ſubſtance, for which they had no reliſh.

This may be *Reaſon*, ſay theſe men; but what is human *Reaſon* when oppoſed to Scripture? Juſt what it was, ſay I, before you ſet them at variance: and apparently for no other purpoſe than to ſilence and diſgrace this modeſt Handmaid of *Revelation*.

However, Scripture, it ſeems, informs us that the figurative and literal, the ſpiritual and carnal ſenſes of the Law always went together. This, they ſay, the Author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews plainly teaches.——*There are Prieſts who offer gifts according to the Law*;

Law; who ſerve unto the example and ſhadow of heavenly things, as Moſes was admoniſhed of God when he was about to make the Tabernacle. For ſee (ſaith he) *that thou make all things according to the pattern ſhewed thee in the mount* *. But theſe words will never do the buſineſs. Could the Objectors, indeed, find a Text which tells us, that "as Moſes was admoniſhed of GOD about the ſpiritual "ſenſe of the Law, ſo he informed the People of it," this would be to the purpoſe. As it is, it will hardly follow, that becauſe Moſes was admoniſhed of the ſpiritual ſenſe, that therefore the ſpiritual and a carnal went together in the Intellects and Worſhip of the People. Moſes's knowledge of this ſecret I allow, as it ſeems to follow from the privilege of his Miſſion; for if *Abraham deſired to ſee Chriſt's day, and ſaw it, and was glad*, we are not to ſuppoſe that Moſes, who had a higher office in the miniſtry of God's Diſpenſations than Abraham had, ſhould be leſs favoured than Abraham was. Yet though I believe this, the text here urged in ſupport of it, does in ſtrictneſs, prove little of the matter. The Objectors ſuppoſe the ſenſe of the text to be this.—"that *the Prieſts* "*ſerved unto the example and ſhadow of heavenly things*, and that of "this truth, *Moſes was admoniſhed*, by God in the mount." But the Apoſtle is here inſtructing us in a very different truth. The words—*as Moſes was admoniſhed of God*—are a Similitude or Compariſon which conveys a ſenſe to this purpoſe,—"The Prieſts, who offer gifts according to the Law, ſerve unto the example and ſhadow of heavenly things, in as exact and cloſe a manner as that Tabernacle, which Moſes was admoniſhed to make, anſwered to the pattern ſhewed him of it, in the mount." Not only the Argument which the Apoſtle is upon, but the propriety of the word Χρηματίζω points us to this ſenſe: which ſignifies to command or direct the doing of a thing by an Oracle or Magiſtrate; and this Χρηματισμὸς or direction we find in the place which the ſacred

* Heb. viii. 4, 5.

writer

writer refers to—*And look that thou make them after this pattern, which was ſhewed thee in the mount* *. But there is nothing theſe men will not employ for the ſupport of their abſurdities. They will borrow aid even from a quibble or equivocation: And the following words of the ſame Apoſtle have been urged to prove that the Law taught its Followers the doctrines of the Goſpel.—*Unto us* [Chriſtians] *was the* GOSPEL *preached as well as unto them* [Jews †.]

1. And now to proceed to the particular Texts produced from the PENTATEUCH, in ſupport of this opinion, God ſays to Abraham, *In thee, ſhall all the families of the earth be bleſſed* ‡. The Jews underſtood this to ſignify a *formulary*, that men ſhould uſe, when they invocated the choiceſt bleſſings on their friends and families, to this effect; *May God bleſs thee as he bleſſed Abraham.* And the firſt of Chriſtian Interpreters, Hugo Grotius, underſtands it to ſignify a promiſed bleſſing, which, in time, ſhould be derived to the whole earth, from Abraham's care that his poſterity ſhould continue in the belief and worſhip of the *one true God.* Indeed, when the fullneſs of time came, it would then be ſeen, both by Jews and Chriſtians, that this bleſſing ultimately centred in the holy Jeſus, the only begotten ſon of God, to whom the Father hath delegated all power and dominion. Again, "GOD ſays to ABRAHAM, *I am thy exceeding great reward* §." And again: "—I will eſtabliſh "my covenant between me and thee, and thy ſeed after thee, in "their generations, for an *everlaſting covenant*; to be a God *unto* "*thee* and to thy ſeed after thee. And I will give *unto thee*, and "to thy ſeed after thee, the land wherein thou art a ſtranger, "all the land of Canaan, for an everlaſting poſſeſſion; and I will "be their God ‖." "He repeats the ſame promiſe to Iſaac and to Jacob *perſonally*; yet he gave Abraham no inheritance in the land though he promiſed he would give it to him and to his ſeed after

* Exod. xxv. 40.
† Heb. iv. 2.
‡ Gen. xii. 3.
§ Gen. xv. 1.
‖ Gen. xvii. 7, 8.

him."

him."—Thus have theſe texts been urged by an excellent Writer * againſt the *Sadducean* opinion, as containing a promiſe of future rewards in another life: But urged by him, I will ſuppoſe, as proving ſuch a *promiſe* in a *ſecondary* or *ſpiritual* ſenſe only. Becauſe that ſenſe is ſufficient for his purpoſe: and becauſe in that ſenſe only, is it true, that they do contain ſuch a promiſe. For 1. in the *literal* ſenſe it is a promiſe of the land of Canaan to Abraham and to his poſterity; and in this ſenſe it was literally fulfilled, though Abraham was never *perſonally* in poſſeſſion of it; ſince Abraham and his poſterity, put collectively, ſignify the RACE OF ABRAHAM; and that Race poſſeſſed the land of Canaan. And ſurely, GOD may be allowed to explain his own promiſe: Now though he tells Abraham, he would give HIM the land, yet, at the ſame time, he aſſures him that it would be many hundred years before his POSTERITY ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of it; for when Abraham deſired to know whereby he might be certain that he, i. e. his *ſeed*, ſhould inherit the land of Canaan †, he is ordered to offer a ſacrifice; after which, GOD in a viſion explains to him the import of his promiſe: That *his ſeed ſhould be a ſtranger in the land that was not theirs, and ſhould ſerve them, and that they ſhould afflict them four hundred years: that afterwards they ſhould come out with great ſubſtance, and in the fourth generation ſhould come into* CANAAN, *for that the iniquity of the Ammonites was not yet full* ‡. And as concerning himſelf, that *he ſhould go to his fathers in peace, and ſhould be buried in a good old age* §. Thus we ſee, that both what GOD explained to be his meaning, and what Abraham underſtood him to mean, was, that his Poſterity, after a certain time, ſhould be led into poſſeſſion of the Land. And leſt any miſtake ſhould remain concerning the accompliſhment of this promiſe, the ſacred Hiſtorian ſums up the relation in theſe words:

* Dr. S. Clarke, in his Evidence of Natural and Revealed Religion, p. 241, ed. 6.

† Gen. xv. 8.

‡ Gen. xv. 13, & ſeq.

§ Ver. 15.

In that ſame day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, ſaying, UNTO THY SEED HAVE I GIVEN *this land**. But had the Hiſtorian omitted ſo minute an explanation of the promiſe, yet common ſenſe would inſtruct us how to underſtand it. A whole Country is given to Abraham and to his ſeed. Could it poſſibly be GOD's deſign, who does nothing in vain, to place his Family in the land of Canaan, till they were numerous enough to occupy and defend it? His Poſterity was his Repreſentative: and therefore the putting them into poſſeſſion was the putting him into it. Not to ſay, that where a Grant is made to a body of men collectively, as to a People or a Family, no laws of contract ever underſtood the performance to conſiſt in every individual's being a *perſonal* partaker. 2. Secondly, the giving an *heavenly* Canaan to Abraham could not be the literal ſenſe of the text, becauſe an *earthly* Canaan is owned to be the direct immediate ſubject of the promiſe. The JEWS indeed contend for this literal ſenſe, and with ſome ſhew of reaſon; for they hold, that the *future ſtate* at the Reſurrection will be paſſed in the land of Judea, where Abraham, they ſay, is then to riſe and take poſſeſſion †. This is conſiſtent however. But theſe CHRISTIAN Objectors, who hold no ſuch opinion, muſt be content at laſt to find a *future ſtate* only in the *ſpiritual* ſenſe of the words: and that ſenſe, we are by no means ambitious of taking from them.

2. "The days of the years of my pilgrimage, (ſays JACOB to "Pharaoh) are an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have "the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto "the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their

* Ver. 18.

† Deus Abrahamo loquens ait: Dabo tibi, & ſemini tuo poſt te, terram peregrinationis tuæ. Atqui conſtat, Abrahamum, & reliquos Patriarchas eam terram non poſſediſſe: neceſſe ergo eſt, ut reſuſcitentur, quo bonis promiſſis fruantur; alioqui promiſſa Dei irrita & falſa forent. Hinc itaque non tantum ANIMÆ IMMORTALITAS probatur, ſed etiam *eſſentiale fundamentum legis*, RESURRECTIO ſcilicet MORTUORUM. Manaſſeh Ben-Iſrael *de Reſurrectione Mort.* p. 7.

"pilgrimage."

pilgrimage *."—From this ſpeech it is concluded, that Moſes taught a *future ſtate:* and, eſpecially ſince the Author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews hath brought † it as a proof that Jacob and the Patriarchs looked for a *better country*. That Jacob did ſo, is unqueſtionable; but it can never be allowed that the words, in their *literal* and obvious meaning, expreſs any ſuch thing. Pharaoh is here queſtioning the Patriarch, not of human life in general, but of his own. Therefore, to make the reply pertinent, Jacob muſt be underſtood to mean by *his pilgrimage*, the unſettled way of life, living in tents, and removing from place to place, as the convenience of paſturage gave him invitation: and, by the *evil of his days*, the ſtraits he ſuffered from the fraud of Laban, and the hatred of his brother Eſau. As for the complaint of the *fewneſs of his days*, he himſelf explains it to be, not on account of the ſhortneſs of human life in general, but, becauſe he *had not attained unto the days of the years of the life of his fathers*. The ſenſe therefore, which the writer of the epiſtle to the Hebrews puts upon theſe words, muſt needs be the *ſpiritual* ſenſe.

3. The ſame Patriarch, in his laſt benediction of his ſons, breaks in upon the prophetic bleſſings with this pious ejaculation, *I have waited for thy ſalvation, O Lord* ‡: which is ſuppoſed to reſpect the ſalvation of mankind by JESUS CHRIST. I grant it doth ſo in a *ſpiritual* ſenſe; nay, for aught I know, it may in a *literal*. But how ſhould an early Jewiſh Reader underſtand it in this ſenſe, when the ſame terms of the *ſalvation of God*, or of the Lord, are perpetually employed, throughout the whole Bible, to ſignify God's temporal mercies to the Patriarchs and their Poſterity: and when now, that the Myſtery of the Goſpel hath been ſo long revealed, Chriſtian Commentators underſtand it in an hundred different ſenſes?

* Gen. xlvii. 9. † Chap. xi. ver. 13.

‡ Gen. xlix. 18.

4. Balaam, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, ſays: *Let me die the death of the Righteous, and let my laſt end be like his* *:* Which is underſtood as a wiſh that he might be partaker with the Righteous in another life. Had the apoſtate Prophet ſaid, *Let me live the life of the Righteous*, it would have had a much fairer claim for ſuch a meaning. As it is, Both the force of the words, and their relation to the context, reſtrain us to this literal meaning,—"Let me die in a mature old age, after a life of health and peace, with all my poſterity flouriſhing about me: as was the lot of the righteous obſervers of the Law." This vain wiſh, Moſes, I ſuppoſe, recorded, that the ſubſequent account of his immature death in battle † might make the ſtronger impreſſion on the ſerious Reader, to warn him againſt the impiety and folly of expecting the laſt reward of virtue for a life ſpent in the gratification of every corrupt appetite. But if any one will ſay, the words have, beſides, a ſublimer meaning, I have no reaſon to contend with him.

5. The next is a ſtricture of the Law in Leviticus, urged by Dr. Stebbing in this manner, "Moſes inforces the obedience of "the Iſraelites upon this conſideration, *Ye ſhall therefore keep my "ſtatutes and judgments, which if a man do he ſhall live in them* ‡. "Here is a promiſe of life made to thoſe who ſhould obſerve the "ſtatutes and judgments which God gave them by his ſervant "Moſes; which cannot be underſtood of this temporal life only, "becauſe the beſt men were often cut off in the midſt of their days, "and frequently ſuffered greater adverſities than the moſt profli- "gate ſinners. The Jews therefore have conſtantly believed that "it had a reſpect to the life to come. When the lawyer in the "Goſpel had made that moſt important demand, *Maſter, what "ſhall I do to inherit eternal life* §, our bleſſed Lord refers him to "what was written in the Law; and, upon his making a ſound

* Numb. xxii. 10.
† Chap. xxxi. ver. 8.
‡ Levit. xviii. 5.
§ Luke x. 25.

"and

" and judicious anſwer, approves of it; and for ſatisfaction to his " queſtion, tells him, *This do, and thou ſhalt live.*"

The Objector would have the promiſe of *life* in Leviticus to ſignify *eternal life*. But St. Paul himſelf had long ago decided this queſtion, and declared for the negative. A diſpute aroſe between him, and the judaizing Chriſtians, concerning *what it was which juſtified before God*, or intitled to that eternal life brought to light by the Goſpel. They held it to be the *works of the Law* (believing, perhaps, as the Objector aſſures us they did, that this text, in Leviticus, *had a reſpect to the life to come*:) St. Paul, on the contrary, affirms that it was *faith in Jeſus the Meſſiah*. And thus he argues—" But no man is juſtified by the Law in the ſight of " God it is evident: for *the juſt ſhall live by faith*. And the Law " is not of faith, but the man that *doth* them ſhall live in them *."—As much as to ſay—" That no man can obtain eternal life by virtue of the *Law* is evident from one of your own Prophets [Hab.] who expreſsly holds, that *the juſt ſhall* LIVE *by* FAITH †. Now, by the *Law*, no rewards are promiſed to *faith*, but to *works only*. *The man that* DOTH *them* (ſays the Law in Levit. ‡) *ſhall live in them.*" Here then we ſee that this very text, which the Objector brings to prove that *eternal life was by the Law*, St. Paul urges, to prove that it *was not by the law*. Let us attend to the Apoſtle's argument. He is to ſhew that *juſtification*, or eternal life, is by *faith*. This he does even on the conceſſion of a Jew, the Prophet Habbakkuk; who expreſsly owns it to be by *faith*. But the Law, ſays the Apoſtle, attributes nothing to *faith*; but, to DEEDS only, *which if a man* DO *he ſhall live in them*. Now, if, by *life*, be here meant, as the objector ſuppoſes, *eternal life*, then St. Paul's argument does not come out as he intended it; namely *that faith, and not the works of the Law, juſtifies*; but thus, that *both faith and the works of the Law juſtify*, which would have ſatisfied theſe Judaizers, as reconciling on their own prejudices Moſes and Hab-

* Gal. iii. 11, 12. † ii. 4. ‡ xviii. 5.

bakkuk; but would, by no means, have ſatisfied our Apoſtle; whoſe concluſion on this queſtion, where diſcuſſed at large, in his Epiſtle to the Romans, is, *that a man is juſtified by faith* WITHOUT *the deeds of the Law* *. The very drift of his argument therefore ſhews us, that he muſt neceſſarily underſtand the *life*, promiſed in this text of Leviticus, to be TEMPORAL *life only*. But charitably ſtudious, as it were, to prevent all poſſible chance of our miſtaking him on ſo important a point, He immediately ſubjoins, *Chriſt hath redeemed us from the curſe of the Law* †. Now we know that our *redemption* by Chriſt was from that *death* which the firſt man brought into the world; the *curſe* which he entailed upon his poſterity. Therefore the transferring this term from Adam to the Law, ſhews plainly that in the Apoſtle's ſentiments, the Law had no more a ſhare in the redemption of fallen man than Adam himſelf had. Yet it is certain, that if the Law, when it ſaid, *He who keeps theſe ſtatutes and judgments ſhall live in them*, meant, *for ever*, it propoſed the Redemption of mankind as compleatly as the bleſſed Jeſus himſelf did, when he ſaid, *he that believeth in me ſhall have everlaſting life*. This becomes demonſtrable, if St. Paul's reaſoning will hold, who ſurely had heard nothing of this prerogative of the *Law*, when he ſaid, *If there had been a* LAW *given which could have given life, verily righteouſneſs ſhould have been by the Law*. Where obſerve, I pray you, the force of the word ζωοποιῆσαι, which ſignifies to *quicken*, or to *make alive*; plainly intimating the ſame he had ſaid in the place quoted before, that thoſe in ſubjection to the *Law* were under a *curſe*, or in the ſtate of *death*.—Let me add only this further obſervation, that if (as this Objector pretends) by *life* in the text of Levit. be meant *eternal life*; and if (as the Apoſtle pretends) by *life*, in the text of Habbakkuk, be meant *eternal life*; then will *Moſes* and *Habbakkuk* be made directly to contradict one another; the firſt giving that *eternal life* to WORKS, which the latter gives to FAITH.

* Rom. iii. 28. † Gal. iii. 13.

But

But Dr. Stebbing would insinuate, that Jesus himself seems to have affixed this sense to the text in Leviticus; however, that the plain inference is that eternal life was *taught at least*, if not *obtained* by the Law. "When the lawyer in the Gospel (says he) had made "that most important demand, *Master, what shall I do to inherit* "*eternal life* * ? our blessed Lord refers him to what was written "in the Law, and upon his making a sound and judicious an- "swer, approves of it; and for satisfaction to his question, tells "him, *This do and thou shalt live.*"—Would not any one now conclude, from the sense here put upon the words of Jesus, that the *sound and judicious answer* of the Lawyer must have been a quotation of the text in Leviticus,—*Ye shall keep my statutes, which if a man do he shall live in them*;—or at least some general promise made to the observers of the whole Law of Moses? No such matter. On the contrary, the Lawyer's answer was a quotation of only one precept of the Law, *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart*, &c. *and thy neighbour as thy self.* Now how much soever we may differ about a *future state's* being held out by the *Law*, through a Messiah to come, I suppose we are both agreed that *faith in the Messiah*, either actual or imputed, is necessary to obtain this *future state.* There are but two ways then of understanding this text of St. Luke, neither of which is to his purpose. The first is the supposing that Jesus included *faith in himself* in this precept of *loving God with all the heart*, &c. which will appear no forced interpretation to him who holds Jesus to be really and truly God; as, I imagine, the Doctor does; and may be supported by a circumstance in the story as told by St. Matthew †, though omitted by St. Luke, which is, Jesus's saying, *that on these two commandments hang all the Law and the* PROPHETS. The second and exacter interpretation is, that Jesus spoke to a profess- ing follower, who pretended to acknowledge his Mission, and,

* Luke x. 25. † Matth. xxii. 40.

wanted

wanted only a RULE OF LIFE. For Jeſus was here preaching the Goſpel to his diſciples, *and a Lawyer ſtood up and* TEMPTED *him*, that is, on the falſe footing of a diſciple, required a rule of life. Now in either caſe, this reference of Jeſus to the Law muſt imply this, and this only, *that without righteouſneſs and holineſs no man ſhall ſee the Lord.* A point in which, I ſuppoſe, we are agreed.—But ſtill the Doctor will ſay that theſe words of Jeſus *allude* to the words of Moſes. Admit they do. It will not follow, as he ſeems to think, that they were given to *explain* them. How many alluſions are there in the New Teſtament to paſſages in the Old, accommodated to a *ſpiritual* ſenſe, where the texts alluded to are ſeen, by all but Fanatics, to have only a *carnal?* And even in this very alluſion, if it be one, we find that the promiſe made to the obſervers of the whole Law is transferred to the obſervance of one ſingle precept, in the moral part of it. But let us grant him all he would have; and admit that theſe words of Jeſus were given to explain the words of Moſes. What would follow from thence, but that the promiſe in Leviticus had a *ſecondary* ſenſe of a *ſpiritual* and ſublimer import? Will this give any advantage to the Doctor and his Party? Surely none at all. And yet the *abuſe* of this conceſſion is all they have to ſupport themſelves in their determined oppoſition to Common ſenſe.

6. A Law in Leviticus is delivered in theſe terms,—"Whoever he be of the children of Iſrael, or of the ſtrangers that "ſojourn in Iſrael, that giveth any of his ſeed unto Molech, he "ſhall ſurely be put to death *." Let me firſt explain the text before I ſhew how it is perverted. There were two caſes in which the offender here deſcribed might eſcape puniſhment: Either the crime could not be legally proved, Or the Magiſtrate might be remiſs in puniſhing. The divine Lawgiver obviates both: and declares that the Infanticide, in ſuch caſe, ſhall ſuffer death by God's

* Levit. xx. 2.

own

own hand in an extraordinary manner. The ſupplial of the firſt defect, is in theſe words,—"And I will ſet my face againſt the "man, and will CUT HIM OFF FROM AMONGST HIS PEOPLE *." The ſupplial of the ſecond is in theſe:—"And if the people of "the land do any ways hide their eyes from the man, when he "giveth of his ſeed unto Molech, and kill him not, then I will ſet "my face againſt that man and againſt his family, and will CUT "HIM OFF †." So much for the *ſenſe* of the text. And now for the *nonſenſe* of our Interpreter, a Profeſſor of Law and Divinity, the egregious Doctor RUTHERFORTH. This ſage proviſion for the execution of the Law our Profeſſor being totally unconſcious of, he inſiſts "that *cutting off from amongſt his People* can only mean "eternal damnation, the being conſigned to a ſtate of puniſhment "in another life ‡." He is, as I ſay, a dealer both in Law and Divinity: but not having yet learnt the uſe of his tools, he confounds Law by Theology, and depraves Theology by Law: And of this, the reader has already ſeen ſome delectable inſtances. But at preſent, to regulate a little his Law-ideas, let him turn to Exod. xii. 15. and Levit. vii. 25, and he will find that the *cutting off from Iſrael*, and *the cutting off from the People*, are phraſes which ſignify only capital puniſhment of a civil kind. Unleſs he will ſuppoſe that what is there threatened for eating *leavened bread* and *prohibited fat*, is ETERNAL LIFE IN TORMENTS.

7. The PSALMIST, in a holy confidence of God's mercies, ſays, *Thou wilt not leave my ſoul in* HELL, *neither wilt thou ſuffer thy holy one to ſee corruption. Thou wilt ſhew me the path of life; in thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore* §.—The ſcope of the whole Pſalm is to implore the protection of God, from this conſideration, that the Pſalmiſt himſelf not only ſtedfaſtly adheres to the Law of God, but is ready to give his aid and ſupport to all thoſe who do.—That the vengeance of

* Ver. 3.
† Ver. 4, 5.
‡ Page 33.
§ Pſal. xvi. 10, 11.

God

God purſues idolatry, which he carefully avoids—That the *God of Iſrael* is his *portion*, and the *land of Canaan* a fair *inheritance*—That this ſtedfaſt adherence to the Lord is his confidence and peace—Then follow the words in queſtion,—That he is ſure, God *will not leave his ſoul in Hell*, &c. &c. that is, ſuffer him to fall immaturely, as was the lot of the tranſgreſſors of the Law :—And concludes, that walking in the law of God is both the higheſt pleaſure, and ſtrongeſt ſecurity. All which is expreſſed in terms ſo magnificent, as to ſhew, indeed, that this Pſalm hath a *ſpiritual* as well as *literal* meaning. And that ſpiritual meaning St. Peter hath explained to us*: Indeed, if Dr. Stebbing's word were to be taken, the Apoſtle hath explained it in a manner which overthrows all our reaſoning. "[St. Peter (ſays the Doctor) claims this paſſage "[Pſ. xvi. 10, 11.] as relating to Chriſt's reſurrection †." But how does he claim it? No otherwiſe than by giving it a *ſecondary ſenſe*. Now the learned Doctor himſelf contends that the *ſecondary* ſenſe of the Propheſies was purpoſely concealed and ſecreted from the Jewiſh Church: Conſequently, the *Reſurrection*, the very doctrine which the *ſecondary* ſenſe of this text conveys, was ſecreted from it. But then, the Doctor ſays, that "in the *primary* "ſenſe David declares his expectation of a future ſtate, not in conſe- "quence of any promiſe of the Law, but by faith in Jeſus Chriſt." The reſult then of the Doctor's expoſition is this, That the ſame text may ſerve to prove that the ſpiritual ſenſe of the Law *was and was not* revealed at this time. The verſe has a primary ſenſe which reveals a future ſtate, and a ſecondary ſenſe which hides and ſecretes it.—But he inſiſts much upon the following words of the text—*In thy preſence is fulneſs of joy, and at thy right hand are pleaſures for evermore.* "Expreſſions, ſays the Doctor, much too great to de- "ſcribe any WORLDLY HAPPINESS ‡."—I readily confeſs it was no *worldly happineſs* which is here deſcribed: for to be in the *preſence*

* Acts ii. 25—29. † Exam. p. 49.

‡ Exam. p. 49.

of

of God ſignified the ſame as to *appear before the Ark*, Pſ. xvii. 15. and to enjoy *pleaſures* there *for evermore*, the ſame as *dwelling in the houſe of the Lord for ever*, i. e. all his days, Pſ. xxiii. 6. a *ſpiritual happineſs*, ſure, though enjoyed in this world.

But the texts of texts, the precious ones indeed, are thoſe where a HELL is mentioned; as here—*thou ſhalt not leave my ſoul in Hell* *. And of this orthodox conſolation there is no ſcarcity in the Old Teſtament. Mr. Whiſton aſſures us, *it is almoſt five times as often mentioned as in the New*. It may be ſo. However, inſtead of examining into the juſtneſs of this nice calculation, I ſhall chuſe rather to conſider what is to be underſtood by the word, than how often it is repeated. Now, I ſuppoſe neither I nor my Anſwerers can have any reaſonable objection to St. John's authority in this matter; who ſpeaking, in the book of Revelations, of the uſeleſs old furniture of the LAW, ſays—*and* DEATH *and* HELL *were caſt into the* LAKE OF FIRE: *this is the ſecond death* †. From hence it appears that the HELL of the Old Teſtament was a very different thing from the HELL of the New, called, the *lake of Fire*; ſince the one is made the puniſhment, or at leaſt the extinction of the other. And to remove all doubt, the Apoſtle, we ſee, calls this *caſting into the lake*, a *ſecond death*. Muſt not then the *Lake* itſelf be a *ſecond Hell?* And if ſo, could the *firſt* or the Old Teſtament HELL be any other than the GRAVE? The next words tell us, *that whoſoever was not found written in the book of life was caſt into the lake of fire* ‡. So that the ſenſe of the whole ſeems to be this, that at the conſummation of things (the ſubject here treated of) all phyſical and moral evil ſhall be aboliſhed.

8. Again, The Pſalmiſt ſays, "Deliver my ſoul from the "wicked—from the men of the world—which *have their portion* "*in this life*, and whoſe belly thou filleſt with thy hid treaſure.— "As for me, I will behold thy face in righteouſneſs: *I ſhall be*

* Pſal. xvi. 10. † xx. 14.

‡ Ver. 15.

"*ſatisfied, when I awake, with thy likeneſs**." Many moral and myſtical commentators (and perhaps our Engliſh tranſlators themſelves, as one would think from the turn of their language) underſtood theſe words as literally pointing, in one verſe, to a *future ſtate*, and, in the other, to a *reſurrection*. And in this, the diſſenter, *Leland*, as I remember, in ſome of his things, ſeems much to triumph. But I ſhall ſhew that it means nothing leſs.

They have *their portion in* THIS *life*, ſay our tranſlators, who, with great piety, had their heads full of ANOTHER. Whereas the original word literally ſignifies *in vitis*, the Hebrew being a plural word and having no ſingular: which, by the way, let me obſerve, is a convincing proof that the ideas of the common uſers of this language were only employed about this life; had they been converſant, like us, with another, they would ſoon have found a ſingular to their plural. This will be thought a ſtrange Paradox by thoſe I have to do with, who do not know that plural nouns are often words of amplification, not of number. As our tranſlators render it, *in this life*, ſo the Chaldee Par. goes a ſtep further, and renders it, *in life eternal*. The Sept. tranſlators, who beſt underſtood their own idiom, interpret it better than either, ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτῶν, *in this life of theirs*. So that the true meaning of what we turn, *their portion of this life*, amounts to this—*they are perfectly proſperous*.

And now, concerning the words in the other verſe,—*I ſhall be ſatisfied, when I awake, with thy likeneſs*. For the ſenſe of theſe I ſhall tranſcribe the following paſſage of an excellent Critic, and, what is more, a very orthodox Divine.—"The Chaldee," ſays Dr. Hammond, (and what ſort of interpreters they were we have ſeen juſt above) "apply this *awaking* to *David*;——*when I ſhall awake I ſhall* "*be ſatisfied with the glory of thy countenance*. And ſo it hath *truth*, "in reſpect of the reſurrection of the juſt.—But all the other inter- "preters agree to apply it to *this glory*; ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σε, *at*

* Pſ. xvii. 14, 15.

"*the*

" *the appearing of thy glory*, ſay the LXXII.—*cum apparuerit gloria* " *tua*, ſays the Latin; (and ſo the Arabic and Æthiopic)—*When* " *thy fidelity ſhall awake*, ſaith the Syriac: And ſo moſt probably it " is to be underſtood. By [*God's glory awaking*] ſignifying his " glorious and powerful interpoſition to David's PRESENT reſ- " cue from his enemies hands.—And thus the learned Caſtellio took " it; tum ſatiandus, cum tua experrecta fuerit imago; *I ſhall be* " *ſatisfied when thy likeneſs ſhall be awaked* *." Other Interpreters, and thoſe of the firſt Claſs, who make the *awaking* to refer to *David*, ſuppoſe it to ſignify his morning adorations before the Ark, the ſymbolic reſidence of the divine Preſence †. But that David was here ſpeaking in the language of the *Law*, and not of the *Goſpel*, I think, all but determined Bigots will confeſs.

9. And again: *Surely goodneſs and mercy ſhall follow me all the days of my life, and I will dwell in the Houſe of the Lord for ever* ‡. By the *houſe of the Lord* can be meant nothing elſe but the *Tabernacle* or the *Temple:* So that, *for ever*, or as the Heb. ſays, *to length of days*, muſt mean that mature old age, which the Law promiſed to its faithful adherents.

10. In the xxxvi Pſalm, the ſacred Writer ſays: *For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light ſhall we ſee light* §. Here, to prove the *immortality* of Man, a text is produced, which teaches the *eternity of* GOD. But I know Some, who think there is a neceſſary connection between theſe two truths.

11. " Like ſheep (ſays the Pſalmiſt) they [the wicked] are laid " in the grave, death ſhall feed upon them; and the upright ſhall " have dominion over them in the morning, and their beauty ſhall

* Annot. on the xviith Pſalm.

† Videtur ſignificare David arcam, quam ſingulis temporibus matutinis Deum adoraturus adibat. Cleric. in locum. Pro more Hebr. Poeſeos, ipſum in Sanctuario quotidie in præſentia Dei ad arcam, quod divinæ præſentiæ ſymbolum erat, ſeſe velle ſiſtere, quod illi ante omnia in votis fuit, ſummoque gaudio perfudit. Hare in loc.

‡ Pſ. xxiii. 6. § Pſ. xxxvi. 9.

" conſume in the grave, from their dwelling. But God will re-
" deem my ſoul from the power of the grave, for he ſhall receive
" me *." The literal meaning of which is, as appears by the context, that " the wicked ſhould be untimely cut off and deſtroyed, – *in the morning*, that is, by the judgment of the Law, which was adminiſtered in the morning hours †; but that his life, and the life of the upright, ſhould be preſerved and prolonged." Here, once for all, let me deſire the Objectors to conſider, What it is that is ever oppoſed (in the many paſſages of this ſort) to *Life*, *Redemption*, &c. It is not *Miſery*, *Torments*, &c. as it muſt have been, did *life* literally ſignify eternal life in a future ſtate; but it is DEATH, which ſhews it was a *life here on earth*.

12. *Thou ſhalt guide me* (ſays he again) *with thy counſel, and afterwards receive me to glory* ‡. Or, as an excellent Critic has it, *Conſilio tuo deduxiſti me, & poſtea cum gloria excepiſti me*. " Thou waſt, or ſhalt be, always preſent with me in difficulties and diſtreſſes; and ſhalt lead and conduct me to better fortunes." This literal ſenſe the context requires.

13. " But the mercy of the Lord is from everlaſting to everlaſting,
" upon them that fear him, and his righteouſneſs unto childrens
" children; to ſuch as keep his covenant, and to thoſe that re-
" member his commandments to do them §." This is ſo far from intimating a *future ſtate*, that it is the very temporal promiſe annexed to the ſecond Law of the Decalogue—*Shewing mercy unto thouſands of them that love me, and keep my commandments* ‖.

14.—*For* THERE *the Lord commanded the bleſſing, even life for evermore* **. – Where? In the *habitation* of *brethren living together*

* Pſ. xlix. 14, 15.

† See Jerem. xxi. 12. " O houſe of David, thus ſaith the Lord, *Execute judgment*
" IN THE MORNING, and deliver him that is ſpoiled, out of the hand of the oppreſſor,
" leſt my fury go out like fire,—becauſe of the evil of your doings."

‡ Pſ. lxxiii. 24.

§ Pſ. ciii. 17, 18.

‖ Exod. xx. 6.

** Pſ. cxxxiii. 3.

in

in unity. Nothing elſe then can be meant, but that death and dangers ſhould not approach a houſe ſo ſtrongly united in itſelf.

15. In the book of Proverbs it is ſaid – "The wicked is driven "away in his wickedneſs: BUT THE RIGHTEOUS HATH HOPE IN "HIS DEATH *." That is, "the righteous hath hope that he ſhall be delivered from the moſt imminent dangers." So the Pſalmiſt— *upon them that hope in his mercy; to deliver their ſoul from death, and to keep them alive in famine* †. – And again, *Thou haſt delivered my ſoul from death; Wilt not thou deliver my feet from falling, that I may walk before God in the light of the living* ‡? See Pſ. xxxiii. 19. lvi. 14.

16. And again – *The way of life is above to the wiſe, that he may depart from Hell beneath* §. That is, The wiſe man prolongs his days here on earth, and eſcapes that untimely death which attends vice and folly. A Doctrine perpetually inculcated throughout this book; as at chap. x. ver. 2, 28. chap. xi. ver. 7. chap. xii. ver. 28. chap. xxi. ver. 16.

And again, "When a wicked man dieth, his EXPECTATION "ſhall periſh; and the hope of unjuſt men periſheth ‖." And again, – "So ſhall the knowledge of wiſdom be unto thy ſoul: "when thou haſt found it; then there ſhall be a reward, and thy "EXPECTATION ſhall not be cut off **." In the firſt of theſe two places it appears by the context (that is, by the whole tenor of theſe moral precepts and aphoriſms) that the *expectation which ſhould deceive* is that of worldly wicked men to eſtabliſh a houſe in their poſterity: And in the ſecond, the *expectation which ſhould not deceive* is that of wiſe and virtuous men in the ſucceſs of their honeſt endeavours. But there is one common fallacy which runs through all the reaſoning of theſe Anticritics: it is this, that having taken the point in queſtion [whether a future ſtate be taught in the Old Teſtament] for granted, they confine all expreſſions, capable of

* Prov. xiv. 32. † Pſ. xxxiii. 19. ‡ Pſ. lvi. 14.
§ Prov [illegible]. ‖ xi. 7. ** xxiv. 14.

either

either ſenſe conſidered alone, to the ſenſe which ſupports their own opinion. Whereas, while the matter is in queſtion, fair reaſoning requires, that ſuch Texts be conſidered as indifferent to either ſenſe, till determined by the Context, and according to the Analogy of the *Law and the Prophets*.

17. We conclude with the Preacher, who ſays, that *Wiſdom giveth to them that have it* *: And ſo ſays the Law of Moſes likewiſe (which is here alluded to) and yet it gives nothing but the things of *this life*.

18. Again: "Though a ſinner do evil an hundred times, and "his days be prolonged, yet ſurely I know that it ſhall be well "with them that fear God †." What is meant by this, the very following words declare: *But it ſhall not be well with the wicked, neither ſhall he prolong his days, which are as a ſhadow; becauſe he feareth not before God* ‡. — That is, though the wicked be ſuffered to go on for ſome time, yet for all that, Vengeance ſhall overtake and arreſt him in the middle of his courſe §.

19. And again — "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and "let thy heart chear thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in "the ways of thy heart, and in the ſight of thine eyes: but know "thou, that for all theſe things, God will bring thee into judge-"ment. Therefore remove ſorrow from thy heart, and put away "evil from thy fleſh, for childhood and youth are vanity ||. That is, "in giving an innocent and lawful indulgence to thy Youth, take heed leſt thou tranſgreſs the bounds of virtue and piety. For know, that God will certainly puniſh thy offences, either in thy own Perſon, or in thy Poſterity."

Theſe are all the paſſages of moment (till we come to the Prophets) which I could find have been objected to the Opinion, *That a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment is not in the Moſaic Diſpenſation*. By which it appears, that the Objectors have been very in-

* Eccl. vii. 12. † Chap. viii. ver. 12. ‡ Ver. 13.

|| See note [GG], at the end of this Book.

§ Chap. xi. ver. 9, *& ſeq.*

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attentive to what an Interpreter of the Old Teſtament ſhould have his thoughts conſtantly attached, namely to theſe three things; to the CONTEXT; to the genius of the EASTERN STYLE; and to the œconomy under which the early Hebrews lived, that is to ſay, an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. But this laſt fault, though the moſt inexcuſable of all, they all have in common with the late Jewiſh Writers; who, conſidering only the Diſpenſation under which themſelves lived, thought it harſh and unnatural to interpret theſe Texts with reference to worldly good and evil which they ſaw unequally diſtributed.

On the whole therefore it appears, that all theſe paſſages, in their obvious and *primary* ſenſe, relate to the *things of this life*; and that ſome of them are expreſſed by the Holy Spirit in ſuch a manner, as makes it now evident, they had likewiſe a *ſpiritual* and ſublimer meaning, and do indeed refer to the completion of the Law, by the Goſpel.

The Texts here examined are urged in common both by Jews and Chriſtians. But, beſides theſe, the Jews have a ſet of Texts peculiar to themſelves; which the Chriſtians have never yet ventured to put upon Duty. As they are moſt of them of the nature of *Riddles*, Riddles, for me, they ſhall remain: only, for the curious Reader's ſatisfaction, I ſhall mark out what the Rabbins bring from the PENTATEUCH to prove the *immortality of the ſoul, and the reſurrection of the body*, as they are collected by the learned Manaſſeh Ben-Iſrael, in his tract *De Reſurrectione Mortuorum*. For the IMMORTALITY, 1 Kings i. 31. Pſal. cxvi. 7, 8, 9. Exod. xix. 6. chap. xxxiii. ver. 20. Levit. vii. 25. Deut. xiv. 1, 2. chap. xxii. ver. 7. chap. xxxii. ver. 47.—For the RESURRECTION, Gen. iii. 19. chap. xxxvii. ver. 10. Exod. xv. 6. Levit. xxv. Numb. xv. 30. chap. xviii. ver. 28. Deut. iv. 4. chap. xxxii. ver. 39. chap. xxxiii. ver. 6. But though the reader will find many diverting things on this head in Manaſſeh Ben-Iſrael, yet they muſt all give place to the curious comment of Rabbi Tanchum on the following words of 1 Sam. xxv. 29. *The ſoul of my Lord ſhall be bound in the bundle*

of

of life with the LORD *thy* GOD: *and the ſouls of thine enemies, them ſhall he ſling out, as out of the middle of a ſling.* Sententia eſt omnium Interpretum (ſays this profound Rabbi) quod ad hunc textum, eſſe ipſum per modum commonitionis [quâ declaratur] quiſnam futurus ſit animæ ſtatus, et ad quid tandem deventura ſit, poſtquam à corpore ſeparata fuerit; atque oſtendere *duplicem* eſſe ipſi ſtatum, viz. quibuſdam animabus eſſe gradum ſublimem et locum ſtabilem, apud Dominum ſuum, dum vitâ immortali fruantur, nec morti nec perditioni obnoxiæ: aliis autem ludere fluctus naturæ, adeo ut requiem et conſiſtendi locum non inveniant, verum *dolores perpetuos* et *cruciatus continuos*, cum *æterna duratione*, inſtar lapidis, qui è fundâ projectus circumrotatur in aëre pro ratione virium jacientis, dein vi ſua naturali gravitate in terram decidit. Animæ vero nec ineſt gravitas quæ ipſam deorſum, nec levitas quæ ſurſum ferat; ideoque in perpetua eſt confuſione, perturbatione, triſtitia, et dolore uſque *in æternum*. Atque hæc reverâ ſententia eſt SAPIENTUM et PHILOSOPHORUM.—How profound a Doctrine! and how noble an original! But this is not the firſt, by a thouſand, which has been raiſed from a Metaphor, out of the hot-bed of theologic *wiſdom and philoſophy*. An abuſe, that ſome cooler thinkers of late have fancied they could never get well rid of, till they had turned the few *Doctrines* of true Chriſtianity back again into *Metaphors*. And they have ſucceeded to admiration.

SECT. IV.

WE come at length to the texts of the NEW TESTAMENT, which are urged to prove, againſt itſelf, that *Life and Immortality was brought to light* by the OLD.

I. The firſt is that famous argument of JESUS againſt the Sadducees:—*Jeſus anſwered and ſaid unto them, Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures, nor the power of God.—But as touching the Reſurrection of the dead, Have ye not read that which was ſpoken unto you by*

by God, ſaying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Iſaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living *. Now this very Text, had it been impartially conſidered, would alone have been ſufficient to convince theſe Anſwerers of the truth here contended for. At leaſt it convinced a much wiſer man, the excellent HUGO GROTIUS, whoſe words to his friend Ger. Voſſius are as follow: "In Moſis lege (non dico in veteri Teſ-" tamento: nam de Prophetis, præſertim poſterioribus, res longe " alia eſt) æternæ vitæ non fieri mentionem niſi per umbras, aut " rationis conſequentiam, certiſſimum mihi videtur, Chriſti auto-" ritate, qui Sadducæos *non verbis directis, ſed ratiocinando* refellit †." There is not, I repeat it, any plain Text in the whole Bible (and this is amongſt the plaineſt) ſo ſtrangely miſtaken and perverted: For, 1. The appellation of *the* GOD *of Abraham, &c.* is generally underſtood to be quoted by our bleſſed Lord, as a direct proof ‡ of the *Reſurrection of the dead body*, in the ſame manner that St. Paul urges the caſe of JESUS: — *But now is Chriſt riſen from the dead, and*

* Matt. xxii. 29—32.

† Ep. 130. ed. Am. 1687. EPISCOPIUS had the very ſame idea of this argument.— " Et ſane opinionum, quæ inter Judæos erat, circa vitam futuri ſæculi diſcrepantia arguit promiſſiones Lege factas tales eſſe ut ex iis certi quid de vita futuri ſæculi non poſſit colligi. Quod et Servator noſter non obſcure innuit, eum reſurrectionem mortuorum colligit, *Matt.* xxii. non ex promiſſo aliquo Legi addito, ſed ex generali tantum illo promiſſo Dei, quo ſe Deum Abrahami, Iſaaci, & Jacobi futurum ſpoponderat: quæ tamen illa collectio magis nititur cognitione intentionis divinæ ſub generalibus iſtis verbis occultatæ aut comprehenſæ, de qua Chriſto certo conſtabat, quam neceſſaria conſequentia ſive verborum vi ac virtute manifeſtâ qualis nunc et in verbis Novi Teſtamenti, ubi vita æterna & reſurrectio mortuorum proram et puppim faciunt totius Religionis Chriſtianæ, et tam clare ac diſerte promittuntur ut ne hiſcere quidem contra quis poſſit." Inſt. Theol. lib. iii. § 1. c. 2.

‡ Mr. Le Clerc, in his Defenſe des Sentimens ſur l'Hiſtoire Critique, has fallen into this miſtake.—Nôtre Seigneur preſſe ces termes, en ſorte qu'il ſuppoſe qu'il ne faut qu'entendre la langue dans laquelle l'Ecriture parle pour *reconnoitre la Reſurrection*, Matt. xxii. 31.—Il ne faut que lire ce raiſonnement de Jeſus Chriſt, pour ſentir qu'il eſt tiré de cette expreſſion, *être le Dieu de quelqu'un*, que l'on ne pourroit appliquer à Dieu, ſi celui, dont on dit qu'il eſt le Dieu, etoit *mort ſans devoir jamais reſuſciter*. p. 102, 103.

become the firſt fruits of them that ſlept *. But can any thing be more irrational or abſurd? The bodies of Abraham and the Patriarchs were yet in duſt, and reduced to their primitive earth. So that in this ſenſe, the reaſoning is ſo far from proving *that God* WAS NOT *the God of the dead*, that it proves, *he was*. For Abraham's body continued yet lifeleſs at the very time when God was called his *God:* Whatſoever was to be the future condition of it, that could not influence the preſent appellation of the God of Iſrael. What hath led men into this miſtake is the introduction to the argument, – *But as touching the reſurrection of the dead,*—which they ſuppoſed an exordium to a *direct* proof: Whereas it is an intimation only, to what an *indirect* proof tended; namely, that the *Reſurrection of the body* might be inferred through the medium of the *ſeparate exiſtence of the ſoul*; which was the only point Jeſus propoſed to prove *directly* to them. The caſe ſtood thus: He was here arguing againſt the SADDUCEES. Now theſe ſupported their opinion, of *no reſurrection of the body*, on a principle that *the ſoul had no ſeparate exiſtence*, but fell into nothing at the diſſolution of its union with the body; which Principle once overthrown, they had nothing left to oppoſe to the writings of the Prophets, or the preaching of JESUS. Againſt this principle therefore our bleſſed Lord thus divinely argues: – "But as concerning the Reſurrection of the dead, You ground your denial of it on this ſuppoſition, that the ſoul dies with the body; but you err as much in not knowing the Scriptures, as in not rightly conceiving of the power of God. For the words of the Law, which you allow to be a good authority, directly prove that the ſoul doth not die with the body, but hath a ſeparate exiſtence. Now Moſes tells us, that God, long after the death of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, called himſelf *their God:* But God *is not the God of the dead, but of the living*; therefore the ſouls of thoſe Patriarchs are yet exiſting in a ſeparate ſtate." – This is the force of the argument †.

* 1 Cor. xv. 20.

† See note [HHH], at the end of this Book.

2. The

2. The ſecond miſtake is, that JESUS, by theſe words, inſinuates that Moſes CULTIVATED the Doctrine of a *Reſurrection*, or a *Future ſtate*. But here again the Objectors ſeem to forget, againſt whom the argument is addreſſed, the SADDUCEES. Now theſe not only held that Moſes did *not teach*, but that he did NOT BELIEVE that Doctrine. This was the error JESUS aimed to confute; and only this; becauſe the opinion that Moſes did not *teach* or *cultivate* it, was no error at all, as appears, amongſt many other reaſons, even from hence: that the Jews might reaſonably underſtand the title of the *God of Abraham, &c.* to mean the peculiar tutelary God of Abraham's Family; for the terms *Jacob* and *Iſrael* are frequently uſed in Scripture for the whole nation of the Jews; *Aaron* for the whole order of the prieſthood; *Dan, Judah, &c.* for the whole body of each tribe: And, as in reaſon they *might*, ſo by the Hiſtory of the early Jews, we find in fact, they *did* underſtand it in this ſenſe.

The real force therefore of the Text, here urged, amounts to this, From JESUS's argument it appears, that the ſeparate exiſtence of the ſoul might be fairly inferred from the writings of Moſes: Which inference I not only grant ſome early Jews did make, but have proved likewiſe; though not indeed from theſe words, for the reaſon given above. And ſo much my Anſwerers might have underſtood, had they only obſerved that this has all the marks of a new Argument*, unknown to the Phariſees; as indeed both the dignity of our Lord's character, and the impreſſion he would make on his Oppoſers, ſeemed to require it ſhould be. Accordingly we find they are ſtruck dumb; and *the multitude that heard this, aſtoniſhed at his doctrine* †. But would Either of them have been ſo affected with an old foundered argument, long hacknied in the Schools and Synagogues ‡ of the Phariſees? Nay, how ſhould it

* See note [II], at the end of this Book. † Matt. xxii. 33.

‡ The learned Pocock, ſpeaking of this Argument, ſays, His e Lege depromptis cum Sadducæos ad ſilentium adegiſſet Chriſtus, dicitur perculſam fuiſſe turbam doctrinâ ejus. Unde patet luculentiori ipſum contra eos argumento uſum, quam ullo adhuc uſi fuerant Phariſæi. Notæ miſcell. ad Portam Moſis, cap. vi.

be otherwiſe than NEW? for the words, *I am the God of Abraham*, &c. as delivered by Moſes, were ſuppoſed, both by Phariſees and Sadducees, to be ſpoken of a NATIONAL GOD; as in Gen. xvii. 8, 9. xxvi. 3. xxviii. 13. They therefore could not ſee how it implied the continued exiſtence of the Patriarch Abraham, &c. But Jeſus, in uſing the word GOD, to ſignify the Maker and Lord of all things, rightly inferred that the Patriarchs ſtill continued to exiſt. I am not ignorant, that the modern Rabbins employed this argument very familiarly for a *Reſurrection*; but they borrowed it from the GOSPEL, as they have done many other things; the reaſon of which, our rabbinical Commentators, ſuch as Lightfoot, not apprehending, have ſuppoſed the *borrowing* to be all on the ſide of the lenders: but more of this matter in its place.

Thus much for this celebrated Text. In which, however, the learned Dr. Sherlock, the late Biſhop of London, finds enough to ſupport himſelf in his own opinion, *That the Law of Moſes afforded a good proof of a future ſtate to the ancient Jews* *. But to whom did it afford this proof? To the ancient Jews, who underſtood the words in the text, in queſtion, to relate to a *national God*; or to us Chriſtians, who underſtand them of the Creator of the Univerſe? Now though I cannot agree with his Lordſhip in this concluſion, yet I agree with him in a better thing, which is, *That the Law of Moſes affords a good proof of its own divinity*; indeed, by a medium his Lordſhip never thought of, namely, *That it afforded no proof of a future ſtate at all.* But what if his Lordſhip meant no more than what his reſpectable Father endeavoured to prove †, viz. that the EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE (which I hold to be the very circumſtance which kept the Jews from the knowledge of a future ſtate) indeed ſhews that they had the knowledge of it? If this be the caſe, all I have to ſay is, that Their proof of a *future ſtate* from the LAW, begins juſt where my proof of its *divinity* ends.

* Sermons by the Biſhop of London.

† Sermons by the Dean of St. Paul's, *on the Immortality of the Soul and a Future State*, p. 141.

II. We

II. We come next to the Parable of the *rich Man and Lazarus*; where the former, being in Hell, desires Abraham, whom he saw afar off in Paradise, to send Lazarus to his father's house, to testify to his Brethren, and to lead them to repentance, lest they too should come into that place of torment: To which Abraham replies: *If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead* *. Hence it is inferred, that both Moses and the Prophets *taught a future state of Rewards and Punishments.* But, here again, the Objectors are quite beside the matter. As, in the former case, they would not see, the argument was directed against the SADDUCEES; so here, by as perverse a connivance, they will not reflect, that this Parable is addressed to the PHARISEES. It is certain we must judge of the drift and design of every rational discourse from the Character of those to whom it is addressed. Now had this Parable been told to the Sadducees, whose grand error it was, to deny a future state of rewards and punishments; and had the rich man been represented as a Sadducee, who was too late convinced of his mistake, and wanted to undeceive his father's house, which his evil DOCTRINES had perverted; had this, I say, been the case, there might have been some ground for the Objectors' inference, which I suppose to be this, That "it ap-"pears as plainly from Moses and the Prophets, that there is a "future state of rewards and punishments, as if one came back "from that state to tell us so." On the contrary, the Parable was particularly addressed to the Pharisees, the great patrons of a future state, and who sedulously taught it in opposition to the Sadducees. It is introduced in this manner: *And the* PHARISEES *also, who were* COVETOUS [φιλάργυροι], *heard all these things: and they derided him* †. For which they are thus reproved: *Ye are they which justify yourselves before men: but God knoweth your hearts* ‡. And then presently follows the Parable. Their capital errors therefore were errors of PRACTICE, *Avarice* and *Luxury*. And it was to reform these, that

* Luke xvi. 31. † Ver. 14. ‡ Ver. 15.

a *rich*

a *rich Phariſee* is repreſented as without any compaſſion for the poor, living in all kind of delicacy, and dying impenitent. This man, when he comes in the other world, finds ſo ill a reception there, wants one to be ſent to his brethren (who believed, doubtleſs, as he did, the *Doctrine of a future ſtate*) to warn them of their evil ways, and to aſſure them, that luxury and inhumanity, unrepented of, would aſſuredly damn them. Which information, he thought, would be beſt inforced by a Miracle: *If one went unto them from the dead, they will* REPENT *. (Where obſerve, it is not —*they will* BELIEVE.) To this common miſtake, Abraham's reply is extremely pertinent: *If they hear not Moſes and the Prophets, neither will they be perſuaded, though one roſe from the dead:* i. e. "If they will not hear Moſes, and the Prophets, whoſe authority they acknowledge †, and whoſe miſſions were confirmed by ſo many and well-atteſted Miracles, neither will they regard a new one, of the reſurrection of a dead man. (Nor, in fact, were the Phariſees at all ſoftened into repentance by the return of that Lazarus, the nameſake of this in the parable, whom Jeſus raiſed from the dead.) Now Moſes and the Prophets have denounced the moſt ſevere threatenings, on the part of God, againſt vice and impenitence." This is the force of the argument; in which we ſee the queſtion of a *future ſtate* is no more concerned, than thus far only, that God will puniſh, either *here* or *hereafter*. Moſes and the Prophets threatened the puniſhment here; and, while here it was executed, the Jews looked no farther: But when the *extraordinary* Providence, by which that puniſhment was adminiſtered, had ceaſed, the Jews began, from thoſe very promiſes and denunciations, to entertain ſome hopes of an *hereafter*, where all inequalities ſhould be ſet even, and God's threats and promiſes executed to the full: though ſtill, with leſs confidence, if they reaſoned rightly, than the Pagans had to draw the ſame concluſion from the ſame principles; ſince their Law had informed them of a truth

* Ver. 30.

† See note [KK], at the end of this Book.

unknown

unknown to the reſt of mankind; namely, that the whole Race was condemned to a ſtate of death and mortality, a return to duſt from whence Man was taken, for the tranſgreſſion of Adam. So that all which good logic or criticiſm will authorize the believers of a future ſtate to draw from this parable, is this, " that God is a " ſevere puniſher of unrepentant luxury and inhumanity."

But now admit the miſtaken interpretation of the Objectors; and what will follow! *That Moſes taught a future ſtate*, the Propoſition, I oppoſe; No; But that from *Moſes and the Prophets together* a future ſtate might be collected. A Propoſition, I have no occaſion to oppoſe. For when the *Prophets* are joined to *Moſes*, and have explained the *ſpiritual* meaning of his Law, and developed the hidden ſenſe of it, I may well allow that from both together a learned Phariſee might collect the truth of the doctrine, without receding one tittle from my Argument.

III. " When the Lawyer in the Goſpel (ſay theſe Objectors) " had made that moſt important Demand *, *Maſter, what ſhall* " *I do to inherit eternal life*, our bleſſed Lord refers him to what " was *written in the Law:* and upon his giving a ſound and ju- " dicious anſwer, approves of it, and for ſatisfaction to his queſtion, " tells him, *This do, and thou ſhalt live.*" This is the objection. And to this, Saint Paul ſhall give an anſwer.—*Is the* LAW *then* AGAINST *the promiſes of God? God forbid. For if there had been a Law given which could have given Life, verily righteouſneſs ſhould have been by the Law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under ſin; that the promiſe by* FAITH *of Jeſus Chriſt might be given to them that believe* †. We muſt therefore think that this Lawyer was better at diſtinctions than the Objector who brings him into his Cauſe, and inquired, *(in this moſt important demand)* of the AGENDA, not of the CREDENDA, in order to ſalvation. And ſo his words bear witneſs—*What ſhall I* DO *to be ſaved?*

* Luke x. 25. † Gal. iii. 21, 22.

IV. In-

IV. In what follows, I hardly think the Objectors can be ſerious.—*Search the Scriptures* (ſays JESUS to the Jews) *for in them* YE THINK YE HAVE *eternal life*,—ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν—*and they are they which teſtify of me. And ye will not come to me that ye* MIGHT HAVE LIFE*. The homicide † Jews, to whom theſe words are addreſſed, THOUGHT *they had eternal life in their Scriptures*;—THEREFORE (ſay the Objectors) *they had eternal Life.* If I allow this *therefore*, they muſt allow me, another – THEREFORE the Miſſion of JESUS was vain, being anticipated by that of Moſes, *who brought life and immortality to light by the* LAW.—*And if righteouſneſs came by the Law* (ſays the Apoſtle) *then is Chriſt dead in vain.* This is a neceſſary conſequence from the Objector's interpretation, and gives us, to be ſure, a very high idea of the reaſoning of the ever bleſſed JESUS.—By the ſame Art of inferring, I ſuppoſe too they will conclude, that, when St. Paul ſays to the unbelieving Jew:—*And thou art confident that thou thyſelf art a guide to the blind, a light of them which are in darkneſs, an inſtructor of the fooliſh, and a teacher of babes* ‡; they will conclude, I ſay, that THEREFORE it was the Jew, and not St. Paul, who was indeed, *the guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkneſs, an inſtructor of the fooliſh, and a teacher of babes.* In earneſt, if JESUS, in theſe words, taught, that the Jewiſh Scriptures gave *eternal life*, (and the Jews could not have what their Scriptures did not give) he certainly taught a very different doctrine from St. PAUL, who expreſsly tells us, That IF THERE HAD BEEN a LAW GIVEN WHICH COULD HAVE GIVEN LIFE, VERILY RIGHTEOUSNESS SHOULD HAVE BEEN BY THE LAW §. All therefore that theſe words of Jeſus teach us is, that the Jews THOUGHT *they had eternal life by the Moſaic Diſpenſation.* For the truth of what is thus charged upon them, we have the concurrent teſtimony of the Apoſtles; Who wrote large portions of their EPISTLES to prove, not only that they *thought*

* John v. 39, 40.
† Ver. 16.
‡ Rom. ii. 19.
§ Gal. iii. 21.

ſo,

ſo, but that they were greatly miſtaken in ſo thinking. For the Author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews ſays, that *unto the Angels* [who delivered the Law to Moſes] *hath he* [God] *not put in ſubjection the* WORLD TO COME, *whereof* WE *ſpeak* *.

But though we ſhould ſuppoſe, the words--*ye think ye have eternal life*, conſidered ſeparately, did not neceſſarily imply that theſe were *only* their thoughts, yet being oppoſed to the following words, *Ye will not come to me that ye* MIGHT HAVE LIFE, (Καὶ οὐ θέλετε ἐλθεῖν πρός με, ἵνα ζωὴν ἔχητε,) they ſhew, that whoever *thought* ſo beſides, it was not JESUS, whoſe argument ſtands thus——"The Scriptures, I affirm, and am ready to prove, do teſtify of me. What reaſon then have you to diſown my character? it cannot ſurely be, becauſe I preach up a *new* Doctrine of life and immortality. For you yourſelves teach that doctrine: and what is more, you underſtand ſeveral paſſages in your own Scriptures, to ſignify *eternal life*; which I own, in their *ſpiritual* meaning do ſo. Now that life, which you think you HAVE by your Scriptures, but HAVE NOT, do I here offer unto you, THAT YE MIGHT indeed HAVE LIFE." But if men had duly conſidered this diſcourſe of Jeſus to the unbelieving Jews, they would have ſeen the main drift and purpoſe of it was to rectify this fatal miſtake of theirs, in *thinking they had eternal life in their Scriptures.* In one place he tells them, that thoſe who *heard his word had paſſed from* DEATH *to life* †. And again, *the hour is coming, and now is, when the* DEAD *ſhall hear the voice of the Son of God* ‡. Where, by *Death* and the *Dead*, is meant the condition of thoſe under the *Law*, ſubject to the condemnation of mortality.

V. The Objectors have produced St. Paul likewiſe to confute the Principle here laid down. This Apoſtle, in his epiſtle to the Romans, ſays—"For as many as have ſinned without Law ſhall "alſo periſh without law: and *as many as have ſinned in the Law*

* Chap. ii. ver. 5. † John v. 24.

‡ Ver. 25.

"*ſhall be judged by the Law* *." Now, ſay the Objectors, "had the Law concealed a future ſtate from the Jews, it is plain they were not equitably dealt with, ſince they were to be judged in a future ſtate." This brings to mind an objection of Lord Bolingbroke's againſt the divinity of Moſes's Law; and the anſwer which this text enabled me to give to Him, will ſhew, that in theſe words of St. Paul, the Objectors have choſen the moſt unlucky text for their purpoſe in the whole New Teſtament. His Lordſhip's objection is in theſe words, "If Moſes knew that crimes "were to be puniſhed in another life, he deceived the people [in "not acquainting them with the doctrine of a *future ſtate*]. If he "did not know it, I ſay it with horror, that God deceived both "him and them.—The Iſraelites had better things to hope, and "worſe to fear, &c. †" Now not to repeat what has been replied to this impious charge, elſewhere ‡, I will only obſerve, that the words of St. Paul above are a full confutation of it, where he ſays, that *as many as have ſinned in the Law ſhall be judged by the Law:* that is, ſhall be judged on the principles of a Law which denounced puniſhment to vice, and reward to virtue. Thoſe who had already received the puniſhment which that Law denounced ſhould be *judged* to have done ſo; thoſe, who in the times of the gradual decay of the *extraordinary* providence had eſcaped or evaded puniſhment, ſhould have it hereafter. Nothing is clearer than this interpretation. For obſerve, I pray you, the difference of the predication between wicked men *without the Law*, and the wicked men *under the Law*. The firſt *ſhall periſh*, ἀπολεῖσθαι: the ſecond *ſhall be judged*, κριθήσονται, *or brought to trial*. For though κρίνω be often uſed in the New Teſtament for κατακρίνω, yet it is plain, that it is not ſo uſed here, both from the ſenſe of the place, and the Apoſtle's change of terms, for which I think no good reaſon can be aſſigned but this, that κριθήσονται is oppoſed to ἀπολεῖσθαι. From all

* Chap. ii. ver. 12. † Vol. V. p. 194, 195.

‡ See A View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philoſophy, 3d ed. 8vo. p. 225, & ſeq.

this,

this, I think, it appears, that my Objectors were as much mistaken in their urging this text againſt my principles, as the noble Lord in ſuppoſing that the reality of a *future ſtate* was a condemnation of the equity of the Law. But both took it for granted, and fooliſhly enough, that thoſe who did not live under the ſanction of a future ſtate could never, conſiſtently with juſtice, be ſummoned before the Tribunal there erected.

II.

We are now got to the very *Palladium* of the cauſe, the famous eleventh chapter to the Hebrews: where it is ſaid, that by FAITH, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Iſaac, Jacob, Joſeph, Moſes, &c. performed all their acceptable works.———That *they looked for an heavenly city.*———That *they ſaw the Promiſes afar off, and were perſuaded of them, and embraced them, and deſired an heavenly country.*—That *they all died in faith.—That Moſes eſteemed the reproach of* CHRIST *greater riches than the treaſures of Egypt.*—That *by faith the Jewiſh leaders did all their great and marvellous works.*—That *their very women deſpiſed death in hopes to obtain a part in the reſurrection of the juſt*—And that *all theſe obtained a good report* THROUGH FAITH.——This, ſay the Objectors, plainly ſhews, that a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments, or more properly, the Chriſtian Doctrine of *Life and Immortality*, was taught by the LAW.—To which I anſwer,

1. That if this be true, the eleventh chapter directly contradicts all the reſt of the Epiſtle: In which, as we have ſhewn, there are more expreſs declarations, that life and immortality was not known or taught by the Law, than in all the other books of the New Teſtament beſides. And for which, indeed, a very good reaſon may be aſſigned, as it was ſolely addreſſed to the Jews, amongſt whom this fatal prejudice, that *a future ſtate was taught by the Law*, was then, and has continued ever ſince to be, the ſtrongeſt impediment to their Converſion. For is it poſſible, that a Writer, who had ſaid, that *the Law made nothing perfect, but the* BRINGING IN

of a better Hope did;—That Christ *hath obtained a more excellent miniſtry than* Moses, *by how much alſo he is the* Mediator of a better covenant, *which is eſtabliſhed upon* better promises;—That *the* Law was only a shadow of good things to come, *and not the very image*; is it poſſible, I ſay, that ſuch a Writer ſhould forget himſelf before he came to the end of his Epiſtle, and, in contradiction to all this, affirm that *Life and Immortality was known and taught under the Law?* We may venture to ſay then, that this eleventh chapter muſt have a very different meaning. Let us ſee if we can find it out: and ſure it requires no great ſearch.

2. The whole argument of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews is directed againſt Jews and judaizing Chriſtians. The point in difference was this: The Goſpel taught justification by faith: The Judaizers thought it muſt needs be by works. One conſequence of which, in their opinion, was, that the Law of Moſes was ſtill in force. They had no more conception than our modern Socinians and Freethinkers, that there could be any merit in faith or Belief, where the underſtanding was unavoidably determined by evidence. The Reader ſees then, that the diſpute was not whether *faith in Moſes* or *faith in* Jesus made men acceptable to God; but whether *works* or the *act of believing*; conſequently, where the Apoſtle ſhews it was *faith*, or the *act of believing*, he muſt mean *faith* in the generic ſenſe, not in the ſpecific, i. e. he did not mean *faith in Jeſus:* for the Jews, even that part of them which embraced Jesus as the Meſſiah, denied it to be any kind of *faith* whatſoever. On the contrary, had they held *juſtification* to be by *faith* in Moſes, and not in Jesus, then it had been the Apoſtle's buſineſs to prove, that it was the *ſpecific faith in* Jesus. But as the diſpute ſtood, all he had to do was to prove that it was *the act of believing*, and not *works*, which juſtified. And this we find he does with infinite addreſs; by ſhewing, that that thing which made all the Patriarchs before the Law, and all the Rulers and Prophets under the Law, acceptable to God, was not *works*, but *faith*. But then what kind of *faith?*

faith? Doubtleſs *faith in God's promiſes:* for he is arguing on their own conceſſions. They admitted their anceſtors to have had *that* faith *: they did not admit that they had faith *in* CHRIST. For the Apoſtle therefore to aſſert this, had been a kind of begging the queſtion. Thus we ſee that not only the pertinency, but the whole force of the reaſoning turns upon our underſtanding *faith*, in this chapter, to mean *faith in the God of their fathers.*

But the Apoſtle's own definition of the word puts the matter out of queſtion. We have ſaid, the diſpute between him and the Jewiſh Converts neceſſarily required him to ſpeak of the efficacy of *faith* in the generic ſenſe. Accordingly his *definition* of FAITH is, that it is THE SUBSTANCE OF THINGS HOPED FOR, THE EVIDENCE OF THINGS NOT SEEN †. Not of *faith in the Meſſiah*, but of belief in general, and on good grounds. Indeed very general, according to this Writer; not only *belief* of the future, but the paſt. It is, ſays he, *the ſubſtance of things hoped for*; and this he illuſtrates by Noah's reliance on GOD's promiſe to ſave him in the approaching deluge ‡. It is, again, *the evidence of things not ſeen*; and this he illuſtrates by our belief that *the worlds were framed by the word of God* §. Having defined what he means by *faith*, he next proceeds to ſhew its nature by its common efficacy, which ſtill relates only to faith in the generic ſenſe.—*But without faith it is impoſſible to pleaſe him* [GOD], *for he that cometh to God muſt believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him* ‖; which very *faith* he immediately illuſtrates by that of Noah, Abraham, Sarah, Iſaac, Jacob, Joſeph, and Moſes. And that no doubt might remain, he farther illuſtrates it by the *faith* of the Jewiſh People paſſing the Red Sea, and encompaſſing the walls of Jericho; and by the *faith* of Rahab the harlot. But was any of this, the *faith* in JESUS the Meſſiah? or a belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments?

* Thus their Prophet Habakkuk had ſaid, *The juſt ſhall live by his faith*, chap. ii. ver. 4.
† Heb. xi. 1. ‡ Ver. 7. § Ver. 3. ‖ Ver. 6.

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As here the Apoſtle tells us of the great *rewards of faith*, ſo in his third chapter he ſpeaks of the *puniſhment of unbelief*; which was the ſhutting out a whole generation from the land of Canaan, and ſuffering them to periſh in the Wilderneſs: *So we ſee* (ſays he) *they could not enter in becauſe of unbelief* *. But was this *unbelief* want of faith in the Meſſiah, or any thing but want of faith in the promiſe of the God of Iſrael, who aſſured them that he would drive out the Canaanite from before them? Laſtly, to evince it impoſſible that *faith in the Meſſiah* ſhould be meant by the *faith* in this eleventh chapter, the Apoſtle expreſsly ſays, that all thoſe to whom he aſſigns this faith, HAD NOT RECEIVED THE PROMISE †. Therefore they could not have *faith* in that which was never yet propoſed to them for the object of *faith*: *For how ſhould they believe in him of whom they have not heard?* ſays the Apoſtle.

St. Paul had the ſame argument to manage in his Epiſtle to the Galatians; and he argues, from the advantages of *faith* or *belief in God*, in the very ſame manner. But of his argument, more in the next ſection.

Let us obſerve farther, that the ſacred Writers not only uſe the word *faith* in its *generic* ſenſe of *believing on reaſonable grounds*; but likewiſe the word GOSPEL (a more appropriated term) for *good tidings in general*. Thus this very Writer to the Hebrews—*For unto us was the* GOSPEL *preached as well as unto them* ‡, i. e. the *Iſraelites*.

Having ſhewn, that by the *Faith*, here ſaid to be ſo extenſive amongſt the Jewiſh People, is meant *faith in thoſe promiſes of God* which related to their own Diſpenſation, all the weight of this objection is removed. For as to the *promiſes ſeen afar off and believed and embraced*, which gave the proſpect of a *better country*, *that is*, *an heavenly* §, theſe are confined to the Patriarchs and Leaders of the Jewiſh People. And that *they* had this diſtant proſpect, I am as

* Ver. 19.
† Ver. 13 and 39.
‡ Chap. iv. ver. 2.
§ Ver. 13—16.

much

much concerned to prove as my Adverſaries themſelves. And if I ſhould undertake to do it more effectually, nobody I believe will think that I pretended to any great matter. But then let us ſtill remember there is a vaſt difference between SEEING THE PROMISES AFAR OFF and RECEIVING THE PROMISE: the latter implying a gift beſtowed; the former, only the obſcure and diſtant proſpect of one to come. This indeed they had: but as to the other, the ſacred Writers aſſure us that, in general, they had it not.—*And theſe* ALL having *obtained a good report* through faith, RECEIVED NOT THE PROMISE *. For though all the good Iſraelites in general had *faith in God*, and the Patriarchs and Leaders had the hope of a *better Country*, yet neither the one nor the other *received the Promiſe*.

I have ſaid, that the *hopes of a better country*, is to be confined to the Patriarchs and Leaders of the ancient Jews: Nor is this contradicted by what is ſaid of *others* who *were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better Reſurrection* †, for this refers (as our *Engliſh* Bibles ſhew us) to the hiſtory of the Maccabees; in whoſe time it is confeſſed the Doctrine of a *future ſtate* was become national. How the People got it—of what materials it was compoſed—and from what quarters it was fetched, will be ſeen hereafter. It is ſufficient to obſerve at preſent, that all this, the Jews ſoon forgot, or hid from themſelves, and made this new flattering Doctrine a part of the Law. Hence the Author of the Second book of Maccabees makes one of the Martyrs ſay—*For our brethren who now have ſuffered a ſhort pain, are dead unto God's* COVENANT OF EVERLASTING LIFE ‡. But it may be aſked, how came this *Covenant of everlaſting life* to lye ſo perfectly concealed from the time of Moſes to the great Captivity, that, as appears from their Hiſtory, neither Princes nor People had the leaſt apprehenſion or ſuſpicion of ſuch a Covenant?

But here a proper occaſion offers itſelf to remove a ſeeming contradiction between the Writer of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, and

* Ver. 39. † Ver. 35. ‡ 2 Macc. vii. 36.

St.

St. Paul, in his ſpeech to the ſynagogue at Antioch, which will give ſtill further light to the ſubject. The former ſays, *And theſe all having obtained a good report through faith*, RECEIVED NOT THE PROMISE *. And the latter, THE PROMISE WHICH WAS MADE UNTO THE FATHERS, *God hath fulfilled the ſame unto us their children, in that he hath raiſed up* JESUS *again* †. But the contradiction is only ſeeming. The two texts are, indeed, very conſiſtent. The Writer to the Hebrews is ſpeaking of the condition of the heads and leaders of the faithful Iſraelites in general; who certainly had not the promiſe of the Goſpel revealed unto them. St. Paul, in his ſpeech to the Synagogue, is ſpeaking particularly of their father ABRAHAM: as appears from his introductory addreſs, *Men and Brethren, Children of the ſtock of Abraham* ‡; and Abraham certainly had the promiſe of the Goſpel revealed unto him, as appears from the words of JESUS himſelf. *Your father Abraham rejoiced to ſee my day; and he ſaw it, and was glad.* He ſaw the reſurrection of Jeſus in the reſtoration of his ſon Iſaac. But of this more hereafter. And to this ſolution, the Author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews himſelf directs us, who, though he had ſaid that the holy men in general *received not the promiſe*, yet when he reckons up the diſtinct effects of each particular man's faith, he expreſsly ſays, *who through faith ſubdued kingdoms, wrought righteouſneſs*, OBTAINED PROMISES, *ſtopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire* §, *&c.* That is, ſome like David, through faith, *ſubdued kingdoms*; others, like Samuel, *wrought righteouſneſs*; others, like Abraham, OBTAINED PROMISES; others, as Daniel, *ſtopped the mouths of lions*; and others, again, as his three companions, *quenched the violence of fire.* From whence I would infer theſe two concluſions:

1. That as the *promiſe* here ſaid to be *obtained*, doth not contradict what the ſame Writer ſays preſently after, that the faithful Iſraelites in general *received not the promiſe*; and as the *promiſe*, ſaid by St. Paul to be *made to the fathers*, means the ſame thing with

* Heb. xi. 39. † Acts xiii. 32. ‡ Ver. 26. § Heb. xi. 33.

the

the PROMISES ſaid, by the Writer of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, to be OBTAINED, namely, the promiſes made to Abraham, *who ſaw* CHRIST's *day*, and the oath ſworn to David, that *of the fruit of his loins he would raiſe up Chriſt to ſit on his throne* * ; conſequently, neither do the words of St. Paul contradict the Writer of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, where he ſays, *theſe all received not the promiſe*. 2. As theſe goſpel *Promiſes* are ſaid to be *obtained by faith*, it follows that the FAITH mentioned in this famous eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, could not be faith *in the Meſſiah*: becauſe the promiſes of a Meſſiah are here ſaid to be the conſequence of faith; but faith *in the Meſſiah* is the conſequence of the *promiſes* of a Meſſiah: *For how could they believe in him of whom they had not heard?* From whence it appears, that the FAITH ſo much extolled in this chapter was *faith in God's veracity*, according to the interpretation given above.

III.

This is all, as far as I can learn, that hath been objected to my Propoſition; and this *all* is ſuch a confirmation of it, that I am in pain leſt the reader ſhould think I have prevaricated, and drawn out the ſtrongeſt Texts in the New Teſtament to ſupport my Opinion, under the name of a Confutation of it. But I have fairly given them as I found them urged: and to ſhew that I am no leſs ſevere, though a little more candid, to my own notions, than my Anſwerers are, I ſhall produce an objection which occurred to me in reading St. Paul's epiſtles of more real moment than their whole bundle of Texts weighed together. It is this:

The learned Apoſtle, in his reaſoning againſt the Jews, argues upon a ſuppoſition, that "By the Law they had eternal life offered to them or laid before them, on condition of their exact performance of the Commandment; but that all coming ſhort of perfect obedience, there was a neceſſity of recurring to FAITH."—*For what the Law could not do* (ſays he) *in that it was weak through the*

* Acts ii. 30.

flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh: that the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit *.

This general Argument, which runs through the epistles to the *Romans* and *Galatians*, wears indeed the face of an Objection to what I have advanced: but to understand the true value of it, we must consider the Apostle's end and purpose in writing. It was to rectify an error in the Jewish Converts, who would lay a necessity upon all men of conforming to the Law of Moses. As strangely superstitious as this may now appear to us, it seems to have been a very natural consequence of opinions then held by the whole Jewish Nation, as doctrines of Moses and of the Law; namely a *future state* of Rewards and Punishments, and the *resurrection* of the Body. Now these Doctrines, which easily disposed the less prejudiced part of the Jews to receive the *Gospel*, where they were taught more directly and explicitely, at the same time gave them wrong notions both of the Religion of Moses and of Jesus: Which, by the way, I desire those, who so much contend for a *future state's* being in the Mosaic Dispensation, to take notice of. Their wrong notion of the Law consisted in this, that having taken for granted, that the reward of obedience proposed by Moses was *Immortality*, and that this immortality could be obtained only by the *works* of the Law, therefore those works were, of necessity, to be observed. Their wrong notion of the Gospel consisted in this, that as *Immortality* was attached to *Works* by the *Law*, so it must needs be attached to *Works* by the *Gospel* also.

These were fatal mistakes. We have seen in our explanation of the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews how the Apostles combated the last of them, namely *Justification by Works*. The shewing now in what manner St. Paul opposed the other, of *obligation to the Law*, will explain the reasoning in question. Their opinion of obligation to the Law of Moses, was, as we say, founded on this principle,

* Rom. viii. 3, 4.

that

that it taught a *future ſtate*, or offered *immortality* to its followers. The caſe was nice and delicate, and the confutation of the error required much addreſs. What ſhould our Apoſtle do? Should he in direct terms deny a *future ſtate* was to be found in the Law? This would have ſhocked a general tradition ſupported by a national belief. Should he have owned that life and immortality came by the *Law?* This had not only fixed them in their error, but, what was worſe, had tended to ſubvert the whole Goſpel of JESUS. He has recourſe therefore to this admirable expedient: The later Jews, in ſupport of their national Doctrine of a *future ſtate*, had given a *ſpiritual* ſenſe to the Law. And this, which they did out of neceſſity, with little apparent grounds of concluſion then to be diſcovered, was ſeen, after the coming of the Meſſiah, to have the higheſt reaſonableneſs and truth. Thus we find there were two *ſpiritual ſenſes*, the one ſpurious, invented by the later Doctors of the Law; the other genuine, diſcovered by the Preachers of the Goſpel; and theſe coinciding well enough in the main, St. Paul was enabled to ſeize a *ſpiritual* ſenſe, and from thence to argue on their own principles, that the Law of Moſes could not now oblige; which he does in this irreſiſtible manner. "*The Law*, ſays he, *we know is ſpiritual* *; that is, in a ſpiritual ſenſe promiſes immortality: for it ſays, *Do this and live* †. Therefore *he who does the deeds of the Law ſhall live* ‡. But what then? *I am carnal* §: And *all have ſinned, and come ſhort of the glory of God* ‖: So that no fleſh can be *juſtified by the deeds of the Law* **, which requires a perfect obedience. *Works* then being unprofitable, we muſt have recourſe to *Faith*: But *the Law is not of Faith* ††: Therefore the Law is unprofitable for the attainment of ſalvation, and conſequently no longer obligatory."—Never was an important argument more artfully conducted, where the erroneous are brought into the right way on their own principles, and yet the truth not given up or

* Rom. vii. 14. † Lev. xviii. 5. Gal. iii. 12.
‡ Rom. x. 5. § Rom. vii. 14. ‖ Rom. iii. 23.
** Gal. ii. 16. Chap. iii. ver. 11. †† Gal. iii. 12.

betrayed. This would have been admired in a Greek or Roman Orator.

But though the *principle* he went upon was common both to him and his adverſaries, and conſequently true, that the Law was *ſpiritual*, or had a ſpiritual meaning, whereby, under the ſpecies of thoſe temporal promiſes of the Law, the promiſes of the Goſpel were ſhadowed out; yet the *inference* from thence, that the Law *offered immortality* to its followers, was ſolely Jewiſh, and urged by St. Paul as an argument *ad hominem* only; which appears certain from theſe conſiderations:

1. This *ſpiritual* ſenſe, which St. Paul owns to be in the Law, was not a ſenſe which was conveyed down with the literal, by Moſes, to the followers of the Law; but was a ſenſe *invented* or *diſcovered* long after;—the ſpurious, by the later Jewiſh Doctors; and the genuine and real, by the Apoſtles; as appears from theſe words of St. Paul:—*But now we are delivered from the Law, that being* DEAD *wherein we were held, that we ſhould ſerve in* NEWNESS OF SPIRIT, *and not in the* OLDNESS OF THE LETTER *. We ſee here, the Apoſtle gives the *letter* to the Jewiſh œconomy, and the *ſpirit* to the Chriſtian. Let me obſerve how exactly this quadrates with, and how well it explains, what he ſays in another place; where having told the Corinthians that he and his Fellow-Apoſtles were *miniſters of the New Teſtament, not of the letter but of the ſpirit*, he adds, *the letter killeth, but the ſpirit giveth life.* The Jews had only the *letter* delivered to them by the Law, but the Letter killeth; the conſequence is, that the *Law* (in which was only the *letter*) had no future ſtate.

2. Secondly, Suppoſing St. Paul really to hold that the *Law offered immortality to its followers*, and that that immortality was attached (as his argument ſuppoſes it) to *Works*, it would contradict the other reaſoning which both he himſelf and the author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews urged ſo cordially againſt the ſecond error of

* Rom. vii. 6.

the

the Jewiſh Converts; namely, of *immortality's* being attached to *works*, or that *juſtification* was by *works* under the Goſpel: for to confute this error, they prove, as we have ſhewn, that it was *faith* which *juſtified*, not only under the Goſpel, but under the Law alſo.

3. Thirdly, If immortality were indeed offered through *works*, by the *Law*, then *juſtification by faith*, one of the great fundamental doctrines of Chriſtianity *, would be infringed. For then *faith* could, at beſt, be only ſuppoſed to make up the defect of *works*, in ſuch a ſenſe as to enable *works* to *juſtify*.

4. Fourthly, It would directly contradict what St. Paul in other places ſays of the Law; as that *it is a ſhadow of things to come, but that the body is of* CHRIST †. But the offer of immortality on one condition, could never be called the *ſhadow* of the offer of it on another. *That it is the ſchoolmaſter to bring men to Chriſt* ‡. Now, by the unhappy dexterity of theſe men, who, in defiance of the Apoſtle, will needs give the doctrines of *grace and truth*, as well as the doctrines of the *Law*, to MOSES, His appointed SCHOOLMASTER, the Law, is made to act a part that would utterly diſcredit every other *ſchoolmaſter*, namely to teach his children, yet in their *Elements* §, the ſublime doctrines of manly ſcience.

5. Fifthly and laſtly, if St. Paul intended this for any more than an argument *ad hominem*, he contradicted himſelf, and miſled his diſciple Timothy, whom he expreſsly aſſured, that *our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath* ABOLISHED DEATH, *and hath brought life and immortality to light through the Goſpel.* And leſt, by this *bringing to light*, any one ſhould miſtake him to mean only that Jeſus Chriſt had made life and immortality more clear and manifeſt, than Moſes had done, he adds, that our Saviour had *aboliſhed or deſ-*

* This I ſhall ſhew hereafter; and endeavour to reſcue it from the madneſs of enthuſiaſm on the one hand, and the abſurdity of the common ſyſtem on the other, and yet not betray it, in explaining it away under the faſhionable pretence of delivering the *Scripture Doctrine* of it.

† Col. iii. 17. ‡ Gal. iii. 24. § Gal. iv. 3—9.

troyed

troyed Death, or that ſtate of mortality and extinction into which mankind had fallen by the tranſgreſſion of Adam; and in which, they continued under the Law of Moſes, as appears from that Law's having no other ſanction than *temporal rewards and puniſhments*. Now this ſtate muſt needs be aboliſhed, before another could be introduced: conſequently by *bringing life and immortality to light*, muſt needs be meant, the introduction of a new ſyſtem.

I will only obſerve, that the excellent Mr. Locke was not aware of the nature of the argument in queſtion; and ſo, on its miſtaken authority, hath ſeemed to ſuppoſe that the Law did indeed offer immortality to its followers: This hath run him into great perplexities throughout his explanation of St. Paul's epiſtles.

Thus we have at length proved our THIRD PROPOSITION, *That the Doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Moſaic Diſpenſation*; and, as we preſume, to the ſatisfaction of every capable and impartial reader.

But to give theſe arguments credit with thoſe who determine only by AUTHORITY, I ſhall, in the laſt place, ſupport them with the opinions of three Proteſtant Writers; but theſe Three worth a million. The firſt is the illuſtrious GROTIUS—"Moſes in Reli-"gionis Judaicæ Inſtitutione, ſi diſerta Legis reſpicimus, nihil "promiſit ſupra hujus vitæ bona, terram uberem, penum copio-"ſum, victoriam de hoſtibus, longam & valentem ſenectutem, "poſteros cum bona ſpe ſuperſtites. Nam, SI QUID EST ULTRA, "in umbris obtegitur, aut ſapienti ac DIFFICILI ratiocinatione "colligendum eſt."

The ſecond is the excellent EPISCOPIUS.—"In tota Lege Mo-"ſaica nullum vitæ æternæ præmium, ac ne æterni quidem præmii "INDICIUM VEL VESTIGIUM extat: quicquid nunc Judæi mul-"tum de futuro ſeculo, de reſurrectione mortuorum, de vita æter-"na loquantur, & ex Legis verbis ea extorquere potius quam oſten-"dere conentur, NE LEGEM MOSIS IMPERFECTAM ESSE COGANTUR "AGNOSCERE cum Sadducæis; quos olim (&, uti obſervo ex ſcrip-

"tis

" tis Rabbinorum, hodieque) vitam futuri ſæculi Lege Moſis nec " promitti nec contineri adfirmaſſe, quum tamen Judæi eſſent, " certiſſimum eſt. Nempe non niſi per Cabalam ſive Traditionem, " quam illi in univerſum rejiciebant, opinionem ſive fidem illam " irrepſiſſe aſſerebant. Et ſane opinionum, quæ inter Judæos erat, " circa vitam futuri ſæculi diſcrepantia, arguit promiſſiones Lege " factas tales eſſe, ut ex iis certi quid de vita futuri ſæculi non " poſſit colligi. Quod & Servator noſter non obſcure innuit, cum " reſurrectionem mortuorum colligit Mat. XXII. non ex promiſſo " aliquo Legi addito, ſed ex generali tantum illo promiſſo Dei, " quo ſe Deum Abrahami, Iſaaci, & Jacobi futurum ſpoponderat: " quæ tamen illa collectio magis nititur cognitione intentionis di- " vinæ ſub generalibus iſtis verbis occultatæ aut comprehenſæ, de " qua Chriſto certo conſtabat, quàm neceſſaria conſequentia, ſive " verborum vi ac virtute manifeſtâ, qualis nunc & in verbis Novi " Teſtamenti, ubi vita æterna & reſurrectio mortuorum proram " & puppim faciunt totius Religionis Chriſtianæ, & tam clarè ac " diſertè promittuntur ut ne hiſcere quidem contra quis poſſit *."

And the third is our learned Biſhop BULL:—" Primo quæritur " an in V. Teſtamento nullum omnino extet vitæ æternæ promiſ- " ſum? de eo enim à nonnullis dubitatur. Reſp. Huic quæſ- " tioni optimè mihi videtur reſpondere Auguſtinus, diſtinguens " nomen Veteris Teſtamenti: nam eo intelligi ait aut pactum illud, " quod in Monte Sinai factum eſt, aut omnia, quæ in Moſe, Ha- " giographis, ac Prophetis continentur. Si Vetus Teſtamentum " poſteriori ſenſu accipiatur, concedi FORSITAN poſſit, eſſe in eo " nonnulla futuræ vitæ non obſcura indicia; præſertim in Libro " Pſalmorum, Daniele, & Ezekiele: quanquam vel in his li- " bris clarum ac diſertum æternæ vitæ promiſſum VIX AC NE " VIX quidem reperias. Sed hæc QUALIACUNQUE erant, non " erant niſi præludia & anticipationes gratiæ Evangelicæ, AD " LEGEM NON PERTINEBANT.—Lex enim promiſſa habuit *ter-*

* Inſt. Theol. lib. iii. ſect. 1. c. 2.

" *rena,*

" *rena*, & *terrena* TANTUM, – Si quis contra ſentiat, ejus eſt locum " dare, ubi æternæ vitæ promiſſio extat; QUOD CERTE IMPOSSIBILE " EST.—Sub his autem verbis [legis ipſius] Dei intentione com- " prehenſam fuiſſe vitam æternam, ex interpretatione ipſius Chriſti " ejuſque Apoſtolorum manifeſtum eſt. Verùm hæc non ſufficiunt " ut dicamus vitam æternam in Fœdere Moſaico promiſſam fuiſſe. " Nam primò promiſſa, præſertim Fœderi annexa, debent eſſe clara " ac diſerta, & ejuſmodi, ut ab utraque parte ſtipulante intelligi " poſſint. Promiſſa autem hæc TYPICA & generalia, non additâ " aliunde interpretatione, PENE IMPOSSIBILE ERAT, UT QUIS " ISTO SENSU INTELLIGERET *."

Thus theſe three capital ſupports of the Proteſtant Church. But let the man be of what Church he will, ſo he have a ſuperiority of underſtanding and be not defective in integrity, you ſhall always hear him ſpeak the ſame Language. The great ARNAULD, that ſhining ornament of the Gallican Church, urges this important truth with ſtill more frankneſs.—" C'eſt LE COMBLE DE L'IGNOR- " ANCE (ſays this accompliſhed Divine) de mettre en doute cette " vérité, qui eſt une des plus communes de la Religion Chretienne, " et qui eſt ATTESTEE PAR TOUS LES PERES, que *les promeſſes de* " *l'ancien Teſtament n'etoient que temporelles et terreſtres, et que les* " *Juifs n'adoroient Dieu que pour les biens charnels* †." And what more hath been ſaid or done by the Author of the DIVINE LEGATION? Indeed, a great deal more. He hath ſhewn, " That the abſence or omiſſion of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſh- ments in the Moſaic Religion is a certain proof that its original was from God." *Forgive him this wrong*, my reverend Brethren!

* Harmonia Apoſtolica, Diſſertat. poſterior, cap. x. ſect. 8. p. 474. inter *Opera omnia*, ed. 1721.

† Apologie de Port-Royal. And ſee note [LL], at the end of this Book.

SECT.

SECT. V.

BUT though it appear that *a future ſtate of Rewards and puniſhments made no part of the Moſaic Diſpenſation*, yet the LAW had certainly a SPIRITUAL meaning, to be underſtood when the fulneſs of time ſhould come: And hence it received the nature, and afforded the efficacy, of PROPHESY. In the interim, the MYSTERY OF THE GOSPEL was occaſionally revealed by GOD to his choſen Servants, the Fathers and Leaders of the Jewiſh Nation; and the dawning of it was gradually opened by the Prophets, to the People.

And which is exactly agreeable to what our excellent Church in its SEVENTH ARTICLE *of Religion* teacheth concerning this matter.

ARTICLE VII.

The Old Teſtament is not contrary to the New: for both in the Old and New Teſtament everlaſting Life is offered to Mankind by Chriſt, who is the only Mediator between God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign, that the Old fathers did look only for tranſitory Promiſes.

—*The Old Teſtament is not contrary to the New*, is a propoſition directed againſt the Manichean error, to which the opinions of ſome Sectaries of theſe later times ſeemed to approach. The Manicheans fancied there was a Good and an Evil Principle; that the Old Diſpenſation was under the *Evil*, and that the New was the work of the *Good*. Now it hath been proved that the Old Teſtament is ſo far from being contrary to the New, that it was the Foundation, Rudiments, and Preparation for it.

—*For both in the Old and New Teſtament everlaſting life is offered to mankind by* CHRIST, *who is the only Mediator between God and Man*. That the Church could not mean by theſe words, that ever-

laſting life was offered to mankind by CHRIST in the Old Teſtament in the SAME MANNER in which it is offered by the New, is evident from theſe conſiderations:

1. The Church, in the preceding words, only ſays, the *Old Teſtament is* NOT CONTRARY *to the New*; but did ſhe mean that everlaſting life was offered by both, in the *ſame manner*, ſhe would certainly have ſaid, *The Old Teſtament is* THE SAME *with the New.* This farther appears from the inference drawn from the propoſition concerning everlaſting life—WHEREFORE *they are not to be heard, which feign, that the old* FATHERS *did look only for tranſitory promiſes.* But was this pretended ſenſe the true, then the inference had been, *That* ALL THE ISRAELITES *were inſtructed to look for more than tranſitory promiſes.*

2. The Church could not mean that everlaſting life is offered in the Old and New Teſtament in the *ſame manner*, becauſe we learn from St. Auſtin, that this was one of the old Pelagian hereſies, condemned by the Catholics in the Synod of Dioſpolis,—QUOD LEX SIC MITTAT AD REGNUM [COELORUM] QUEMADMODUM ET EVANGELIUM *.

What was meant therefore by the words——*both in the Old and New Teſtament everlaſting Life is offered to Mankind by* CHRIST, was plainly this; "That the offer of everlaſting Life to Mankind by "CHRIST in the New Teſtament was SHADOWED OUT in the "Old; the SPIRITUAL meaning of the Law and the Prophets re- "ferring to that life and *immortality*, *which was brought to light* by "JESUS CHRIST."

3. But laſtly, Whatever meaning the Church had in theſe words, it cannot at all affect our Propoſition, *that a future ſtate was not taught by the Law of Moſes*; becauſe by *the Old Teſtament* is ever meant both the *Law* and the *Prophets.* Now I hold that the Prophets gave ſtrong intimations, though in figurate language

* De Geſtis Pelagii, c. xi. § 24.

borrowed

borrowed from the Jewiſh Oeconomy, of the *everlaſting life* offered to mankind by JESUS CHRIST.

The concluding words of the Article which relate to this matter, ſay,—*wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign, that the* OLD FATHERS *did look only for tranſitory promiſes*; and ſo ſay I: becauſe JESUS himſelf is to be heard, before all ſuch; and he affirms the direct contrary of the *Father of the faithful* in particular. *Your father Abraham* (ſays he to the unbelieving Jews) *rejoiced to ſee my day, and he ſaw it and was glad**. A fact not only of the utmoſt certainty in itſelf, but of the higheſt importance to be rightly underſtood. That I may not therefore be ſuſpected of prevarication, I chuſe this inſtance (the nobleſt that ever was given of the HARMONY between the Old and New Teſtament) to illuſtrate this conſiſtent truth.

I.

And I perſuade myſelf that the learned Reader will be content to go along with me, while I take occaſion, from theſe remarkable words of JESUS, to explain the hiſtory of the famous COMMAND TO ABRAHAM TO OFFER UP HIS SON; for to this Hiſtory, I ſhall prove, the words refer; and by their aid I ſhall be enabled to juſtify a revolting circumſtance in it, which has been long the ſtumbling-block of Infidelity.

In the ſenſe in which the Hiſtory of the COMMAND hath been hitherto underſtood, the beſt apology for Abraham's behaviour (and it is hard we ſhould be obliged, at this time of day, to make apologies for an action, which, we are told, had the greateſt merit in the ſight of God) ſeems to be this, that having had much intercourſe with the GOD of Heaven, whoſe Revelations (not to ſay, his voice of Nature) ſpoke him a good and juſt Being, Abraham concluded that this *command to ſacrifice his ſon*, conveyed to him like the reſt, by the ſame ſtrong and clear impreſſion on the Senſory,

* John viii. 56.

came alſo from the ſame God. How rational ſoever this ſolution be, the Deiſt, perhaps, would be apt to tell us it was little better than Electra's anſwer to Oreſtes, who, ſtaggering in his purpoſe to kill his mother by the command of Apollo, ſays: *But if, after all, this ſhould be an evil Demon, who, bent upon miſchief, hath aſſumed the form of a God?* She replies, *What, an evil Demon poſſeſs the ſacred Tripod? It is not to be ſuppoſed* *.

But the idea hitherto conceived of this important Hiſtory has ſubjected it even to a worſe abuſe than that of Infidelity: Fanatics, carnally as well as ſpiritually licentious, have employed it to countenance and ſupport the moſt abominable of their Doctrines and Practices. Rimius in his *Candid Narrative* hath given us a ſtrange paſſage from the writings of the *Moravian Brethren*, which the reader, from a note of his, will find tranſcribed here below †.

However, after ſaving and reſerving to ourſelves the benefit of all thoſe arguments, which have been hitherto brought to ſupport the hiſtory of the COMMAND; I beg leave to ſay, that the ſource of all the difficulty is the very wrong idea men have been taught to entertain of it, while it was conſidered as given for a TRYAL ONLY of Abraham's faith; and conſequently as a Revelation unſought by him, and unrelated to any of thoſe before vouchſafed unto him: Whereas, in truth, it was a Revelation ARDENTLY DESIRED, had the CLOSEST CONNECTION with, and was, indeed, the COMPLETION OF ALL THE FOREGOING; which were all directed to

* Ορ. Ἆρ' αὖτ' ἀλάσωρ εἶτ' ἀπεικασθεὶς θεῷ;
Ηλ. Ἱερὸν καθ.ζων τρίποδ'; Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ δοκῶ. Eurip. Electra, ver. 979.

† "He (the Saviour) can diſpoſe of life and ſoul; he can make the œconomy of "ſalvation, and change it every hour, that the hindermoſt be the foremoſt: He can "make laws and abrogate them; HE CAN MAKE THAT TO BE MORAL WHICH IS "AGAINST NATURE; the greateſt virtue to be the moſt villainous action, and the "moſt virtuous thoughts to be the moſt criminal: He can in a quarter of an hour, "make ABRAHAM willing to kill his Son, which however is the moſt abominable "thought a man can have." Count Zinzendorf's Serm. in Rimius, p. 53.

one

one end; as the gradual view of the orderly parts of one intire Diſpenſation required: conſequently, the principal purpoſe of the COMMAND was not to try Abraham's faith, although its nature was ſuch, that in the very giving of it, *God did*, indeed, *tempt* or *try Abraham* *.

In plain terms, the Action was enjoined as the conveyance of information to the Actor, of ſomething he had requeſted to know: This mode of information by *Signs* inſtead of *Words* being, as we have ſhewn, of common practice in thoſe early Ages: And as the force of the following reaſoning is founded on that ancient cuſtom, I muſt requeſt the Reader carefully to review what hath been ſaid between the four hundred and fifth and four hundred and thirteenth pages of the ſecond volume, concerning the origin, progreſs, and various modes of perſonal converſe; where it is ſeen, how the conveying information, and giving directions, to Another, by *Signs* and *Actions*, inſtead of *Words*, came to be of general practice in the firſt rude Ages; and how, in compliance therewith, GOD was pleaſed frequently to converſe with the holy Patriarchs and Prophets in that very manner.

Laying down therefore what hath been ſaid on this ſubject, in the place referred to, as a Poſtulatum; I undertake to prove the following Propoſition:

I.

THAT WHEN GOD SAYS TO ABRAHAM, *TAKE NOW THY SON, THINE ONLY SON ISAAC, &c* †. THE COMMAND IS MERELY AN INFORMATION BY ACTION, INSTEAD OF WORDS, OF THE GREAT SACRIFICE OF CHRIST FOR THE REDEMPTION OF MANKIND, GIVEN AT THE EARNEST REQUEST OF ABRAHAM, WHO LONGED IMPATIENTLY *TO SEE CHRIST'S DAY*; and is, in its nature, exactly the ſame as thoſe informations to the Prophets, where to this Man, God ſays, *Make thee bonds and yokes, and put*

* Gen. xxii. 1. † Chap. xxii. 2.

them

them on thy neck *; to another—*Go take unto thee a wife of whoredoms* †, *&c.* and to a third :—*Prepare thee ſtuff for removing* ‡, *&c.* that is, AN INFORMATION OF HIS PURPOSE BY ACTION INSTEAD OF WORDS; in the firſt caſe, foretelling the conqueſts of Nebuchadnezzar over Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon; in the ſecond, declaring his abhorrence of the idolatries of the Houſe of Iſrael; and in the third, the approaching Captivity of Zedekiah.

The foundation of my Theſis I lay in that ſcripture of St. John, where JESUS ſays to the unbelieving *Jews*, YOUR FATHER ABRAHAM REJOICED TO SEE MY DAY; AND HE SAW IT, AND WAS GLAD §.

1. If we conſider Abraham's perſonal character, together with the choice made of him for head and origin of that People which GOD would ſeparate and make holy to himſelf; from whence was to ariſe the REDEEMER of Mankind, the ultimate end of that ſeparation; we cannot but conclude it probable, that the knowledge of this Redeemer would be revealed to him. *Shall I hide from Abraham the thing which I do* ||? ſays GOD, in a matter that much leſs concerned the Father of the Faithful. And here, in the words of JESUS, we have this probable truth ariſing from the nature of the thing, made certain and put out of all reaſonable queſtion—*Abraham rejoiced*, ſays JESUS, *to ſee my* DAY **, τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμήν. Now when the figurative word *day* is uſed, not to expreſs in general *the period of any one's exiſtence*, but to denote his peculiar *office and employment*, it muſt needs ſignify that very circumſtance in his life, which is *characteriſtic* of ſuch office and employment. But JESUS is here ſpeaking of his peculiar office and employment, as appears from the occaſion of the debate, which was his ſaying, *If any man keep my commandments, he ſhall never taſte of death*, in-

* Jerem. xxvii. 2.
† Hoſea i. 2.
‡ Ezek. xii. 3.
§ Chap. viii. ver. 56.
|| Gen. xviii. 17.
** John viii, 56.

timating

timating thereby the virtue of his office of Redeemer. Therefore, by the word DAY muſt needs be meant that *characteriſtic* circumſtance of his life; But that circumſtance was the laying down his life for the Redemption of Mankind. Conſequently, by the word DAY is meant *the great ſacrifice of* CHRIST *. Hence we may diſcover the real or affected ignorance of the *Socinian* Comment upon this place; which would have *day* only to ſignify in general the life of CHRIST, or the period of his abode here on earth.

To reconcile the learned Reader to the propriety and elegance as well as to the truth of this ſenſe of the word, *Day*, he may obſerve, that as Jeſus intitles his great Work, in his ſtate of humiliation, the *Redemption of Mankind*, by the name of HIS DAY; ſo is he pleaſed to give the ſame appellation to his other great Work, in his triumphant ſtate, *the Judgment of Mankind*. "For as the "lightning (ſays he) that lightneth out of the one part under "heaven,—ſo ſhall alſo the Son of Man be, in HIS DAY †." But this figure is indeed as uſual in Scripture as it is natural in itſelf. Thus that ſignal cataſtrophe in the fortunes of the Jewiſh People, both temporal and ſpiritual, *their Reſtoration*, is called their DAY.—*Then ſhall the Children of Judah* (ſays God by the Prophet Hoſea) *and the children of Iſrael, be gathered together, and appoint themſelves one head, and they ſhall come up out of the land: for great ſhall be* THE DAY *of Iſrael* ‡.

2. But not only the *matter*, but the *manner*, likewiſe of this great Revelation, is delivered in the text—*Abraham rejoiced to* SEE *my day, and he* SAW *it and was glad.*—ἵνα ΙΔΗ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ΕΙΔΕ – This evidently ſhews the Revelation to have been made, not by *relation* in words, but by REPRESENTATION in action. The verb εἴδω is frequently uſed in the New Teſtament, in its proper ſignification, to *ſee ſenſibly*. But whether uſed literally or figuratively, it always denotes a full intuition. That the expreſſion was as

* See Note [MM], at the end of this Book.

† Luke xvii. 24. ‡ Chap. i. ver. 11.

ſtrong

ſtrong in the Syrian language uſed by Jesus, as here in the Greek of his Hiſtorian, appears from the reply the Jews made to him—— *Thou art not yet fifty years old, and haſt thou* SEEN *Abraham* *? Plainly intimating that they underſtood the aſſertion of *Abraham's ſeeing Chriſt's day* to be a real beholding him in perſon. We muſt conclude therefore, from the words of the text, that the Redemption of Mankind was not only revealed to Abraham, but was revealed likewiſe by *repreſentation.* A late Writer, extremely well ſkilled in the ſtyle of Scripture, was ſo ſenſible of the force of Jesus's words, that, though he had no ſuſpicion they related to any part of Abraham's recorded hiſtory, yet he ſaw plainly they implied an information by repreſentation—*Thus alſo Abraham* (ſays he) *ſaw the day of* Christ *and was glad. But this muſt be in a typical or prophetical viſion* †. The excellent Dr. Scott is of the ſame opinion. He ſuppoſes "the words refer to ſome "peculiar diſcoveries, which the Spirit of God might make to "Abraham, for his own private conſolation, though not recorded "in Scripture ‡."

So far, then, is clear, that Abraham had indeed this Revelation. The next queſtion will be, whether we can reaſonably expect to find it in the hiſtory of his life, recorded in the Old Teſtament? And that we may find it here, both the words of Jesus, and the nature of the thing, aſſure us.

1. We learn, by the hiſtory of Christ's Miniſtry, that in his diſputations with the Jews, he never urged them with any circumſtance of God's Diſpenſations to their Forefathers, which they either were not, or might not be, well acquainted with by the ſtudy of their Scriptures. The reaſon is evident. His credentials were twofold, Scripture and Miracles. In the firſt way therefore of confirming his Miſſion, if inſtead of appealing to the courſe of God's Diſpenſation to his choſen People, as delivered in Scrip-

* Chap. i. ver. 57.

† See note [NN], at the end of this Book.

‡ Chriſtian Life, vol. V. p. 194.

ture,

ture, he had given them an unknown hiſtory of that Diſpenſation, (as was one of the tricks of Mahomet in his Alcoran) ſuch a method had been ſo far from ſupporting his Character, that it would have heightened the unfavourable prejudices of Unbelievers towards him: as looking like a confeſſion that the known hiſtory was againſt him; and that he was forced to invent a new one, to countenance his pretenſions. He muſt, therefore, for the neceſſary ſupport of his Character, appeal to ſome acknowledged Facts. Theſe were all contained in SCRIPTURE and TRADITION. But, we know, he always ſtudiouſly declined ſupporting himſelf on their *Traditions*, though they were full of circumſtances favourable to the Religion he came to propagate, ſuch as the doctrines *of eternal Life*, and the *Reſurrection of the Body:* Nay, he took all occaſions of decrying their TRADITIONS as impious corruptions, by which they *had rendered the* WRITTEN *word of none effect.* We conclude, therefore, from JESUS's own words, that the circumſtance of Abraham's knowledge of his *Day* is certainly to be found in Abraham's hiſtory: Not in ſo clear a manner, indeed, as to be underſtood by a Carnal-minded Jew, nor even by a Syſtem-making Chriſtian, for reaſons hereafter to be explained; yet certainly There; and certainly proved to be There, by the beſt rules of logic and criticiſm.

2. But though this did not (as it does) appear from the words of JESUS, yet it might be collected from the very nature of the thing. For admit only the fact, (as we now muſt) that *Abraham did ſee* CHRIST's *Day*, and it is utterly incredible that ſo capital a circumſtance ſhould be omitted in his Hiſtory, a ſacred Record, preordained for one of the ſupports and evidences of CHRIST's Religion. That it could not be delivered in the book of Geneſis, in terms plainly to be underſtood by the People, during the firſt periods of a preparatory Diſpenſation, is very certain; as will be ſeen hereafter: But then, this is far from being a reaſon why it ſhould not be recorded at all: Great ends, ſuch as ſupporting the

truth of the future Diſpenſation, being to be gained by the delivery of it even in ſo obſcure a manner.

Having thus far cleared our way, and ſhewn, that *the doctrine of Redemption* was revealed to Abraham; and that the hiſtory of that Revelation is recorded in Scripture; we proceed to the proof of theſe two points:

I. That there is no place, in the whole hiſtory of *Abraham*, but this, where he is commanded to offer up his Son, which bears the leaſt marks or reſemblance of ſuch a Revelation.

II. That this Command to offer up his Son has all the marks of ſuch a Revelation.

I. On the firſt head, it will be neceſſary to give a ſhort abſtract of Abraham's ſtory: in which we find a regular account of the courſe and order of God's Diſpenſations to him, from the time of his being called out of Chaldea, to the Command to offer up his Son Iſaac; the laſt of God's Revelations to him, recorded in Scripture.

The firſt notice given us of this Patriarch is in the account of his Genealogy, Family, and Country *. We are then told †, that God called him from his father's houſe to *a Land which he ſhould ſhew him:* And to excite his obedience, he promiſes to make of him *a great Nation* ‡: to have him in his peculiar protection, and to *make all the Nations of the Earth bleſſed through him* §. The laſt part of this promiſe is remarkable, as it contains the proper end of God's Choice and Separation of him and his Poſterity; and ſo, very fitly made, by the ſacred Writer, the foundation of the hiſtory of God's Diſpenſations to him; and a mark to direct the reader to what, they are all ultimately to be referred. Which, by the way, expoſes the extreme abſurdity in Collins and Tindal, who would have the *bleſſing* here promiſed to be only an Eaſtern form of ſpeech,

* Gen. xi. ver. 27, & ſeq.
† Chap. xii. ver. 1.
‡ Ver 2.
§ Ver. 3.

honourable

honourable to the Father of the Faithful.—When Abraham, in obedience to this command, was come into the land of Canaan *, GOD vouchſafed him a farther Revelation of his Will; and now told him, that this was the Land (which he had before ſaid he *would ſhew him*) to be inherited by *his Seed* †. When he returned from Egypt, GOD revealed himſelf ſtill farther, and *marked* out the *bounds* ‡ of that Land, which he aſſured him ſhould be *to him and his Seed for ever* §. Which *Seed* ſhould be *as the duſt of the earth* for number ‖. After all theſe gracious and repeated aſſurances, we may well ſuppoſe Abraham to be now grown uneaſy at his Wife's barrenneſs, and his own want of iſſue to inherit the Promiſes. Accordingly, we find him much diſturbed with theſe apprehenſions **; and that GOD, to remove them, appeared to him in a *viſion*, and ſaid, *Fear not, Abram; I am thy ſhield and exceeding great reward.* Abraham, thus encouraged to tell his grief, confeſſed it to be for his want of iſſue, and for that he ſuſpected the promiſed bleſſings were to be inherited by his adopted children, the ſons of his ſervant *Eliezer of Damaſcus* ††. To eaſe him of this diſquiet, GOD was now pleaſed to acquaint him, that his deſign was not, that an adopted ſon ſhould inherit, but one *out of his own bowels* ‡‡. And, for farther aſſurance, he inſtructs him in the various fortunes of his Poſterity.—*That his Seed ſhould be a ſtranger in a Land that was not theirs, which Land ſhould afflict them four hundred years, and that then he would judge that Nation, and afterwards bring them out with great ſubſtance to inherit the Land of Canaan* §§. At the ſame time GOD more particularly marks out the bounds of the Promiſed Land, and reckons up the ſeveral Nations which then inhabited it ‖‖. Things being in this train, and Abraham now

* Ver. 5.
† Ver. 7.
‡ Chap. xiii. ver. 14.
§ Ver. 15.
‖ Ver. 16.
** Chap. xv. ver. 1.
†† Ver. 2. 9.
‡‡ Ver. 4.
§§ Ver. 13, 14.
‖‖ Ver. 18. to the end.

ſatisfied that the Seed of his loins was to inherit the Promiſes; Sarah, on account of her ſterility, perſuaded her Huſband to go in, unto her Hand-maid Hagar, the Egyptian *. In this ſhe indulged her own vanity and ambition; ſhe would have a Son whom ſhe might adopt; *it may be* (ſays he) *that I may obtain children by her* †; and ſhe flattered herſelf with being, at the ſame time, an inſtrument to promote the deſigns of Providence: *Behold now* (ſays ſhe) *the Lord hath reſtrained me from bearing.* To this project Abraham conſented. Hagar conceived, and bare a Son, called Iſhmael ‡. The good Patriarch was now fully ſatisfied: He grew fond of Iſhmael; and reckoned upon *him* for the inheritor of the promiſes. To correct this miſtake, God vouchſafed him a new Revelation §; in which he is told, that God would not only (as had been before promiſed) bleſs and multiply his Poſterity in an extraordinary manner, but would ſeparate them from all other Nations, and he would be their God, and they ſhould be his PEOPLE ||. And this *national adoption* requiring a mutual Covenant, the rite of CIRCUMCISION is at the ſame time enjoined as the mark of the Covenant **. Laſtly, Abraham is ſhewn his fond miſtake, and told, that it was not the *Son of the bond-woman*, but of his Wife Sarah, who was ordained to be Heir of the Promiſes ††. But Abraham had ſo long indulged himſelf in his miſtake, and conſequently in his affection for Iſhmael, that he begs God would indulge it too—*O that Iſhmael might live before thee* ‡‡. And God, in compaſſion to his paternal fondneſs, graciouſly promiſes that the Poſterity of Iſhmael ſhould become exceeding great and powerful §§, but that, nevertheleſs, his Covenant ſhould be with *Iſaac, and with his Seed after him* ||||. However, this Revelation having been received with ſome

* Chap. xvi.
‡ Ver. 15.
|| Ver. 7, & ſeq.
†† Ver. 16.
§§ Ver. 20, & ſeq.
† Ver. 2.
§ Chap. xvii.
** See note [OO], at the end of this Book.
‡‡ Ver. 18.
|||| Ver. 19.

kind

kind of doubt, as appears by the words of the hiſtorian *, God was pleaſed to repeat the promiſe of a Son by Sarah †: and even to mark the time of his birth ‡; according to which, *Sarah conceived and bore Abraham a Son* §. After this, GOD revealed himſelf yet again to Abraham ||, with a command to put away his Son Iſhmael; and to aſſure him, that the CHOSEN POSTERITY ſhould come from Iſaac: For Abraham was not yet weaned from his unreaſonable partiality for Iſhmael; but ſtill reckoned upon him as his *Second hopes*, in caſe of any diſaſter or misfortune, that ſhould happen to Iſaac. This appears from Iſhmael's inſolent behaviour **; from Abraham's great unwillingneſs to dimiſs him ††; and from God's aſſuring him, in order to make him eaſy, *That in Iſaac his Seed ſhould be called* ‡‡. We now come to the famous Hiſtory of the Command to offer up his Son Iſaac.—*And it came to paſs*, (ſays the ſacred hiſtorian) AFTER THESE THINGS, *that God did tempt Abraham, and ſaid: Take now thy Son*, THINE ONLY SON *Iſaac, whom thou loveſt, and get thee unto the land of Moriah, and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of. And Abraham aroſe* §§, &c. This was the laſt of God's Revelations to Abraham—*And it came to paſs after theſe things*—And with this, the hiſtory of them is cloſed.

Here we ſee all theſe Revelations, except the laſt, are plain and clear, as referring to TEMPORAL Felicities to be conferred on Abraham and his Poſterity after the fleſh; through whom, ſome way or other, a BLESSING was to extend to all Mankind. Not one of theſe therefore can pretend to be that Revelation of the *Redemption of the world*. The laſt is the only dark and obſcure one of the whole; which, if indeed a Revelation of this grand Myſtery, muſt of neceſſity, as we ſhall ſhew, be darkly and obſcurely *recorded*.

* Ver. 17. † Chap. xviii. ‡ Ver. 10. 14.
§ Chap. xxi. ver. 2. || Ver. 12. ** Ver. 9.
†† Ver. 11. ‡‡ Ver. 12. §§ Chap. xxii. ver. 1, 2, 3.

But

But to this perhaps it may be objected, that the famous Promiſe of God to Abraham, that *in him ſhould all the Families of the earth be bleſſed* *, is that Revelation; becauſe St. Paul calls this the preaching of the Goſpel unto him—*And the Scripture, foreſeeing that God would juſtify the Heathen through Faith, preached before, the Goſpel unto Abraham, ſaying, In thee ſhall all nations of the earth be bleſſed* †. To this I reply, that the Apoſtle is here convincing the Galatians, that the Goſpel of CHRIST is founded on the ſame PRINCIPLE with that which juſtified Abraham, namely FAITH;—*Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteouſneſs* ‡. He then purſues his argument in this manner, *Therefore they which be of Faith are bleſſed with faithful Abraham* §. The reaſon he gives is from the promiſe in queſtion, given in reward of Abraham's *Faith*, that *in him ſhould all Nations be bleſſed.* This is the force of the argument; and it is very finely managed. But then the terms, *Faith* and *Goſpel*, are here uſed, as they very often are in the apoſtolic writings ||, not in their ſpecific but generic ſenſe, for *confidence in any one*, and *glad tidings in general.* For it is plain, Abraham's *Faith* here recommended, was not that *Chriſtian Faith* in JESUS the MESSIAH, but, faith in GOD, who had promiſed to make his Poſterity according to the fleſh, as numerous as the ſtars of Heaven, when as yet he had no offspring **. In a like latitude of expreſſion, St. Paul uſes the word προευαγγελίζομαι, to *preach the Goſpel beforehand*; not the tidings of the Meſſiah the Redeemer, but the *effects* of the *Redemption* wrought by him, a BLESSING on the whole race of mankind. Tidings which indeed referred to a future Diſpenſation: and, in this, differing from his uſe of the word *Faith*, which did not. But then, this is very far from his SEEING

* Gen. xii. 3. † Gal. iii. 8.

‡ Ver. 6. § Ver. 9.

|| See what hath been ſaid on this ſubject in the preceding diſcourſe on the xith chapter to the *Hebrews*.

** Gen. xv. 6.

CHRIST'S

CHRIST'S DAY; of which indeed he ſpeaks in another place, as we ſhall ſee preſently. It is true, this promiſed BLESSING was the preparatory Revelation, by which, we were to eſtimate the ultimate end of all the following; and on which, we muſt ſuppoſe them to be built: And ſo much we are concerned to prove it was. I conclude therefore, that when Jeſus ſays, *Abraham ſaw his Day*; and when St. Paul ſays, that he *had the Goſpel preached before unto him*, they ſpoke of two different Revelations. We come, therefore,

II. To the ſecond point: which is to ſhew, that the COMMAND to offer up Iſaac was the very revelation of CHRIST'S DAY, or the Redemption of mankind, by his death and ſufferings.

1. We may obſerve, from this ſhort view of Abraham's hiſtory, that all GOD's Revelations to him, even unto this laſt, open by degrees; and relate, primarily indeed, to his Poſterity according to the fleſh, but ultimately, to the whole race of Mankind: as appears from that MYSTICK Promiſe ſo early made to him as the foundation of all the following, that *in Him ſhould all the Families of the earth be bleſſed.* Theſe are the two great coincident Truths, to which all theſe Revelations tend. But the laſt, the famous *Command* in queſtion, which one would naturally expect to find the confirmation and completion of the reſt, hath, if the common Interpreters underſtand it right, no kind of relation to them, but is entirely foreign to every thing that preceded. Hence we conclude, and ſurely not unreaſonably, that there is ſomething more in the *Command* than theſe Interpreters, reſting in the outſide relation, have yet diſcovered to us.

2. But this is not all. The *Command*, as it hath been hitherto underſtood, is not only quite disjoined from the reſt of Abraham's hiſtory, but likewiſe occupies a place in it, which, according to our ideas of things, it hath certainly uſurped. The *Command* is ſuppoſed to be given as a *Trial* only *. Now when the great

* See note [PP], at the end of this Book.

Searcher

Searcher of hearts is pleaſed to try any of his Servants, either for example ſake, or for ſome other end favourable of his Diſpenſations to mankind; as in this, he condeſcends to the manner of men, who cannot judge of the merits of their inferior Agents without Trial, ſo we may be aſſured, he would accommodate himſelf to their manner likewiſe, in that which is the material circumſtance of a Trial: But, amongſt men, the Agent is always tried *before* he be ſet on work, or rewarded; and not *after:* becauſe the Trial is in order to know, or to make it known, whether he be fit for the work, or deſerving of the Reward. When we come therefore to this place, and ſee a *Command* only to tempt or *try* Abraham, we naturally expect, on his anſwering to the Trial, to find him importantly employed or greatly rewarded. On the contrary we are told, that this Trial was made after all his Work was done, and all his Reward received—*and it came to paſs after theſe things.*— Nay, what is ſtill more ſtrange, after he had been once *tried* already. For the promiſe to him, when he was yet childleſs, his Wife barren, and both of them far advanced in years, that *his ſeed ſhould be as the ſtars of Heaven for multitude*, was a Trial of his *faith*; and his believing, againſt all probability in a natural way, the ſacred Hiſtorian tells us, was *accounted to him for righteouſneſs**. Such therefore being the method both of God and Men in this matter, we muſt needs conclude, that the *Command* was not, according to the common notion, *a Trial only*, becauſe it comes *after* all God's Diſpenſations †. Yet as the ſacred text aſſures us it was a *Trial*; and as a *Trial* neceſſarily precedes the employment or reward of the perſon tried; we muſt needs conclude, that as no *employment*, ſo ſome *benefit* followed this trial. Now, on our interpretation, a *benefit*, as we ſhall ſee, did follow: We have reaſon therefore to conclude that this interpretation is the true.

3. Having ſeen the difficulties ariſing from the common interpretation of the Command, let us view it now on the other ſide;

* Gen. xv. 6.

† See note [Q Q], at the end of this Book.

in

in the new light in which we have adventured to place it. And here we ſhall find that every circumſtance of the Story concurs to ſupport our interpretation. From the view given of Abraham's hiſtory, we ſee, as was ſaid before, how all GOD's revelations to him, to this laſt, ultimately related to that myſtic fundamental promiſe made to him, on his firſt Vocation, that *in him ſhould all families of the earth be bleſſed.* GOD opens the ſcheme of his Diſpenſations by exact and regular ſteps; and the Revelations follow one another gradually and in order.—Abraham is firſt commanded to go into a Land which ſhould be ſhewn to him—then that Land, to be poſſeſſed by his numerous poſterity, is exhibited before him—Its diſtinct boundaries are afterwards marked out—He is next aſſured, while yet childleſs, that his poſterity, to which ſo much was promiſed, ſhould not be from an adopted ſon, but from one out of his own loins—He is then told that his ſon ſhould be born of Sarah—which is followed by a formal execution of the COVENANT confirmed by the ſeal of *Circumciſion*———After all this, the birth of Iſaac is predicted:——who being born at the appointed time, Iſhmael is ordered to be ſent away; to deſign with more certainty the ſucceſſion of the ſon by Sarah. Here we ſee throughout, a gradual opening, and fit preparative for ſome farther Revelation; which, in purſuance of this regular ſcheme of progreſſive Diſpenſations, could be no other than that of the REDEMPTION OF MANKIND BY THE MESSIAH, the completion of the whole Oeconomy of Grace, as it only is the explanation of his firſt and fundamental Promiſe, *that in Abraham ſhould all the families of the earth be bleſſed.* But now, the ſole remaining revelation of God's Will to Abraham, recorded by the ſacred Hiſtorian, is the Command to offer up his ſon Iſaac. This COMMAND then, as there is no other that can pretend to be the revelation in queſtion, and as we have ſhewn it muſt be ſomewhere or other recorded in Abraham's ſtory, is the very revelation we ſeek; which perfects all the foregoing, and makes the whole ſeries complete and uniform. And the place in which we find it is its proper ſtation; for, being the completion of the reſt, it muſt needs be the laſt in order.

Such, in the *intention* of the Holy Spirit, doth St. Chrysostom, in his comment on the place, underſtand it to be.———τὴν δὲ ἩΜΕΡΑΝ ἐνταῦθά μοι δοκεῖ λέγειν τὴν τοῦ σαυρῶ, ἣν ἐν τῇ τοῦ κριοῦ προσφορᾷ καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ προδιετύπωσε. And in this he is joined or followed by Erasmus, in his paraphraſe. Hoc ænigmate Jeſus ſignificavit, Abraham, quum pararet immolare filium Iſaac, per Prophetiæ ſpiritum vidiſſe Dominum Jeſum in mortem crucis a patre tradendum pro mundi ſalute.——But theſe excellent men, not reflecting on that ancient mode of information, where the Inquirer is anſwered by a ſignificative *action* inſtead of *ſpeech*, never conceived that this Command was an *imparted* information of that kind, but rather a *typical* repreſentation unſought, and given in an enjoined Rite; of whoſe import Abraham had then no knowledge *.

4. Again, We find the Revelation of the *redemption of mankind* in that very place where, if conſidered only in itſelf, and not relatively, as the completion of the reſt, we ſhould, according to all the rules of plain ſenſe, be diſpoſed to ſeek it. We muſt know then that this Revelation, as ſhall be proved from the words of Jesus, – *Abraham rejoiced to ſee my day, and he ſaw it, and was glad*, was ardently deſired and ſought after by the Patriarch. Now the *happineſs* or redemption of mankind promiſed, on Abraham's firſt Vocation, to come through him, could not but make him more and more inquiſitive into the manner of its being brought about, in proportion as he found himſelf to be more and more perſonally concerned as the Inſtrument of ſo great a bleſſing. But every new Revelation would ſhew him ſtill farther intereſted in this honour: Therefore, by the time Iſhmael was ordered to be ſent away, and the *promiſed Seed* fixed in Iſaac, we muſt needs ſuppoſe him very impatient to underſtand the Myſtery of *Redemption*; and ſo, fitly prepared to receive this laſt and ſupreme Revelation. This, in the like caſes, we find to be the diſpoſition and ſtate of mind in the holy men of old. Thus Daniel, by the ſtudy of the Propheſies of

* See note [RR], at the end of this Book.

Jeremiah,

Jeremiah, underſtanding the approaching reſtoration of the Jews, applies himſelf by faſting and prayer for God's further information; and the Angel Gabriel is ſent unto him. So John, anxious and ſolicitous for the ſuffering Church, being in prayers on the Lord's day, was favoured with all his glorious Revelations.

5. Again, The new light in which this Command is placed, diſpels all that perplexity in the common interpretation (taken notice of above) ariſing from our ideas of a *trial*; where *that* which ſhould in uſe and reaſon go before ſome extraordinary favour, is made to come after all. But now, according to our ſenſe of the *Command*, the trial, as is meet, precedes the laſt and greateſt favour ever beſtowed by God on Abraham.

6. To confirm all this, we may conſider that this interpretation of the *Command* is moſt eaſy and natural, as being intirely agreeable to the ancient way of communicating information. We have ſhewn * it to have been the general cuſtom of Antiquity, in perſonal conferences, to inſtruct by *actions* inſtead of *words*; a cuſtom begun out of neceſſity, but continued out of choice, for the ſuperior advantages it hath in making an impreſſion. For *motion*, *naturally* ſignificative, which enters at the eye, hath a much ſtronger effect than articulate *ſound*, only *arbitrarily* ſignificative, which enters at the ear. We have ſhewn likewiſe, by numerous examples, that God himſelf vouchſafed, in compliance to a general cuſtom, to uſe this way of information, when he inſtructed the holy Patriarchs and Prophets in his Will.

7. Again, As the high importance of this Revelation ſeemed to require its being given in the ſtrong and forcible way of action †, ſo nothing can be conceived more appoſite to convey the information required than *this very action*. Abraham deſired earneſtly to be let into the myſtery of the REDEMPTION; and GOD, to inſtruct him (in the beſt manner humanity is capable of receiving inſtruc-

* See vol. II. p. 405 to 413.

† See note [SS], at the end of this Book.

tion) in the infinite extent of divine goodneſs to mankind, *who ſpared not his own ſon, but delivered him up for us all* *, let Abraham feel, by experience, what it was to loſe a beloved ſon;——*Take now thy ſon, thine only ſon Iſaac*; the Son born miraculouſly when Sarah was paſt child-bearing, as Jeſus was miraculouſly born of a pure Virgin. The duration too of the action was the ſame as that between CHRIST's Death and Reſurrection; both which were deſigned to be repreſented in it: and ſtill farther, not only the *final archietypical* Sacrifice of the ſon of GOD was figured in the *command* to offer Iſaac, but the *intermediate Typical* ſacrifice, in the Moſaic Oeconomy, was repreſented, by the permitted ſacrifice of the Ram offered up inſtead of Iſaac.

8. The laſt reaſon I ſhall offer in ſupport of this point, that the *Command* concerning Iſaac was this Revelation of Chriſt's *day*, or the redemption of mankind by his death and ſufferings, is the alluſion which Jeſus makes (in theſe words, *Abraham rejoiced to ſee my day, &c.*) to the following words of Moſes, in the hiſtory of the command—*And Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is ſaid to this day, In the mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen.*

To ſhew that Jeſus alluded to theſe words of Moſes, and had them in his eye, when he ſpeaks of *Abraham's rejoicing to ſee his day*, it will be proper to conſider the true force and meaning of either text. The words of Jeſus have been fully conſidered already †.

And, in the words of Moſes——*Abraham called the name of that place Jehovah-jireh: as it is ſaid to this day, In the mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen*, we have the aſſertion of Jeſus confirmed, that *Abraham ſaw Chriſt's day and was glad.* 1. *Jehovah-jireh* ſignifies, as ſeveral of the beſt interpreters agree, THE LORD SHALL BE SEEN ‡.

But

* Rom. viii. 32.

† See p. 375, & ſeq.

‡ "*Dominus videbitur*, (ſays the learned Father Houbigant) 1°, Non *videtur*, ne "ab futuro verbi aberremus. 2°, Non *videbit*, non modo quia non additur quid ſit "Deus

But with what propriety could this name be given to it by Abraham, if, in this tranſaction, he had not *ſeen* the repreſentation of the Lord's paſſion, which was to happen in a future age? And if he did ſee it, how appoſite was the name! The Hiſtorian goes on—*as it is ſaid to this day, In the mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen*; or more exactly to the Hebrew—*for he ſaid, In the mount* THE LORD SHALL BE SEEN. In the firſt part of the verſe the ſacred Hiſtorian tells us that Abraham called the mount, *The Lord ſhall be ſeen*; and in the latter part he acquaints us with the manner how Abraham impoſed that appellation, namely by the uſe of a proverbial ſpeech implying the reaſon of the name.—*To-day in the mount, the Lord ſhall be ſeen* *. Proverbial ſpeeches, before the general uſe of recording abſtract names and things by writing, being the beſt and ſafeſt conveyance of the memory of events to Poſterity. Conformably to this interpretation of the text, the Hiſtorian on his entrance on the tranſaction calls the land of Moriah, to which

"Deus viſurus, ſed etiam quia in tota illâ viſione, hominis eſt *videre*, Domini, *videri*; "propter quam cauſam Deus locum iſtum mox nomine *viſionis* inſigniebat. Nimirum "Deus Abrahamo id oſtendit, quod *Abraham vidit & gaviſus eſt.*" The near relation of theſe words of Jeſus to thoſe of Moſes, was too ſtrongly marked to be overlooked by this very judicious Critic, though he conſidered the tranſaction in no other light than as a *Type* of the death and paſſion of Jeſus.

* Atque hoc illud eſt (ſays Father Houbigant) quod memoriæ ſempiternæ Abraham conſecrabat, cum ita ſubjungeret *hodie in monte, Dominus videbitur*; illud *hodie* ſic accipiens, ut accepit Paulus Ap. illud Davidis, *hodie ſi vocem ejus audieritis*; quod *hodie* tamdiu durat, quamdiu ſæcula illa durabunt, de quibus Apoſtolus *donec hodie cognominatur*. Propterea Abraham non dicit, *hodie Dominus videtur*. Nam id ſpectaculum nunc ſolus videt Abraham, poſtea omnes viſuri ſunt, et ad omnes pertinebit iſtud, *videbitur*, generatim dictum, cum omnes Unigenitum *in monte* viderint generis humani victimam factam. Nec aliam ſententiam ſeries verborum patitur. Ex qua ſerie illi deviant, qui hæc verba, *dixit enim hodie in monte dominus*—Moſi ſic narranti attribuunt, *propterea dicitur hodie in monte Domini*—quaſi renarret Moyſes uſurpatum ſua ætate proverbium. Nam ſi ſic erit, non jam docebit Abraham, cui huic loco nomen fecerit *Dominus videbitur*; quam tamen nominum notationem in ſacris paginis non omittunt ii, quicumque nomina rebus imponunt. Quod contra plane docebit Abraham, ſi de eo Moyſis ſic narrat, *vocavit nomen loci hujus*, DEUS VIDEBITUR; *nam* dixit, *in monte Deus videbitur*.

Abraham

Abraham went with Iſaac (according to Jerom's interpretation), the LAND OF VISION, which ſhews that the words of Jeſus, *Abraham* SAW MY DAY *and was* GLAD, evidently allude to this extraordinary circumſtance; namely, the diſpoſition of Abraham's mind on the occaſion, expreſſed in his memorial of a new name impoſed on the ſcene of action; the ancient way of commemorating joyful and happy events. In a word, Jeſus ſays, *Abraham ſaw his day*; and Abraham, by the name he impoſed upon the mount, declares the ſame thing. But as the VISION was of a public, not of a private nature, he expreſſes himſelf in terms which ſignify what mankind in general *ſhall ſee*, not what he himſelf *had ſeen*—THE LORD SHALL BE SEEN. From a vague alluſion, therefore, of the words of Jeſus, to this hiſtory of the *command* in general, we have now fixed them to the very words of Moſes, to which they more particularly refer.

The ſum then of the Argument is this—JESUS expreſsly ſays that *Abraham ſaw, and rejoiced to ſee, his day*, or the great *Sacrifice* for the ſins of mankind by *repreſentation*—The records of ſacred Hiſtory muſt needs verify his aſſertion—But there is no place in Scripture which preſents the leaſt traces of this Revelation, except the hiſtory of the Command to offer Iſaac.—This hiſtory not only eaſily and naturally *admits* of ſuch a ſenſe, but even *demands* it—And reciprocally, this ſenſe gives all imaginable light to the Hiſtory; and removes the greateſt difficulties attending the common interpretation of it. Hence, we conclude with certainty, that the *command to Abraham to offer up his ſon* was only an INFORMATION IN ACTION, which, at Abraham's earneſt requeſt, God was graciouſly pleaſed to give him, of the *great ſacrifice of Chriſt for the Redemption of mankind.* The thing to be proved. Two great ends ſeem to be gained by this interpretation: The one, to free the Command from a ſuppoſed violation of natural Law; The other, to ſupport the connexion and dependency between the two Revelations; for this interpretation makes the hiſtory of the Command

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a DIRECT Propheſy of Chriſt as Redeemer of the world; whereas the common brings it, at moſt, but to a TYPICAL intimation. Now the Defenders * of the common interpretation confeſs, that "the evidence of *direct* Propheſies is ſuperiour to that of *Types*."

The only plauſible Objection which can be made to my explanation, I conceive to be the following—"That what is here ſuppoſed the principal and proper reaſon of the *Command*, is not at all mentioned by the ſacred Hiſtorian; but another, of a different nature; namely, the Trial of Abraham's faith and obedience.—*And it came to paſs after theſe things, God did tempt Abraham, and ſaid, Take now thy ſon, thine only ſon Iſaac*—And when the affair is over, the ſame reaſon is again inſinuated:—*By myſelf have I ſworn, ſaith the Lord, for becauſe thou haſt done this thing, and haſt not withheld thy ſon, thine only ſon, that in bleſſing I will bleſs thee* †, *&c.*"

1. To the firſt part of the Objection I anſwer, That the knowledge of God's future Diſpenſation in the redemption of mankind by the death of his Son, revealed, as a ſingular grace, to the Father of the Faithful, was what could by no means be communicated to the Hebrew People, when Moſes wrote this Hiſtory for their uſe; becauſe they being then to continue long under a carnal Oeconomy, this knowledge, of the END OF THE LAW, would have greatly indiſpoſed them to a Diſpenſation, with which (as a *Schoolmaſter*, that was to bring them by degrees, through a harſh and rugged diſcipline, to the eaſy yoke of CHRIST) GOD, in his infinite wiſdom, thought fit to exerciſe them ‡. But he who does not ſee, from the plain reaſon of the thing, the neceſſity of the Hiſtorian's ſilence, is referred, for farther ſatisfaction, to what hath been already, and will be hereafter ſaid, to evince the neceſſity of ſuch a conduct, in other momentous points relating to that future Diſpenſation.

* Dr. Stebbing. † Gen. xxii. 16, 17.

‡ See note [TT], at the end of this Book.

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In the mean time, I give him St. Paul's word for this conduct of Moſes, who expreſsly tells us, that he obſcured ſome parts of his hiſtory, or put a *veil over his face that the Iſraelites might not ſee to the end of that Law which was to be aboliſhed.* And what was that *end*, if not the *Redemption of mankind* by the death and ſacrifice of Chriſt? – *Moſes* (ſays he) *put a veil over his face, that the Children of Iſrael could not ſtedfaſtly look to the end of that which is aboliſhed. But their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the ſame veil untaken away, in the reading of the Old Teſtament: which veil is done away in* CHRIST *.

But it may be aſked, perhaps, "If ſuch Revelations could not be *clearly* recorded, why were they recorded at all?" For a very plain as well as weighty reaſon; that when the *fulneſs of time* ſhould come, they might riſe up in Evidence againſt Infidelity, for the real relation and dependency between the two Diſpenſations of *Moſes* and of *Chriſt* †; when from this, and divers the like inſtances it ſhould appear, that the *firſt* Diſpenſation could be but very imperfectly underſtood without a reference to the *latter.*

But had not the ſacred Writer deſignedly obſcured this illuſtrious Revelation, by an omiſſion of the attendant circumſtances, yet the narrative of ſuch a *converſe by action* was not, in its nature, ſo intelligible or obvious, as that where God is ſhewn *converſing by action*, to the Prophets, in the ſeveral inſtances formerly given ‡. And the reaſon is this. Thoſe informations, as they are given to the Prophets for the inſtruction of the People, have neceſſarily, in the courſe of the hiſtory, their explanations annexed. But the information to Abraham being ſolely for his *own private conſolation* (as Dr. Scott expreſſes it above) there was no room for that formal explanation, which made the commanded actions to the Prophets ſo clear and intelligible. – Yet, as if I had never ſaid this,

* 2 Cor. iii. 13, 14. And ſee note [UU], at the end of this Book.

† See note [XX], at the end of this Book.

‡ See vol. II. p. 405, to 409.

Dr.

Dr. Stebbing tells the world, I make this action of Abraham's parallel to thoſe of the Prophets, *whereas* (ſays he) *it differs from them all in a very material circumſtance, as they had their ſeveral explanations annexed, and this had not.* But to ſhew by example, as well as compariſon, that obſcurity is naturally attendant on the relation of *converſe by action*, where the information is for the ſake of the Actor only, I ſhall inſtance in a caſe where no obſcurity was affected by the Hiſtorian. It is the relation of Jacob's wreſtling with the Angel *. The Patriarch, on his return from Haran to his native Country, hearing of his brother Eſau's power, and dreading his reſentment for the defrauded Birthright, addreſſes himſelf for protection in this diſtreſs to the GOD of his Fathers, with all humility and confidence. GOD hears his prayer; and is pleaſed to inform him of the happy iſſue of the adventure, by a *ſignificative action:* The following night, he has a ſtruggle with an Angel, with whom he is ſuffered to make his part ſo good, that from thence he collected GOD had granted his petition. This is the circumſtance in Jacob's hiſtory which affords ſuch mirth to our illiterate Libertines: For this *information by action* concerning only the Actor, who little needed to be told the meaning of a mode of Inſtruction, at that time in vulgar uſe, hath now an obſcurity which the Scripture-relations of the ſame mode of information to the Prophets are free from, by reaſon of their being given for the uſe of the People, to whom they were explained.

But it may perhaps be aſked, "Why, when *the fulneſs of time was come*, Scripture did not break its long ſilence, and inſtruct us in the principal and proper reaſon of the *Command* to offer Iſaac?" I anſwer, that it has done ſo. The words of Jeſus are a convincing proof. Nay, I might go farther, and ſay that this is not the only place where the true reaſon of the *Command* is plainly hinted at. The Author of the epiſtle to the Hebrews, ſpeaking of this very *Command*, ſays—*By faith Abraham, when he was tried, offered up*

* Gen. xxii. 24, etc.

Iſaac—accounting that God was able to raiſe him up even from the dead, from whence alſo he received him IN A FIGURE*; EN ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ, *in a Parable:* a mode of information either by *words* or *actions*, which conſiſts *in putting one thing for another.* Now, in a Writer who regarded this commanded action as a repreſentative information of the Redemption of mankind, nothing could be more fine or eaſy than this expreſſion. For though Abraham did not indeed receive Iſaac reſtored to life after a real diſſolution, yet the Son being in this action to repreſent CHRIST ſuffering death for the ſins of the world, when the Father brought him ſafe from mount Moriah after three days, (during which the Son was in a ſtate of condemnation to death) the Father plainly received him, under the character of CHRIST's Repreſentative, as reſtored from the dead. For, as his being brought to the mount, there bound, and laid upon the Altar, figured the death and ſufferings of CHRIST, ſo his being taken from thence alive, as properly figured CHRIST's Reſurrection from the dead. With the higheſt propriety therefore and elegance of ſpeech, might Abraham be ſaid to receive Iſaac from the dead *in a parable,* or in repreſentation †. But the nature of the *command* not being underſtood, theſe words of the epiſtle have been hitherto interpreted, to ſignify only that *Iſaac was a type of Chriſt*, in the ſame ſenſe that the *old Tabernacle*, in this epiſtle ‡, is called a *type*—ἥτις ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΗ, that is, a thing deſigned by the Holy Spirit to have both a preſent ſignificancy and a future. Which amounts but juſt to this, That Abraham receiving Iſaac ſafe from mount Moriah, in the manner related by Scripture, he thereby became a *Type.* An ancient Interpretation, as appears from the reading of the vulgar Latin—*Unde eum* & IN PARABOLAM *accepit*, for *in parabola*, as it ought to have been tranſlated conformably to the Greek. However I deſire it may be obſerved, in corroboration of my ſenſe of the *Command*, that the reſemblance to Chriſt's ſa-

* Chap. xi. ver. 17—19.

† See note [YY], at the end of this Book.

‡ Chap. ix. ver. 9.

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crifice in all the circumſtances of the ſtory was ſo ſtrong that Interpreters could never overlook the reſemblance, in their comments on the paſſage.

2. To the ſecond part of the Objection, I anſwer thus; It is the office of Hiſtory to aſſign the Cauſes of the facts related. In thoſe facts therefore, which have ſeveral Cauſes, of which the principal cannot be conveniently told, the inferior come in properly to take its place. Thus, in the caſe before us; though it be made, I preſume, very evident that the principal deſign of the Command was to reveal to Abraham, by *action* inſtead of *words*, the Redemption of mankind; yet as this was a favour of a very high nature, and conferred on Abraham at his earneſt requeſt, it was but fit he ſhould approve himſelf worthy of it by ſome proportionable Trial; agreeably to what we find in Scripture to be GOD's way of dealing with his favoured Servants. On this account, therefore, GOD was pleaſed, by the very manner in which this Myſtery was revealed, to tempt or try Abraham. Where the making the *favour* itſelf the *trial* of his deſerving it, hath all that ſuperior elegance and beauty which is to be conceived in the Diſpenſations of divine Wiſdom only. Now, as the principal reaſon of the Command could not be conveniently told by the Hiſtorian, this inferior one of the *Trial* is aſſigned with great truth and propriety—*And it came to paſs after theſe things God did tempt Abraham, and ſaid, Take now thy ſon, &c.* And it is to be obſerved, that the very manner of recording this reaſon ſhews it to be indeed what we ſuppoſe it; an inferior one. For it is not ſaid that God gave this Command in order to try Abraham, which expreſſes a principal reaſon; but that, in giving the Command, God did try him, which at moſt only implies an inferior one. We have ſaid, that a Trial, when approved, implied a following reward. Now as there may be more reaſons than one for giving a *Command*, ſo there may be more rewards than one attendant on a *Trial*. Thus it was in the caſe before us. And

it is remarkable that the ſacred Hiſtorian has obſerved the ſame rule with regard to the reward of the Trial as to the reaſon of the Command. The principal and peculiar reward of Abraham's Trial here was the revelation of the myſtery of Redemption: this the Hiſtorian could not mention, for the reaſons given above: but beſides this, God rewarded him with a repetition of all the former Promiſes. This the Hiſtorian could, and, in purſuance of the rules of Hiſtory, does mention:—*By myſelf have I ſworn, ſaith the Lord, for becauſe thou haſt done this thing, and haſt not withheld thy ſon, thine only ſon, that in bleſſing I will bleſs thee, and in multiplying, I will multiply thy ſeed as the ſtars of Heaven, and as the ſand which is upon the ſea ſhore; and thy ſeed ſhall poſſeſs the gate of his enemies; and in thy ſeed ſhall all the nations of the earth be bleſſed, becauſe thou haſt obeyed my voice* *.

On the whole, This Objection to the interpretation, the only one I can think of, is ſo far from obſcuring, and weakening, that it adds great light and ſtrength unto it. For admitting the ſenſe here propoſed, to be indeed the true, we ſee the Story muſt of neceſſity have been told in the very manner we find it to be recorded †.

Before I conclude this part of the Diſcourſe, I ſhall but juſt take notice how ſtrongly this interpretation of the Command concludes againſt the Socinians, for the real *ſacrifice* of Christ, and the proper *Redemption* of mankind. For if the Command was an information by *action* inſtead of *words*, the proof conveyed in it is deciſive; there being here no room for their evaſion of its being a *figurative expreſſion*, ſince the *figurative action*, the original of ſuch expreſſion, denotes either a *real ſacrifice*, or nothing at all.

* Gen. xxii. ver. 16, & ſeq.

† See note [ZZ], at the end of this Book.

II.

II.

I come now to the other part of this Diſcourſe, viz. to ſhew, that the interpretation here given intirely diſſipates all thoſe bluſtering objections which Infidelity hath raiſed up againſt the hiſtoric truth of the relation.

They ſay, "GOD could not give ſuch a Command to Abraham, becauſe it would throw him into inextricable doubts concerning the Author of it, as Whether it proceeded from a good or an evil Being. Or if not ſo, but that he might be ſatisfied it came from GOD, it would then miſlead him in his notions of the divine Attributes, and of the fundamental principles of Morality. Becauſe, though the revocation of the Command prevented the homicide, yet the ſpecies of the action commanded not being condemned when it was revoked, Abraham and his Family muſt needs have thought HUMAN SACRIFICES grateful to the Almighty: for a ſimple revoking was not condemning; but would be more naturally thought a peculiar indulgence for a ready obedience. Thus, the Pagan fable of Diana's ſubſtituting a Hind in the place of Iphigenia did not make Idolaters believe that ſhe therefore abhorred *Human Sacrifices*, they having before been perſuaded of the contrary, from the Command of that Idol to offer up the daughter of Agamemnon."—This is the ſubſtance, only ſet in a clearer light, of all their dull cloudy diſſertations on the caſe of Abraham *.

1. Let us ſee then how this caſe ſtood: GOD had been pleaſed to reveal to him his eternal purpoſe of making all mankind bleſſed through him: and likewiſe to confirm this promiſe, in a regular courſe of ſucceſſive Revelations, each fuller and more explicit than the other. By this time we cannot but ſuppoſe the *Father of the Faithful* muſt, from the nature of the thing, be become very deſirous of knowing the manner how this Bleſſing was to be brought about: A Myſtery, if we will believe the Author of our Faith,

* See note [AAA], at the end of this Book.

that

that engaged the attention of other holy men, leſs immediately concerned than Abraham, and conſequently leſs ſtimulated and excited by their curioſity:—*And* JESUS *turned to his Diſciples, and ſaid privately, Bleſſed are the eyes which ſee the things which ye ſee. For I tell you that many Prophets and Kings have* DESIRED *to ſee thoſe things which ye ſee, and have not ſeen them, and to hear thoſe things which ye hear, and have not heard them* *. But we are aſſured, by the ſame authority, that Abraham had, in fact, this very *deſire* highly raiſed in him? *Abraham rejoiced to ſee my day* (ſays JESUS), *and he ſaw it, and was glad*; or rather, He rejoiced THAT HE MIGHT SEE, INA ΙΔΗ; which implies, that the period of his joy was in the ſpace between the promiſe made, and the actual performance of it by the delivery of the Command; conſequently, that it was granted at his earneſt requeſt †. In the ſecond place, we ſhall ſhew from the ſame words, that Abraham, at the time when the Command was given, KNEW it to be that Revelation he had ſo earneſtly requeſted. This is of the higheſt importance for the underſtanding the true nature of the Command.—*Your Father Abraham rejoiced to ſee my Day, and he ſaw it, and was glad.* Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἠγαλλιάσατο INA ΙΔΗ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν· καὶ εἶδε, καὶ ἐχάρη. We have obſerved that ἵνα ἴδῃ, in ſtrict propriety, ſignifies *that he might ſee*. The Engliſh phraſe,—*to ſee*, is equivocal and ambiguous, and means either the preſent time, *that he then did ſee*; or the future, *that he was promiſed he ſhould ſee:* but the original ἵνα ἴδῃ has only the latter ſenſe. So that the text plainly diſtinguiſhes two different periods of Joy; the firſt, when *it was promiſed he ſhould ſee*; the ſecond, when *he actually ſaw:* And it is to be obſerved ‡ that, according to the exact uſe of the word,

* Luke x. 23, 24.

† Thus all the *Eaſtern* Verſions underſtand it: *Syr.* Cupidus fuit videndi.—*Perſ.* Cupidus erat ut videret.—*Arab.* Exoptavit videre.—*Æthiop.* Deſideravit, gaviſus eſt ut videret.

‡ See note [BBB], at the end of this Book.

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in ἀγαλλιάσμαι is implied the tumultuous pleaſure which the certain expectation of an approaching bleſſing, underſtood only in the groſs, occaſions; and, in χαίρω that calm and ſettled joy which ariſes from our knowledge, in the poſſeſſion of it. But the Tranſlators, perhaps, not apprehending that there was any time between the *Grant to ſee*, and the *actual ſeeing*, turned it, he *rejoiced to ſee*; as if it had been the Paraphraſe of the Poet Nonnus,

ἰδεῖν ἠγάλλεϱο θυμῷ.

whereas this Hiſtory of Abraham hath plainly three diſtinct periods. The firſt contains GOD's promiſe to grant Abraham's requeſt, when he *rejoiced that he ſhould ſee*; this, for reaſons given above, was wiſely omitted by the Hiſtorian: Within the ſecond period was the delivery of the *Command*, with which Moſes's account begins: And Abraham's Obedience, through which he *ſaw* CHRIST's *day and was glad*, includes the third*. Thus the Patriarch, we find, had a promiſe that his requeſt ſhould be granted; and, in regard to that promiſe, an *action* is commanded, which, at that time, was a common mode of information; Abraham therefore muſt needs know it was the very information ſo much requeſted, ſo graciouſly promiſed, and ſo impatiently expected. We conclude then, on the whole, that this *Command* being only the Grant of an earneſt requeſt, and known by Abraham, at the time of impoſing, to be ſuch Grant, he could not poſſibly have any doubt concerning the Author of it. He was ſolliciting the God of Heaven to reveal to him the Myſtery of Man's Redemption, and he received the information, in a Command to offer Iſaac; a Revelation, that had the cloſeſt connection with, and was the fulleſt completion of, the whole ſeries of the preceding Revelations.

2. For, (as we ſhall now ſhew, in anſwer to the ſecond part of the objection) the *Command* could occaſion no miſtakes concerning the divine Attributes; it being, as was ſaid, only the conveyance

* See note [CCC], at the end of this Book.

of

of an information by *action* inſtead of *words*, in conformity to the common mode of converſe in the more early times. This *action* therefore being mere ſcenery, had NO MORAL IMPORT; that is, it conveyed or implied none of thoſe *intentions* in him who commanded it, and in him who obeyed the Command, which go along with actions that have a *moral import* *. Conſequently the *injunction* and *obedience*, in an action which hath no ſuch import, can no way affect the moral character of the perſons concerned: and conſequently, this Command could occaſion no miſtakes concerning the divine Attributes, with regard to GOD's delighting in human ſacrifices. On the contrary, the very information conveyed by it, was the higheſt aſſurance to the perſon informed, of God's good-will towards man. Hence we ſee there was not the leaſt occaſion, when GOD *remitted* the offering of Iſaac, that he ſhould *formally condemn human Sacrifices*, to prevent Abraham or his family's falling into an opinion, that ſuch Sacrifices were not diſpleaſing to him †, any more than for the Prophet Ahijah ‡, when he had rent Jeroboam's garment into twelve pieces to denote the enſuing diviſion in the tribes of Iſrael, to deliver a moral precept againſt the ſin of deſpoiling, and inſulting our neighbour: For the command having *no moral import*, as being only an information by action, where one thing ſtood for the repreſentative of another, all the conſequence that could be deduced from it was only this, that the Son of

* See note [DDD], at the end of this Book.

† See note [EEE], at the end of this Book.

‡ "And it came to paſs at that time, when Jeroboam went out to Jeruſalem, that "the Prophet Ahijah the Shilonite found him in the way; and he had clad himſelf "with a new garment, and they two were alone in the field. And Ahijah caught the "new garment that was on him, and rent it in twelve pieces, and he ſaid to Jero-"boam, Take thee ten pieces, for thus ſaith the Lord the God of Iſrael, Behold I "will rend the kingdom out of the hand of Solomon, and will give ten tribes to "thee." 1 Kings xi. 29. The circumſtance of the *new garment* was not inſignificant: It was to denote the power of the kingdom at that time in its full ſtrength and luſtre.

God

GOD ſhould be offered up for the ſins of mankind: therefore the conceptions they had of HUMAN SACRIFICES, *after the command*, muſt needs be juſt the ſame with thoſe they had *before*; and therefore, inſtruction, concerning the execrable nature of this Rite, was not only needleſs, but altogether beſide the queſtion.

But this aſſertion that A SCENICAL REPRESENTATION HAS NO MORAL IMPORT, having been miſunderſtood by many, and miſrepreſented by more, (though nothing, as I then thought, could be clearer to men verſed in moral matters) I ſhall beg leave to explain myſelf.—He who affirms that *a ſcenical repreſentation has no moral import*, cannot poſſibly be underſtood to mean (if interpreted on the ordinary rules of Logic and Common ſenſe) any thing elſe than that the repreſentation or the feigned action has none of that *ſpecific morality* which is in the real action. He can never be ſuppoſed to mean that ſuch a repreſentation could never, even by accident, give birth to a moral entity, of a different ſpecies; though it kept within, much leſs if it trangreſſed the bounds, of its ſcenical nature. Give me leave to explain this by an inſtance or two. The Tragic ſcene we will ſuppoſe to exhibit a Pagan ſtory, in which a lewd Sacrifice to Venus is repreſented. Now I ſay this ſcenical repreſentation has *no moral import*. But do I mean by this, that there was no immorality of any kind in the ſcene? Far from it. I only mean that that *ſpecific immorality* was abſent, which would have exiſted there, had the action been real and not feigned; I mean *idolatry*. Again, another ſet of Tragedians repreſent the Conſpiracy againſt Julius Cæſar in the Senate-houſe. This, I ſay, has *no moral import*: for neither could the followers of Cæſar's Cauſe call theſe fictitious Conſpirators, enemies to their Country; nor could the warmeſt lovers of liberty call them Patriots. But if in this repreſentation, the Actors, inſtead of exhibiting an imaginary aſſaſſination, ſhould commit a real one, on the body of the perſonated Cæſar, Who ever ſuppoſed that ſuch a dramatic repreſentation continued ſtill to have *no moral import*? The men who committed the

action dropt their perſonated, and aſſumed their real character, being inſtigated by intereſt, malice, or revenge; and only waited a fit opportunity to perpetrate their deſigns under the cover of a drama. Here indeed, the parallel ceaſes. The feigned Conſpirators tranſgreſſed the bounds of a repreſentation: while the real death of Iſaac muſt be ſuppoſed to make part of the ſcenical repreſentation, in the Command to Abraham. But it ſhould have been conſidered, and was not, that I employed the principle of a *feigned repreſentation's having no moral import*, to free the *Command* from the infidel objection that it was *an enjoined ſacrifice*; not from the objection of its being *an enjoined death, ſimply:* For a *human Sacrifice commanded* was ſuppoſed to diſcredit Revelation, as giving too much countenance and encouragement to that horrid ſuperſtition; whereas, with regard to *a ſimple death commanded*, to juſtify this, I was ready to confide in the common argument of Divines, taken from God's ſovereign right over his creatures: Whoſe power could inſtantaneouſly repair the loſs, or whoſe goodneſs would abundantly reward the act of obedience. Yet the fair and candid Dr. Rutherforth repreſents my poſition of *a ſcenical repreſentation's having no moral import*, to be the ſame with ſaying, that *though an action be ever ſo vile in itſelf, yet, if it be done to repreſent ſomewhat elſe, it loſes its nature and becomes an indifferent one.*—Had I the preſumption to believe, that any thing I could ſay would better his heart or mend his head, I ſhould recommend what hath been here ſaid to his ſerious conſideration.

3. And now we ſee the weakneſs of the third and laſt part of the Objection, which ſuppoſes this Command capable of affording a temptation to tranſgreſs the fundamental principles of the Law of Nature: one of which obliges us to cheriſh and protect our Offspring; and another, not to injure our Neighbour. For as, by the *Command*, Abraham underſtood the nature of man's Redemption; ſo, by the nature of that Redemption, he muſt know how the ſcenical repreſentation was to end. Iſaac, he ſaw, was made the

the perſon or repreſentative of *Chriſt dying for us:* The Son of GOD, he knew, could not poſſibly lie under the *dominion of the grave.* Hence he muſt needs conclude one of theſe two things, either that GOD would ſtop his hand when he came to give the ſacrificing ſtroke: or that, if the Revelation of this myſtery was to be repreſented throughout in action, that then his Son, ſacrificed under the perſon of CHRIST, was, under the ſame perſon, ſoon to be reſtored to life: *accounting* (as he well might) *that God was able to raiſe him up even from the dead,* as the Author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews *, who ſeems to have been full of the idea here explained, aſſures us he did believe.

Now where was the temptation to violate any Principle of Morality in all this? The Law of Nature commands us to cheriſh and protect our offspring: Was that tranſgreſſed in giving a ſtroke whoſe hurt was preſently to be repaired? Surely no more than if the ſtroke had been in viſion. The Law of Nature forbids all injury to our Fellow-creature: And was he injured, who, by being thus highly honoured, in becoming the repreſentative of the Son of God, was to ſhare with his Father Abraham in the rewards of his obedience? But though, as we ſee, Abraham could have no ſtruggles with himſelf, from any doubts that he might violate Morality in paying obedience to the Command; yet did the merit of that obedience, where the natural feelings were ſo alarmed, deſerve all the encomiums beſtowed upon it in Holy Writ. For, in expreſſing his extreme readineſs to obey, he declared a full confidence in the promiſes of GOD.

From hence we may deduce theſe two corollaries.

1. That the noble Author of *the Characteriſtics* hath ſhewn as much ignorance as malevolence, when he ſuppoſed that Abraham's ſhewing no *extreme ſurpriſe on this trying Revelation* was from the favourable notion he had of Human Sacrifices, *ſo common amongſt*

* Chap. xi. ver. 19.

*the inhabitants of Paleſtine and other neighbouring Nations**. For we ſee the reaſon, why Abraham, inſtead of being under any *extreme ſurpriſe*, was (as Jesus aſſures us) under an *extreme joy*, was becauſe he underſtood the *Command* to be a communication of that Myſtery in which he had ſo earneſtly requeſted to participate; and, conſequently, that Iſaac muſt needs, at length, come ſafe and unhurt from that ſcenical repreſentation, in which he bore the principal part.

2 That Sir John Marſham's ſuſpicion of Abraham's being ſtruck by a ſuperſtitious imagination † is as groundleſs, as it is injurious to the holy Patriarch. Nay, the very examples he gives might have ſhewn him the folly of ſuch inſinuations: For, according to his inferences, Human Sacrifices were never offered but in caſes of great diſtreſs: Now Abraham was at this time in a full ſtate of peace, ſecurity, and affluence.

Thus, we preſume, it appears that this *Command* was a mere *information by action*: and that, when regarded in this view, all the objections againſt God's giving it to Abraham are abſolutely enervated and overthrown.

For thus ſtands the caſe. If the trial of Abraham's faith and obedience were the commanding a real ſacrifice, then was Abraham an *Agent*, and not a bare *Inſtrument*; and then it might be pretended that God commanded an human *agent* to act againſt humanity. And his right over his Creatures cannot ſolve the difficulty, as it may when he employs a mere inſtrument to perform his Will upon them. But if the trial were only the commanding a ſcenical

* See note [FFF], at the end of this Book.

† —*Ex iſtis ſatius eſt colligere hanc Abrahami tentationem non fuiſſe* κεκαινουργημένην πρᾶξιν, *actionem innovatam; non recens excogitatam, ſed ad priſtinos Cananæorum mores deſignatam. Horrendi ſacrificii uſum apud Phœnices frequentem indicat Porphyrius:* "Phœnices, *inquit*, in "magnis periculis ex bello, fame, peſtilentia, clariſſimorum aliquem ad id ſuffragiis "publicis delectum, ſacrificabant Saturno. Et victimarum talium plena eſt Sancho-"niathonis hiſtoria Phœnicice ſcripta, quam Philo Biblius Græce interpretatus eſt libris "octo." Canon. Chron. p. 79.

repre-

repreſentation, the command had *no moral import*; and conſequently Abraham was not put upon any thing morally wrong; as is the offering up a human ſacrifice.

I have tranſcribed into the notes, as I have gone along, ſome of the moſt conſiderable Objections my Adverſaries have been able to oppoſe to this interpretation of the COMMAND TO ABRAHAM: which, I preſume, when fairly conſidered, will be no light confirmation of it. But, as I have no notions to advance, not founded in a ſincere deſire to find out, and do honour to, Truth, I would by no means take advantage of an Adverſary's weakneſs to recommend them to the public favour. I hold it not honeſt, therefore, to conceal the force of an Objection which I myſelf have to offer, by far more plauſible than any that theſe learned Divines have urged againſt it. The objection is this, "That it is difficult to conceive why a CIRCUMSTANCE of ſuch importance to Revelation, which removes one of the ſtrongeſt arguments againſt its truth, and at the ſame time manifeſts a REAL CONNEXION between the two Diſpenſations of it, ſhould never be directly and minutely explained and inſiſted on by the Writers of the New Teſtament, though Abraham's Hiſtorian might have had his reaſons for concealing it." Now, to my own Objection, I ſuppoſe, I may have leave to reply, That many truths of great importance, for the ſupport of Religion againſt Infidelity, were taught by Jeſus to his Diſciples (amongſt which, I reckon *this Interpretation* to be one) which never came down, by their conveyance, to the Church. But being, by the aſſiſtance of God's Holy Spirit, diſcoverable by thoſe who devote themſelves to the ſtudy of the Scriptures with a pure mind, have, for the wiſe ends of Providence (many of which are inſcrutable to us) been left for the induſtry of men to find out: that, as occaſion required, every Age might ſupply new evidence of God's Truth, to *put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men*: and in proportion as the Powers of Darkneſs prevailed, ſo might the Goſpel-light break out again with freſh ſplendor to curb and repreſs them. In ſupport of what

what is here ſaid, I beg the Reader to reflect on what is told us by the Evangeliſt, of the converſation between Jesus (after his Reſurrection) and the two Diſciples journeying to Emmaus; where their Maſter ſays unto them, *O fools, and ſlow of heart to believe all that the Prophets have ſpoken! Ought not* Chriſt *to have ſuffered theſe things, and to enter into his glory? And beginning at* Moses, *and all the Prophets,* he expounded unto them *the things concerning himſelf**. Now, who can doubt but that many things were at this time revealed, which, had they been delivered down to Poſterity, in Writing, would have greatly contributed to the improvement of Euſebius's *Evangelical Demonſtration?* Yet hath Providence thought fit to order matters otherwiſe. But, that the Apoſtles uſed, and made a good uſe too, of thoſe Expositions, long ſince forgotten and loſt, we have great reaſon to believe from their amazing ſucceſs in the converſion of the world, by ſuch an application of *Moſes and the Prophets, to Chriſt.* And if I be not much deceived, amongſt the Truths thus inforced, *that*, which I preſume to have diſcovered in the *Command to Abraham*, held no inferior place. Let the unprejudiced Reader judge. St. Paul, making his Apology before king Agrippa, concludes his Defence in theſe words: *Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue unto this day witneſſing both to ſmall and great, ſaying none other things than thoſe which the Prophets and* Moses did say should come: *that* Christ *ſhould ſuffer, and that he ſhould be the firſt that ſhould riſe from the dead* †. The *Greek* is rather ſtronger, in predicating this circumſtance of Moſes,——ὧν τε οἱ προφῆται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γίνεσθαι, ΚΑΙ ΜΩΣΗΣ. Now where, let me aſk, in all his Writings, but in the *Command to Abraham*, is there the leaſt trace of any ſuch circumſtance, as *that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer, and that he ſhould be the firſt that ſhould riſe from the dead?* Nor is it to be found there, unleſs the *Command* be underſtood in the ſenſe I have given to it.——

* Luke xxiv. ver. 25, 26, 27.

† Acts xxvi. ver. 22, 23; and to the ſame purpoſe, chap. xiii. ver. 31.

But

But this is the ſtate in which it hath pleaſed Providence to place the Church of Chriſt: With abundant evidence in hand, to ſupport itſelf againſt the attacks of Infidelity; yet much of this divine Treaſure left ſealed up, to exerciſe our *Faith*, and (in time of need) to excite our *Induſtry:* for it was not the intent of Providence that one of theſe virtues ſhould thrive at the expence of the other; but that Induſtry ſhould as well be rewarded by a ſucceſsful ſearch, as Faith, by *peace in believing*. Therefore when my learned Adverſary *, in order, I will believe, to advance the Chriſtian Faith, would diſcourage Chriſtian Induſtry, by calumniating, and rendering ſuſpected what he is pleaſed to call EXPERIMENTS in Religion, it is, I am afraid, at beſt but a *Zeal without knowledge*. Indeed, M. Paſcal aſcribes this contempt of *experiments* to a different cauſe.—" Ceux qui ſont capables de inventer ſont rares," ſays he. " Ceux qui n'inventent point ſont en plus grand nombre, & par conſequent, les plus fortes; et voila pourquoi, lors que les Inventeurs cherchent la gloire qu'ils meritent, tout ce qu'ils y gagnent, c'eſt qu'on les traite de VISIONNAIRES." It is true, if men will come to the ſtudy of Scripture with unwaſhen hands, that is, without a due reverence for the dignity of thoſe ſacred Volumes, or, which is as ill, with unpurged heads, that is, heads ſtuffed with bigot-ſyſtems, or made giddy with cabaliſtic flights, they will deſerve that title which Paſcal obſerves is ſo unjuſtly given to thoſe who deſerve beſt of the Public.

But to return to thoſe with whom I have principal concern. I make no queſtion but my Freethinking Adverſaries, to whoſe temper and talents I am no ſtranger, will be ready to object,

I. " That the giving a ſolution of a difficulty in the *Old* Teſtament by the aſſiſtance of the *New*, conſidered together as making up one intire Diſpenſation, is an unfair way of arguing againſt an Unbeliever: who ſuppoſing both the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Reli-

* Dr. Stelbing.

gions

gions to be *falſe*, of conſequence ſuppoſes them to be *independent* on one another; and that this pretended relation was a contrivance of the Authors of the later impoſture to give it ſtrength, by ingrafting the young ſhoot into the trunk of an old flouriſhing Superſtition. Therefore, will they ſay, if we would argue with ſucceſs againſt them, we muſt ſeek a ſolution of their difficulties in that Religion alone, from which they ariſe."—Thus I may ſuppoſe them to argue. And I apprehend they will have no reaſon to ſay I have put worſe arguments into their mouths than they are accuſtomed to employ againſt Revelation.

I reply then, that it will admit of no diſpute, but that, if they may have the liberty of turning JUDAISM and CHRISTIANITY into two Fantoms of their own deviſing, they will have a very eaſy victory over Both. This is an old trick, and has been often tried with ſucceſs. By this ſlight-of-hand conveyance TYNDAL hath juggled fools out of their Religion. For, in a well-known book written by him againſt Revelation, he hath taken advantage of the indiſcretion of ſome late Divines to lay it down as a Principle, *that Chriſtianity is* ONLY *a republication of the Religion of Nature:* The conſequence of which is, that CHRISTIANITY and JUDAISM are *independent* Inſtitutions. But ſure the Deiſt is not to obtrude his own Inventions, in the place of thoſe Religions he endeavours to overthrow. Much leſs is he to *beg the queſtion* of their falſity; as the laying it down that the Jewiſh and Chriſtian are two *independent* Religions, certainly is: becauſe Chriſtianity claims many of its numerous Titles to divinity from and under Judaiſm. If therefore Deiſts will not, yet Chriſtians of neceſſity muſt take their Religion as they find it. And if they will remove objections to either Oeconomy, they muſt reaſon on the Principle of *Dependency*. And while they do ſo, their reaſonings will not only be fair and logical, but every ſolution, on ſuch a Principle, will, beſides its determination on the particular point in queſtion, be a new proof of the divinity of Both, in general; becauſe ſuch a relation, connexion, and dependency

dency between two Religions of ſo diſtant times, could not come about by chance, or by human contrivance, but muſt needs be the effect of Divine previſion. For a Deiſt, therefore, to bid us remove his objections on the principle of *independency*, is to bid us prove our religion *true* on a principle that implies its *falſhood*; the New Teſtament giving us no other idea of Chriſtianity than as of a Religion dependent on, connected with, and the completion of Judaiſm.

But now ſuppoſe us to be in this exceſs of complaiſance for our Adverſaries; and then ſee whether the ingenuity of their acceptance would not equal the reaſonableneſs of their demand. Without doubt, were we once ſo fooliſh to ſwallow their Chimeras for the heavenly Manna of Revelation, we ſhould have them amongſt the firſt to cry out upon the prevarication. I ſpeak not this at random. The fact hath already happened. Certain advocates of Religion, unable to reconcile to their notions of logic, the ſenſe of ſome Prophecies in the Old Teſtament, as explained in the *applications* of the Writers of the New, thought it beſt to throw aſide the care of the JEWISH RELIGION, (a burden which they could as ill bear as the rebellious Iſraelites themſelves) and try to ſupport the CHRISTIAN, by proving its divine Original, independently and from itſelf alone. Upon this Mr. COLLINS (for I have choſen to inſtance in theſe two general dealers in Free-thinking; the ſmall retailers of it vaniſhing as faſt as they appear; for who now talks of *Blount* or *Coward?* or who hereafter will talk of *Strutt* or *Morgan?* *) that the world may ſee how little they agreed about their own principles, or rather how little regard they paid to any principles at all; Mr. Collins, I ſay, wrote a book to exclaim againſt our ill faith; and to remind us of, and to prove to us, the inſeparable connexion between the Old and New Teſtament. This was no unſeaſonable reproof, howſoever intended, for ſo egregious a folly.

* See note [GGG], at the end of this Book.

I will endeavour to profit by it; and manage this Controverſy on their own terms. For whatever prevarication appeared in the Objectors, I conceived they had demanded no more than what they might reaſonably expect. But the advantages ariſing to us from this management ſoon made them draw back, and retract what they had demanded; and now they chicane with us for calling in the aſſiſtance of the New Teſtament to repel their attacks upon the Old *; while, at the ſame time, they think themſelves at liberty to uſe the aſſiſtance of the Old to overthrow the New. Let the Friends of Revelation, however, conſtantly and uniformly hold the inſeparable connexion between the two Diſpenſations; and then, let our Enemies, if they will, as they fairly may, take all the advantages they fancy they have againſt us, from the neceſſity we lie under of ſo doing.

In a word, We give them Judaiſm and Chriſtianity as Religions equally from Heaven; with that reciprocal dependence on each other which ariſes between two things bearing the mutual relation of *foundation* and *ſuperſtructure*. They have it in their choice to oppoſe our pretenſions, either by diſputing with us that dependency, or raiſing difficulties on the foot of it. But while they only *ſuppoſe* it viſionary; and then argue againſt each Religion on that ſuppoſition, they only beg the queſtion. And while they do that, we keep within the rules of good logic, when we remove their objections on that principle of *dependency* laid down in Scripture. This reſtrictive rule of interpretation being however ſtill obſerved, That, in explaining any difficulty in the Old Teſtament, we never, on pretence of ſuch *dependency*, forſake the genius and manners of the times in queſtion, and ſerve ourſelves of thoſe of the later Chriſtian period, as Collins (whether truly or no, let Them look to, who are concerned in it) upbraids ſome defenders of Chriſtianity for doing. This rule is here, I preſume, obſerved

* See note [HHH], at the end of this Book.

with

with ſufficient exactneſs; the foundation of my interpretation of the *Command* being that ancient mode of converſe, ſo much at that time in uſe, of *converſing by actions*.

II. But the Adverſaries of Revelation, how eaſily ſoever they may be confuted, are not ſo eaſily ſilenced. They are ready to object, that we fly to the old exploded refuge of a TYPE, which the Author of *the Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion* hath ſhewn to be *viſionary* and *ſenſeleſs*; the mere illogical whimſy of Cabaliſtic Jews. To this I anſwer,

1. They are doubly miſtaken. This interpretation is not founded in any *typical* ſenſe whatſoever; the perſon of Iſaac on the Mount being no more a *Type* of Chriſt than the ſix letters that compoſe the name are a *Type* of him; but only an arbitrary mark to ſtand for the idea of *Chriſt*, as that word does. So that their cry againſt *Types*, whatever force it may have, does not at all affect this interpretation.

2. But, ſecondly, I ſay, A TYPE is neither *viſionary*, nor *ſenſeleſs*, notwithſtanding the diſgrace which this mode of information hath undergone by the mad abuſes of Fanaticiſm and Superſtition. On the contrary, I hold to it be a juſt and reaſonable manner of denoting one thing by another: not the creature of the imagination, made out of nothing to ſerve a turn; but as natural and appoſite a figure as any employed in human converſe. For *Types* aroſe from that original mode of communication, the *converſing by actions:* the difference there is between theſe two modes of information being only this, that, where the action is *ſimply ſignificative*, it has *no moral import:* For example, when Ezekiel is bid to *ſhave his beard, to weigh the hair in balances, to divide it into three parts, to burn one, to ſtrike another with a knife, and to ſcatter the third part in the wind* *, this action having *no moral import* is merely *ſignificative* of information given. But when the Iſraelites are commanded to take a

* Ezek. v. 1, 2.

ral lamb without blemiſh, and the whole aſſembly of the congregation to kill it, and to ſprinkle the blood upon the door-poſts *, this action having a *moral import* as being a religious Rite, and, at the ſame time, repreſentative of ſomething future, is properly *typical*. Hence aroſe the miſtake of the Interpreters of the *Command* to offer Iſaac. Theſe men ſuppoſing the action commanded to have a *moral import*, as being only for a trial of Abraham's faith; and, at the ſame time, ſeeing in it the moſt exact reſemblance of the death of CHRIST, very wrongly concluded that action to be *typical* which was merely *ſignificative:* and by this means, leaving in the action a *moral import*, ſubjected it to all thoſe cavils of infidelity, which, by taking away all *moral import*, as not belonging to it, are here entirely evaded.

But it being of the higheſt importance to Revelation in general, and not a little conducive to the ſupport of our arguments for the Divine Legation of Moſes in particular, to ſhew the logical truth and propriety of *Types* in *action*, and *Secondary ſenſes* in *ſpeech*, I ſhall take the preſent opportunity to ſift this matter to the bottom. For having occaſionally ſhewn, in ſeveral parts of the preceding Diſcourſe, that the references in the LAW to the GOSPEL are in *typical repreſentations*, and *ſecondary ſenſes*; and the truth of Chriſtianity depending on the real relation (which is to be diſcovered by ſuch references) between the two Diſpenſations, it will be incumbent on me to prove the logical truth and propriety of TYPES in action, and SECONDARY SENSES in ſpeech.

And I enter on this ſubject with the greater pleaſure, as one of the moſt plauſible books ever written, or likely to be written, againſt Chriſtianity is intirely levelled at them. In this enquiry I ſhall purſue the ſame method I have hitherto taken with unbelieving Writers; examine only the grounds and principles on which they go; and having removed and overthrown theſe, in as few words as I am able, leave the ſuperſtructure to ſupport itſelf, as it may.

* Exod. xii. 5, 6, 7.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

THE book I ſpeak of is intitled, "A Diſcourſe of the Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion," written, as is generally ſuppoſed, by Mr. Collins; a Writer, whoſe dexterity in the arts of Controverſy was ſo remarkably contraſted by his abilities in reaſoning and literature, as to be ever putting one in mind of what travellers tell us of the genius of the proper Indians, who, although the verieſt bunglers in all the fine arts of manual operation, yet excel every body in ſlight of hand and the deluſive feat of activity.

The purpoſe of his book is to prove that JESUS was an impoſtor: and his grand argument ſtands thus,—"JESUS (as he ſhews) claims under the promiſed Meſſiah of the Jews; and propoſes himſelf as the Deliverer propheſied of in their ſacred Books; yet (as he attempts to ſhew) none of theſe Propheſies can be underſtood of JESUS but in a *ſecondary ſenſe* only; now a ſecondary ſenſe (as he pretends) is fanatical, chimerical, and contrary to all ſcholaſtic rules of interpretation: Conſequently, JESUS not being propheſied of in the Jewiſh Writings, his pretenſions are falſe and groundleſs."—His concluſion, the reader ſees, ſtands on the joint ſupport of theſe two Propoſitions, *That there is no Jewiſh Prophecy which relates to* JESUS *in a primary ſenſe*; and *That a ſecondary ſenſe is enthuſiaſtical and unſcholaſtic.* If either of theſe fail, his phantom of a concluſion ſinks again into nothing.

Though I ſhall not omit occaſionally to confute the firſt, yet it is the falſhood of the ſecond I am principally concerned to expoſe—That there are Jewiſh prophecies which relate to JESUS in their direct and primary ſenſe, hath been proved with much force of reaſon and learning; But, that *ſecondary Prophecies are not enthuſiaſtical and unſcholaſtic*, hath not been ſhewn and inſiſted on, by the Writers on this queſtion, with the ſame advantage. The truth

is,

is, the nature of a DOUBLE SENSE in Prophecies hath been ſo little ſeen or enquired into, that ſome Divines, who agree in nothing elſe, have yet agreed to ſecond this aſſertion of Mr. Collins, and with the ſame frankneſs and confidence to pronounce that a *double ſenſe* is indeed enthuſiaſtical and unſcholaſtic. To put a ſtop therefore to this growing evil, ſown firſt by SOCINUS, and ſince become ſo peſtilent to Revelation, is not amongſt the laſt purpoſes of the following diſcourſe.

I. It hath been ſhewn, that one of the moſt ancient and ſimple Modes of human converſe was communicating the conceptions by an expreſſive ACTION. As this was of familiar uſe in Civil matters, it was natural to carry it into Religious. Hence, we ſee God giving his inſtructions to the Prophet, and the Prophet delivering God's commands to the People in this very manner. Thus far the nature of the action, both in civil and religious matters, is exactly the ſame.

But in Religion it ſometimes happens that a STANDING Information is neceſſary, and there the Action muſt be continually repeated: This is done by holding out the particular Truth (thus to be preſerved) in a religious *Rite*. Here then the Action begins to change its nature; and, from a mere ſignificative mark, of only *arbitrary import* like words or letters, becomes an action of *moral import*, and acquires the new name of TYPE. Thus GOD, intending to record the future ſacrifice of CHRIST in Action, did it by the periodic Sacrifice of a *lamb without blemiſh*. This was not *merely* and ſo DIRECTLY *ſignificative* of CHRIST (like the Command to Abraham); but being a religious Rite and ſo having a *moral import*, it was *typical*, though NOT DIRECTLY *ſignificative*, of him. The very ſame may be ſaid of the Temporal rewards of the Law; they were properly *typical* of the Spiritual rewards of the Goſpel, and had a *moral import* of their own, as being the real ſanction of the Law.

Again,

Again, It hath been ſhewn*, how, in the gradual cultivation of Speech, the expreſſion by *Action* was improved and refined into an ALLEGORY or *Parable*; in which the words carry a double meaning; having, beſides their obvious ſenſe which ſerves only for the Envelope, one more material, and hidden. With this figure of ſpeech all the moral writings of Antiquity abound. But when this figure is transferred from Civil uſe to Religious, and employed in the writings of inſpired Men, to convey information of particular circumſtances in two diſtinct Diſpenſations, to a people who had an equal concern in both, it is then what we call a DOUBLE SENSE; and undergoes the very ſame change of its nature that an *expreſſive action* underwent when converted into a *Type*; that is, both the meanings, in the DOUBLE SENSE, are of *moral import*; whereas in the *Allegory*, one only of the meanings is ſo: And this (which ariſes out of the very nature of their converſion, from Civil to Religious matters) is the only difference between *expreſſive actions* and TYPES; and between *allegories* and DOUBLE SENSES.

From hence it appears, that as TYPES are only religious *expreſſive Actions*, and DOUBLE SENSES only religious *Allegories*, and neither receive any change but what the very manner of bringing thoſe *Civil* figures into *Religion* neceſſarily induces, they muſt needs have, in this their tralatitious ſtate, the ſame LOGICAL FITNESS they had in their natural †. Therefore as *expreſſive Actions*, and *Allegories*, in Civil diſcourſes, are eſteemed proper and reaſonable modes of information, ſo muſt TYPES and DOUBLE SENSES in Religious; for the end of both is the ſame, namely, COMMUNICATION OF KNOWLEDGE. The conſequence of this is, that Mr. Collins's propoſition, that *a ſecondary or double ſenſe is enthuſiaſtical and unſcholaſtic* (the neceſſary ſupport of his grand Argument) is entirely overthrown.

* In the preſent volume, p. 135, 136.

† See note [III], at the end of this Book.

This

This is the true and ſimple origin of TYPES and DOUBLE SENSES; which our Adverſaries, through ignorance of the riſe and progreſs of Speech, and unacquaintance with ancient Manners, have inſolently treated as the iſſue of diſtempered brains, and the fondlings of Viſionaries and Enthuſiaſts.

II. Having thus ſhewn their *logical propriety*, or that they are rational Modes of information, I come now to vindicate their *Religious uſe*, and to ſhew that they are well ſuited to *that* Religion in which we find them employed. An Objection which, I conceive, may be made to this uſe, will lead us naturally into our Argument. The objection is this: "It hath been ſhewn *, that theſe oblique Modes of converſe, though at firſt invented out of *neceſſity*, for general information, were employed, at length, to a *myſterious ſecretion of knowledge*; which though it might be expedient, uſeful, and even neceſſary both in CIVIL MATTERS and in FALSE RELIGION, could never be ſo in MORAL MATTERS, and in THE TRUE RELIGION; for this having nothing to hide from any of its followers, *Types* and *Double ſenſes* (the ſame myſterious conveyance of knowledge in Sacred matters, which *Allegoric words* or *Actions* are in Civil) were altogether unfit to be employed in it."

To this I anſwer, The JEWISH RELIGION, in which theſe *Types* and *Secondary ſenſes* are to be found, was given to one ſingle People only; juſt as the CHRISTIAN is offered to all Mankind: Now the Chriſtian, as Mr. Collins † himſelf labours to prove, profeſſes to

* In the preſent volume, p. 135, & ſeq.

† "*Chriſtianity* is founded on *Judaiſm*, and the New Teſtament on the Old; and "JESUS is the perſon ſaid in the New Teſtament to be promiſed in the Old, under "the character of the MESSIAH of the *Jews*, who, as ſuch only, claims the obedience "and ſubmiſſion of the world. Accordingly it is the deſign of the authors of the "*New*, to prove all the parts of *Chriſtianity* from the Old Teſtament, which is ſaid "to contain *the words of eternal life*, and to repreſent JESUS and his apoſtles as *fulfilling* "by their miſſion, doctrines, and works, the predictions of the *Prophets*, the hiſtorical "parts of the Old Teſtament, and the Jewiſh Law; which laſt is expreſly ſaid "to *prophefy* of, or *teſtify* Chriſtianity." Grounds and Reaſons, &c. p. 4, 5.

be

be grounded on the Jewiſh. If therefore Chriſtianity was not only profeſſedly, but really grounded on Judaiſm (and the ſuppoſition is ſtrictly logical in a defence of *Types* and *Double ſenſes*, whoſe reality depends on the reality of that relation) then Judaiſm was *preparatory* to Chriſtianity, and Chriſtianity the *ultimate end* of Judaiſm: But it is not to be ſuppoſed that there ſhould be an intire *ſilence* concerning this ultimate Religion during the preparatory, when the *notice* of it was not only highly proper, but very expedient: 1. firſt, to draw thoſe under the preparatory Religion, by juſt degrees to the ultimate; a proviſion the more neceſſary, as the nature and genius of the two Religions were different, the one carnal, the other ſpiritual: 2. ſecondly, to afford convincing evidence to future Ages of the truth of that Ultimate Religion; which evidence, a circumſtantial prediction of its advent and nature ſo long before hand, effectually does afford*. The Ultimate Religion therefore muſt have had ſome notice given of it, in the Preparatory: and nothing was better fitted for this purpoſe than the hyperbolical genius of the Eaſtern Speech. Thus, when Iſaiah ſays, *Unto us a child is born, unto us a ſon is given, and the government ſhall be upon his ſhoulder: And his name ſhall be called, Wonderful, Counſellor, The Mighty God, the Everlaſting Father, the Prince of Peace*, Mr. Collins obſerves, it is the eaſtern hyperbole which prevents our ſeeing that a Jewiſh Monarch is literally and directly ſpoken of. Should we allow this, yet we ſtill ſee, that ſuch a language was admirably fitted to connect together the *firſt* and *ſecond* Senſes: the *hyperbole* becoming a *ſimple ſpeech*, when transferred from a Jewiſh Monarch to the monarch of the world.

Our next inquiry will be, *in what manner* this notice muſt needs be given. Now the nature of the thing ſhews us it could not be directly and openly; ſo as to be underſtood by the People, at the time of giving: becauſe this would have defeated GOD's intermediate purpoſe; which was to train them, by a long diſcipline, under

* See note [KKK], at the end of this Book.

his preparatory Diſpenſation. For, this being a Religion founded only on *temporal Sanctions*, and burdened with a *minute and tireſome Ritual*, had the People known it to be only preparatory to another, founded on *better Promiſes* and eaſier Obſervances, they would never have born the yoke of the Law, but would have ſhaken off their ſubjection to Moſes before the *fulneſs of Time* had brought their ſpiritual Deliverer amongſt them; as, without this knowledge, they were but too apt to do, on every imaginary proſpect of advantage. But St. CHRYSOSTOM will inforce this obſervation with more advantage. "Had the Jews (ſays he) been taught from the "beginning that their Law was temporary and to have an end, "they would have certainly deſpiſed it. On this account, it ſeemed "good to the divine Wiſdom to throw a veil of obſcurity over the "Prophecies which related to the Chriſtian Diſpenſation *." This information, therefore, was to be delivered with caution; and conveyed under the covert language of their preſent Oeconomy. Hence aroſe the fit and neceſſary uſe of TYPES and SECONDARY SENSES. For the only ſafe and laſting means of conveyance were their PUBLIC RITUAL, and the WRITINGS OF THE PROPHETS. And a *Speaking action*, and an *Allegoric ſpeech*, when thus employed, had all the ſecrecy that the occaſion required. We have obſerved, that in the ſimpler uſe of ſpeaking by *Action*, the Action itſelf hath no *moral import*: and ſo, the information having but one moral meaning, that which it conveys is clear and intelligible. But where a Rite of Religion is uſed for this *Speaking action*, there the action hath a *moral import*; and ſo the information having two moral meanings, that which it conveys is more obſcure and myſterious. Hence it appears that this mode of *ſpeaking by action*, called a TYPE, is exactly fitted for the information in queſtion. Juſt ſo it is again with the SECONDARY SENSE: In the *mere allegory*, the repreſenting image has no moral import; in the *ſecondary*

* Homilia prima, De prophetarum obſcuritate.

ſenſe,

ſenſe, for a contrary reaſon (which the very term imports), the repreſenting image hath a moral import; and ſo, acquires the ſame *fitting obſcurity* with information by *Types*. For the *typical Ritual*, and the *double Prophecy*, had each its obvious ſenſe in the preſent nature and future fortune of the Jewiſh Religion and Republic. And here we are eaſily led into the eſſential difference (ſo much to the honour of Revelation) between the Pagan Oracles or Prophecies, and the Jewiſh. The obſcurity of the Pagan aroſe from the *ambiguity, equivocation or jargon* OF EXPRESSION; the obſcurity of the Jewiſh from *the figurative repreſentation* OF THINGS. The Firſt (independent of any other Religion) proceeded from ignorance of futurity; the Latter, dependent on the Chriſtian, proceeded from the neceſſity that thoſe to whom the Prophecies were delivered ſhould not have too full a knowledge of them.

Dr. Middleton, indeed, would fain perſuade us, that the *Oracles*, or, as he chuſes to call them, the *Prophecies* of the Pythian Apollo, were neither better nor worſe, but exactly of the ſame abſurd conſtruction with the *Sripture Prophecies*. He would hardly venture to controvert what I have ſaid of their logical fitneſs and propriety, as a mode of information in the abſtract, becauſe this would ſhew him ignorant of the nature and progreſs of human converſe. Much leſs, I ſuppoſe, would he ſay, that this mode of information was not ſuited to the genius of the Jewiſh Religion; ſince he owns *that* to be only a preparatory Syſtem calculated to open and to prepare the way for one more perfect; and conſequently, that it muſt be ſo contrived as to *connect*, and at the ſame time to *hide* from the vulgar eye, the two parts of the Diſpenſation, and the relation they have to one another. Now there is no conceivable way of doing this but by *types* and *ſecondary ſenſes*. What then occaſioned this inſult upon them? That which ſupports all our free Writers in their contemptuous treatment of Religion, their miſtaking the ABUSE of the thing for the thing ITSELF; and giving the interpre-

tations of men, or the Doctrines of Churches, for Articles of faith or Scripture hiſtory. What hath been here ſaid will ſhow the extreme weakneſs of this ingenious man's parallel between the Scripture Prophecies and the Oracles of the Pythian Apollo.— "The PROPHECIES of the Pythian Apollo (ſays he) were indeed "obſcure, equivocal and ambiguous, admitting not only different "but contrary ſenſes; ſo that the character here given of the Scrip- "ture Prophecies was undoubtedly true of them, *that no event "could reſtrain them to one determinate ſenſe, when they were ori- "ginally capable of many.* For if the obvious ſenſe failed, as "it often did, to the ruin of thoſe who acted upon it, there was "another always in reſerve, to ſecure the veracity of the Oracle: "till this very character of its ambiguous and ænigmatical ſenſes, "confirmed by conſtant obſervation, gradually ſunk its credit, and "finally detected the impoſture *." *The prophecies of the Pythian Apollo were obſcure, equivocal and ambiguous. And this* (ſays he) *was the character of the Scripture Prophecies.* Juſt otherwiſe, as is ſeen above. Scripture Prophecies were *obſcure*; but the obſcurity aroſe neither from *equivocation* nor *ambiguity* (which two qualities proceed from the EXPRESSION) but from *the figurative repreſentation of* THINGS. So that the *obſcurity*, which the Pythian Oracle and the Scripture Prophecies had in common, ariſing from the moſt different grounds, the character given of the Oracles, *that no event could reſtrain them to one determinate ſenſe when they were originally capable of many*, by no means belongs to the Scripture Prophecies, whatever the men he writes againſt (who appear to know as little of the DOUBLE SENSE of Prophecies as himſelf) might imagine. For though *equivocal and ambiguous* EXPRESSION may make a ſpeech or writing, where the objects are unconfined, capable of *many ſenſes*, yet a *figurative repreſentation of* THINGS can give no more ſenſes than *two* to the obſcureſt Prophecy. Hence it will

* Examination of the Biſhop of London's Diſcourſes on Prophecy, &c. p. 89, 90.

follow,

follow, that while the expedient in ſupporting the Pythian Oracles, by having a ſenſe always in reſerve to ſatisfy the inquirer, *would gradually ſink their credit, and finally detect the impoſture*; the diſcovery of a SECONDARY SENSE of Prophecy, relative to the completory Diſpenſation, will neceſſarily tend to confirm and eſtabliſh the divine origin of Scripture Prophecy.

Such was the wonderful œconomy of divine Wiſdom, in connecting together two dependent Religions, the parts of one grand Diſpenſation: by this means, making one preparatory of the other; and each mutually to reflect light upon the other. Hence we ſee the deſperate humour of that learned man, though very zealous chriſtian *, who, becauſe moſt of the prophecies relating to JESUS, in the Old Teſtament, are of the nature deſcribed above, took it into his head that the Bible was corrupted by the enemies of JESUS. Whereas, on the very ſuppoſition of a mediate and an ultimate Religion, which this good man held, the main body of Prophecies in the Old Teſtament relating to the New muſt, according to all our ideas of fitneſs and expediency, needs be prophecies with a DOUBLE SENSE. But it is the uſual ſupport of folly to throw its diſtreſſes upon knavery. And thus, as we obſerved, the Mahometan likewiſe, who pretends to claim under the Jewiſh religion, not finding the doctrine of a *future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments* in the Law, is as poſitive that the Jews have corrupted their own ſcriptures in pure ſpite to his great Prophet †.

III. Having thus ſhewn the reaſonable uſe and great expediency of theſe modes of ſacred information, under the Jewiſh Oeconomy; the next queſtion is, Whether they be indeed there. This we ſhall endeavour to ſhew.—And that none of the common prejudices may lie againſt our reaſoning, the example given ſhall be of TYPES and DOUBLE SENSES employed even in ſubjects relating to the *Jewiſh diſpenſation only*.

* Mr. Whiſton.

† See note [LLL], at the end of this Book.

1. The whole ordinance of the *paſſover* was a TYPE of the *redemption from Egypt.* The ſtriking the blood on the ſide poſts, the eating fleſh with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, and in a poſture of departure and expedition, were all ſignificative of their bondage and deliverance. This will admit of no doubt, becauſe the Inſtitutor himſelf has thus explained the *Type.*—*And thou ſhalt ſhew thy ſon,* (ſays he) *in that day, ſaying, This is done becauſe of that which the Lord did unto me, when I came forth out of* Egypt. *And it ſhall be a ſign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes; that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth. For with a ſtrong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of* Egypt. *Thou ſhalt therefore keep this ordinance in his ſeaſon from year to year* *. As therefore it was of the genius of theſe holy Rites to be *Typical* or ſignificative of God's paſt, preſent, and future diſpenſations to his people, we cannot in the leaſt doubt, but that *Moſes,* had he not been reſtrained by thoſe important conſiderations explained above, would have told them that the *ſacrifice of the lamb without blemiſh* was a *Type,* a ſign or memorial of THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

2. With regard to DOUBLE SENSES, take this inſtance from Joel: who, in his prediction of an approaching ravage by *Locuſts,* foretels likewiſe, in the ſame words, a ſucceeding deſolation by the *Aſſyrian army.* For we are to obſerve that this was GOD's method both in warning and in puniſhing a ſinful people. Thus, when the *ſeven nations* for their exceeding wickedneſs were to be exterminated, GOD promiſes his choſen people to *ſend hornets before them, which ſhould drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from before them* †. Now Joel, under one and the ſame Prophecy, contained

* Exod. xiii. 8, & ſeq.

† Exod. xxiii. 23. This, the author of the book called the "Wiſdom of Solomon" admirably paraphraſes:—"For it was thy will to deſtroy by the hands of our fathers "both

tained in the firſt and ſecond Chapters of his book, foretels, as we ſay, both theſe plagues; the *locuſts* in the *primary* ſenſe, and the *Aſſyrian army* in the *ſecondary*—" Awake, ye drunkards, and weep " and howl, all ye drinkers of wine, becauſe of the new wine, for it is " cut off from your mouth. For a nation is come up upon my " land, ſtrong and without number; whoſe teeth are the teeth of a " lion, and he hath the cheek-teeth of a great lion. He hath " laid my vine waſte, and barked my fig-tree; he hath made it " clean bare, and caſt it away, the branches thereof are made " white—The field is waſted, the land mourneth; for the corn is " waſted: The new wine is dried up, the oil languiſheth. Be ye " aſhamed, O ye huſband-men: Howl, O ye vine-dreſſers, for the " wheat and for the barley; becauſe the harveſt of the field is pe- " riſhed *.—Blow ye the trumpet in *Zion*, and ſound an alarm in " my holy mountain. Let all the inhabitants of the land tremble: " for the day of the Lord cometh, for it is nigh at hand. A day " of darkneſs and of gloominess, a day of clouds and of thick " darkneſs, as the morning ſpread upon the mountains: a great " people and a ſtrong, there hath not been ever the like—A fire de- " voureth before them, and behind them a flame burneth: The " land is as the garden of *Eden* before them, and behind them a

" both thoſe old inhabitants of thy holy land, whom thou hatedſt for doing moſt odious " works of witchcrafts, and wicked ſacrifices; and alſo thoſe mercileſs murderers of " children, and devourers of man's fleſh, and the feaſts of blood, with their prieſts out " of the midſt of their idolatrous crew, and the parents that killed, with their own " hands, ſouls deſtitute of help: That the land which thou eſteemedſt above all other " might receive a worthy colony of GOD's children. Nevertheleſs even *thoſe* thou ſpa- " redſt as men, *and didſt ſend waſps, forerunners of thine hoſt*, to deſtroy them by little and " little. Not that thou waſt unable to bring the ungodly under the hand of the " righteous in battle, or to deſtroy them at once with *cruel beaſts*, or with one rough " word: But executing thy judgments upon them by little and little, thou gaveſt them " place of repentance, not being ignorant that they were a naughty generation, and " that their malice was bred in them, and that their cogitation would never be changed." Chap. xii. ver. 3, & ſeq.

* Chap. i. ver. 5, & ſeq.

" deſolate

" deſolate wilderneſs, yea, and nothing ſhall eſcape them. The " appearance of them is as the appearance of horſes, and as horſe- " men ſo ſhall they run. Like the noiſe of chariots on the tops of " mountains ſhall they leap, like the noiſe of a flame of fire that " devoureth the ſtubble, as a ſtrong people ſet in battle array. " Before their face the people ſhall be much pained: all faces ſhall " gather blackneſs. They ſhall run like mighty men, they ſhall " climb the wall like men of war, and they ſhall march every one " on his ways, and they ſhall not break their ranks; neither ſhall " one thruſt another, they ſhall walk every one in his path: and " when they fall upon the ſword, they ſhall not be wounded. " They ſhall run to and fro in the city: they ſhall run upon the " wall, they ſhall climb up upon the houſes: they ſhall enter in " at the windows like a thief. The earth ſhall quake before them, " the heavens ſhall tremble, the ſun and the moon ſhall be dark, " and the ſtars ſhall withdraw their ſhining *,"

The fine converſion of the ſubjects is remarkable. The prophecy is delivered in the firſt chapter,—*Awake, ye drunkards*, &c. and repeated in the ſecond—*Blow ye the trumpet in Zion*, &c. In the firſt chapter, the LOCUSTS are deſcribed as a *people*;—*For a nation is come up upon my land, ſtrong and without number.* But, that we may not be miſtaken in the PRIMARY ſenſe, namely the plague of locuſts, the ravages deſcribed are the ravages of inſects: *They lay waſte the vine, they bark the fig-tree, make the branches clean bare, and wither the corn and fruit-trees.* In the ſecond chapter, the hoſtile PEOPLE are deſcribed as *locuſts*:—AS THE MORNING SPREAD UPON THE MOUNTAINS. *The appearance of them is* AS *the appearance of horſes, and* AS *horſemen ſo ſhall they run,* AS *a ſtrong people ſet in battle array. They ſhall run* LIKE *mighty men, they ſhall climb the wall* LIKE *men of war.* But that we may not miſtake the SECONDARY ſenſe, namely the invaſion of a foreign enemy, they are compared, we ſee, to a mighty army. This art, in the contexture

* Chap. ii. ver. 1 to 11.

of

of the Prophecy, is truly divine; and renders all chicane to evade a *double ſenſe* ineffectual. For in ſome places of this Prophecy, *dearth by inſects* muſt needs be underſtood; in others, *deſolation by war*. So that both ſenſes are of neceſſity to be admitted. And here let me obſerve, that had the Commentators on this Prophecy but attended to the nature of the *double ſenſe*, they would not have ſuffered themſelves to be ſo embarraſſed; nor have ſpent ſo much time in freeing the Prophet from an imaginary embarras (though at the expence of the context) on account of the ſame Prophecy's having in one part that ſignification *primary*, which, in another, is *ſecondary*. A circumſtance ſo far from making an inaccuracy, that it gives the higheſt elegance to the diſcourſe; and joins the *two* ſenſes ſo cloſely as to obviate all pretence for a diviſion, to the injury of the Holy Spirit. Here then we have a DOUBLE SENSE, not ariſing from the interpretation of a ſingle verſe, and ſo obnoxious to miſtake, but of a whole and very large deſcriptive Prophecy.

But as this ſpecies of *double prophecy*, when confined to the events of one ſingle Diſpenſation, takes off the moſt plauſible objection to *primary* and *ſecondary* ſenſes in general, it may not be improper to give another inſtance of it, which ſhall be taken from a Time when one would leaſt expect to find a *double prophecy* employed, I mean, under the Goſpel-Diſpenſation. I have obſerved, ſomewhere or other, that the OECONOMY OF GRACE having little or nothing to hide or to ſhadow out, like the LAW, it had ſmall occaſion for *typical* Rites or Celebrations, or for Prophecies with a *double ſenſe*; and that therefore they are not to be expected, nor indeed are they to be found, under the Goſpel.

Yet the example I am about to give is an illuſtrious exception to this general truth. The explanation of this example will rectify a great deal of embarras and miſtake concerning it, and, at the ſame time, ſupport the general Truth. The Prophecy I mean, is that in which Jeſus foretels his FIRST and SECOND COMING IN JUDGMENT, not only under the ſame ideas, but in one and the

ſame Prediction, as it is recorded, in nearly the ſame terms, by Matthew, Mark, and Luke; though omitted by St. John, for the reaſon hereafter to be given.

But to comprehend the full import of this Prophecy, it will be proper to conſider the occaſion of it. Jeſus, after having warmly upbraided the Scribes and Phariſees, whom he found in the Temple, with their ſuperſtitious abuſes of the Law; with their averſion to be reformed;—and their obſtinate rejection of their promiſed Meſſiah; left them with a dreadful denunciation of the ruin* then hanging over their Civil and Religious Policy. His Diſciples who followed him through the Temple, greatly affected with theſe threats, and yet poſſeſſed with the national prejudice of the Eternity of the Law, pointed, as he paſſed along, at the Temple Buildings, and deſired him to obſerve the ſtupendous ſolidity and magnificence of the Work. As much as to ſay, "Here are no marks of that ſpeedy deſtruction which you have juſt now predicted: on the contrary, this mighty Maſs ſeems calculated to endure till the general diſſolution of all things." To which, Jeſus, underſtanding their thoughts, replied, that in a very little time *there ſhould not be left one ſtone upon another*, of all the wonders they ſaw before them. And from thence takes occaſion to propheſy of the ſpeedy deſtruction of the Jewiſh Nation. But as the bare prediction of the ruin of that ſplendid Oeconomy would be likely to ſcandalize theſe carnal-minded men, while they ſaw nothing erected in its ſtead, by their Meſſiah and Deliverer, it ſeemed good to divine Wiſdom to repreſent this deſtruction under the image of their Meſſiah's coming to execute judgment on the devoted City, and of his raiſing a new Oeconomy on its ruin; as was done by the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian Policy †.

But yet, as this was to be unattended with the circumſtances of exterior grandeur, He relieves the picture of the *Church-militant*,

* Matt xxiii. Mark xii. 34. Luke xvi. 25.

† See Julian, or a Diſcourſe concerning his attempt to rebuild the Temple.

erected

erected on his coming TO JUDGE JERUSALEM, with all the ſplendours of the *Church triumphant*, which were to be diſplayed at his ſecond coming TO JUDGE THE WORLD. And this, which was ſo proper for the ornament, and uſeful for the dignity of the Scene, was neceſſary for the completion of the Subject, which was a full and entire view of the *Diſpenſation of Grace*. Thus, as JOEL in one and the ſame deſcription had combined the previous ravages of the Locuſts with the ſucceeding devaſtations of the Aſſyrians, ſo here, JESUS hath embroidered into one Piece the intermediate judgment of the Jews, and the final judgment of mankind *.

Let us now ſee what there was in the *notions* and *language* of the Jewiſh People, that facilitated the eaſy introduction of the *ſecondary ſenſe*; and gave the ſtyle, which was proper to that ſenſe, an expreſſive elegance when applied to the *primary*.

The Jews, beſotted with their fancied Eternity of the Law, had entertained a notion that the deſtruction of Jeruſalem was to be immediately followed with the deſtruction of the World. This made the cloſeneſs in the connexion between the *primary* and *ſecondary* ſenſe of the deſcriptive prophecy, eaſy and natural; and as it made the two deſtructions ſcarce dividual, ſo it left no room to diſtinguiſh, in any formal manner, between the *firſt* and *ſecond* coming in Judgment.

The old *prophetic language* was of equal uſe and advantage to interweave the two ſenſes into one another, which the *notion* here mentioned had drawn together and combined. The change of Magiſtracy, the fall of Kingdoms, and the revolutions of States, are deſcribed, in the old language of inſpiration, by diſaſters in the Heavens, by the fall of Stars, and by eclipſes of the greater Luminaries. This admirably ſerved the purpoſe of conveying both events under the ſame ſet of images; indeed, under one and the

* Matt. xxiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi.

ſame deſcription; namely, the deſtruction of Jeruſalem in the FIGURATIVE ſenſe; and the deſtruction of the world in the LITERAL.—*The ſun ſhall be darkened, and the moon ſhall not give her light: and the ſtars of heaven ſhall fall, and the powers that are in heaven ſhall be ſhaken. And they ſhall ſee the Son of man coming in the Clouds with great power and glory* *.

So that we ſee, the repreſentation of a *double ſenſe* in this Prophecy hath all the eaſe, and ſtrength, and art, which we can conceive poſſible to enter into a ſacred information of this nature. And the cloſe contexture of its parts is ſo far from obſcuring any thing in the two great correlative pictures, portrayed upon it, that it ſerves to render each more diſtinct, and better defined. Different indeed in this from moſt of the Jewiſh Prophecies of the ſame kind: And the reaſon of the difference is obvious. In the Jewiſh Prophecies, the *ſecondary ſenſe*, relating to matters in another Diſpenſation, was of neceſſity to be left obſcure, as unſuitable to the knowledge of the time in which the Prophecy was delivered. Whereas the *firſt* and *ſecondary* ſenſes of the Prophecy before us, were equally objective to the contemplation of Chriſt's Diſciples; as the two capital parts of the Diſpenſation to which they were now become ſubject.

But it will be ſaid, "That before all this pains had been taken to explain the *beauties* of the double ſenſe, we ſhould have proved the *exiſtence* of it; ſince, according to our own account of the matter, the magnificent terms employed, which are the principal mark of a SECONDARY ſenſe, are the common prophetic Language to expreſs the ſubject of the PRIMARY: And becauſe, when Jeſus, in few words, repeats the ſubſtance of this Prophecy to the High-Prieſt, on the like occaſion for which he delivered it at large to his Diſciples, he deſcribes the deſtruction of Jeruſalem in thoſe high terms from whence the SECONDARY ſenſe is inferred: for when Jeſus was accuſed of threatening, or of deſigning to deſtroy the Temple, and was urged by the High-Prieſt to make his defence,

* Mark xiii. 24—26. Matt. xxiv. 29, 30.

he

he ſays—*Hereafter ſhall ye ſee the Son of man ſitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven* *; which words the context neceſſarily confines to his *coming* in judgement on Jeruſalem."

To this I anſwer, That it was not for fear of being put to the proof that it was taken for granted, that this Prophecy had a *double ſenſe*, a primary and a ſecondary; becauſe it is only quoting a paſſage or two in it, to ſhew that it muſt neceſſarily be confeſſed to have both.

1. That Jeſus propheſies of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, appears from the concluding words recorded by all the three Evangeliſts—*Verily, I ſay unto you, that* THIS GENERATION *ſhall not paſs away till* ALL *theſe things be done or fulfilled* †. Hence, by the way, let me obſerve, that this fulfilling in the *primary* ſenſe being termed the *fulfilling all*, ſeems to be the reaſon why St. John, who wrote his Goſpel after the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, hath omitted to record this Prophecy of his Maſter.

2. That Jeſus at the ſame time ſpeaks of the deſtruction of the World, at his coming to judge it, appears likewiſe from his own words recorded by the ſame Evangeliſts—*But of that day and hour knoweth no man; no not the Angels of heaven, neither the Son, but the Father* ‡. For if the Whole be to be underſtood only of one ſingle event, then do theſe two texts expreſsly contradict one another; the firſt telling us that the event ſhould come to paſs near the cloſe of that very generation; the latter telling us that the time is unknown to all men, nay even to the Angels and to the Son himſelf:—then does the laſt quoted text expreſsly contradict the Prophecy of Daniel §, that very Prophecy to which Jeſus all the way refers; for in that prophecy, the *day and hour*, that is, the preciſe time of the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, is minutely foretold.

* Matt. xxvi. 64. Mark xiv. 62. Luke xxii. 69.
† Matt. xxiv. 34. Mark xiii. 30. Luke xxi. 32.
‡ Mark xiii. 32. § Chap. viii. 13, 14.

Hence

Hence it follows that this famous Prophecy hath indeed a DOUBLE SENSE, the one *primary*, and the other, *ſecondary*.

It is true, the infant-Church ſaw the deſtruction of the world ſo plainly foretold in this Prophecy as to ſuffer an error to creep into it, of the ſpeedy and inſtant conſummation of all things. This, St. Paul found neceſſary to correct—*Now I beſeech you*, ſays he, *that ye be not ſoon ſhaken in mind, or troubled, as that the day of Chriſt is at hand*, &c. * And it was on this account, I ſuppoſe, that St. Luke, who wrote the lateſt of the three Evangeliſts, records this Prophecy in much lower terms than the other two, and entirely omits the words in the text quoted above, which fixes the *ſecondary* ſenſe of the Prophecy—*of that day and hour*, &c.

If St. Paul exhorted his followers not to be *ſhaken in mind* on this account; his fellow-labourer, St. Peter, when he had in like manner reproved the *ſcoffers*, who ſaid, *where is the promiſe of his coming?* went ſtill further, and, to ſhew his followers that the Church was to be of long continuance here on earth, explains to them the nature of that evidence which *future times* were to have of the truth of the Goſpel; an evidence even ſuperior to that which the primitive times enjoyed of MIRACLES †; *We have alſo a more ſure word of* PROPHECY; *whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light which ſhineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in your hearts* ‡. This evidence of PROPHECY is juſtly qualified *a more ſure word* §, when compared to MIRACLES, whoſe demonſtrative evidence is confined to that age in which the power of them was beſtowed upon the Church: whereas the *prophecies* here meant, namely, thoſe of St. Paul and St. John ||, concerning the GREAT APOSTACY, were always fulfilling even to the laſt conſummation of all things; and ſo, affording this demonſtrative evidence to the men of all generations.

* 2 Theſſ. ii. ver. 1. *& ſeq.*

† 2 Ep. Peter, chap. i. ver. 17. ‡ Ver. 19.

§ Βεβαιότερον, more firm, conſtant, and durable.

|| See Sir Iſaac Newton on the Prophecies, c. i. of his Obſervations upon the Apocalypſe of St. John.

However,

However, if from this prophecy the firſt Chriſtians drew a wrong concluſion, it was not by the fault of the Divine Prophet, but their own. Jewiſh Tradition might at firſt miſlead the followers of Jeſus to believe that the deſtruction of the World was very ſoon to follow the deſtruction of Jeruſalem: But theſe men ſoon put off Tradition, with the Law: And Scripture, which was then recommended to them as their only ſtudy, with the DOUBLE SENSES with which it abounds, might eaſily have led them to a *diſtinction of times* in this Prophecy, a Prophecy formed, as they muſt needs ſee, upon the ancient models.

But as Providence is always educing good out of evil (though neither for this, nor any other reaſon, is evil ever connived at by the diſciples of Chriſt, as appears from the conduct of St. Paul, juſt mentioned above) this error was fruitful of much ſervice to truth. It nouriſhed and increaſed a ſpirit of piety, ſerioufneſs, and charity, which wonderfully contributed to the ſpeedy propagation of the Goſpel.

Before I conclude, let me juſt obſerve (what I have always principally in view) that this explanation of the Prophecy obviates all thoſe impious and abſurd inſinuations of licentious men, as if Jeſus was led either by craft or enthuſiaſm, either by the gloomineſs of his own ideas, or by his knowledge of the advantage of inſpiring ſuch into his Followers, to propheſy of the ſpeedy deſtruction of the World.

—But by ſtrange ill fortune even ſome *Believers*, as we have obſerved, are come at length to deny the very exiſtence of *double ſenſes* and *ſecondary prophecies*. A late writer hath employed ſome pages to proclaim his utter diſbelief of all ſuch fancies. I ſhall take the liberty to examine this bold rectifier of prejudices: not for any thing he hath oppoſed to the Principles here laid down; for I dare ſay theſe were never in his thoughts; but only to ſhew that all he hath written is wide of the purpoſe: though, to ſay the truth, no wider than the notions of thoſe whom he oppoſes; men who contend for Types and Secondary ſenſes in as extravagant a way

way as he argues againſt them; that is, ſuch who take a handle from the doctrine of *double ſenſes* to give a looſe to the extravagances of a vague imagination: conſequently his arguments, which are aimed againſt their very being and *uſe*, hold only againſt their *abuſe*. And that *abuſe*, which others indeed have urged as a proof againſt the *uſe*, he ſets himſelf to * confute: a mighty undertaking! and then miſtakes his reaſoning for a confutation of the *uſe*.

His Argument againſt *double ſenſes* in Prophecies, as far as I underſtand it, may be divided into two parts, 1. Replies to the reaſoning of others for *double ſenſes*. 2. His own reaſoning againſt them. With his Replies I have nothing to do (except where ſomething of argument againſt the *reality* of double ſenſes is contained) becauſe they are replies to no reaſonings of mine, nor to any that I approve. I have only therefore to conſider what he hath to ſay againſt the thing itſelf.

1. His firſt argument againſt more ſenſes than one, is as follows —"Suppoſing that the opinion or judgement of the Prophet or "Apoſtle is not to be conſidered in matters of *Prophecy* more than "the judgement of a mere *amanuenſis* is, – and that the point is not "what the opinion of the *amanuenſis* was, but what the *inditer* "intended to expreſs; yet it muſt be granted, that if God had any "views to ſome remoter events, at the ſame time that the words "which were uſed were equally applicable to, and deſigned to ex-"preſs, *nearer* events: thoſe *remoter* events, as well as the *nearer*, "were in the intention of God: And if both the nearer and re-"moter events were equally intended by God in any Propoſition, "then the LITERAL SENSE OF THEM IS NOT THE ONE NOR THE "OTHER SINGLY AND APART, BUT BOTH TOGETHER muſt be the "full meaning of ſuch paſſages †."

—*Then the literal ſenſe of them is not the one nor the other ſingly and apart, but both of them together*, &c. i. e. if both together make

* The Principles and Connection of Natural and Revealed Religion, diſtinctly conſidered, p. 221. by Dr. Sykes.

† Page 219.

up

up but *one literal ſenſe*, then there is neither a *ſecondary* nor a *double ſenſe*: and ſo there is an end of the controverſy. A formidable Adverſary truly! He theatens to *overthrow the thing*, and gives us an argument againſt the *propriety of the name*. Let him but allow his adverſaries that a *nearer* and a *remoter* event are both the ſubjects of one and the ſame Prediction, and, I ſuppoſe, it will be indifferent to them whether he call it, with them, a *Prophecy of a double and figurative ſenſe*, or they call it, with him, a *Prophecy of a ſingle literal ſenſe*: And he may be thankful for ſo much complaiſance; for it is plain, they have the better of him even in the *propriety of the name*. It is confeſſed that GOD, in theſe predictions, might have views to *nearer* and *remoter* events: now theſe nearer and remoter events were events under two different Diſpenſations, the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian. The Prediction is addreſſed to the Jews, who had not only a more immediate concern with the firſt, but, at the time of giving the Prophecy, were not to be let into the ſecrets of the other: Hence the Prediction of the *nearer* event was properly the *literal* or *primary* ſenſe, as given for the preſent information of GOD's Servants; and the more *remote* event for their future information, and ſo was as properly the *ſecondary* ſenſe, called with great propriety *figurative*, becauſe conveyed under the *terms* which predicted the *nearer* event. But I hope a *firſt* and a *ſecond*, a *literal* and a *figurative*, may both together at leaſt make up a DOUBLE SENSE. SELDEN underſtood this matter better, when he ſaid, "The Scripture may have more ſenſes beſides the *literal*, "becauſe GOD underſtands all things at once; but a man's writing "has but one true ſenſe, which is that which the author meant "when he writ it *."

2. His ſecond argument runs thus,—"WORDS are the ſigns of "our thoughts, and therefore ſtand for the ideas in the mind of "him that uſes them. If then words are made uſe of to ſignify "*two or more things at the ſame time*, their ſignificancy is really "loſt, and it is impoſſible to underſtand the real certain intention

* Table-Talk.

" of him that uſes them. Were GOD therefore to diſcover any " thing to mankind by any written Revelation, and were he to " make uſe of ſuch TERMS as ſtand for ideas in mens minds, he " muſt ſpeak to them ſo as to be underſtood by them. They muſt " have in their minds the ideas which God intended to excite in " them, or elſe it would be in vain to attempt to make diſcoveries " of his Will; and the TERMS made uſe of muſt be ſuch as were " wont to raiſe ſuch certain ideas, or elſe there could be no written " Revelation. The true ſenſe therefore of ANY PASSAGE of Scrip- " ture can be but ONE; or if it be ſaid to contain more ſenſes than " one, if ſuch multiplicity be not revealed, the Revelation becomes " uſeleſs, becauſe unintelligible *."

Men may talk what they pleaſe of the obſcurity of Writers who have *two ſenſes*, but it has been my fortune to meet with it much oftner in thoſe who have *none*. Our Reaſoner has here miſtaken the very Queſtion, which is, whether a Scripture PROPOSITION (for all Prophecies are reducible to Propoſitions) be capable of two ſenſes; and, to ſupport the negative, he labours to prove that WORDS OR TERMS can have but one.—*If then* WORDS *are made uſe of to ſignify two or more* THINGS *at the ſame time, their ſignificancy is really loſt—ſuch* TERMS *as ſtand for ideas in mens minds—*TERMS *made uſe of muſt be ſuch as are wont to raiſe ſuch certain ideas*—All this is readily allowed; but how wide of the purpoſe, may be ſeen by this inſtance: Jacob ſays, *I will go down into* Sheol *unto my ſon mourning*. Now if SHEOL ſignify in the ancient *Hebrew*, only the *Grave*, it would be abuſing the TERM to make it ſignify likewiſe, with the vulgar *Latin*, *in infernum*, becauſe if WORDS (as he ſays) *be made to ſignify two or more things at the ſame time, their ſignificancy is loſt*.—But when this PROPOSITION of the Pſalmiſt comes to be interpreted, *Thou wilt not leave my ſoul in Hell* [SHEOL] *neither wilt thou ſuffer thy holy one to ſee corruption*; though it literally ſignifies ſecurity from the curſe of the Law upon tranſgreſſors, *viz.*

* Page 222, 223.

immature

immature death, yet it is very reaſonable to underſtand it in a ſpiritual ſenſe, of the reſurrection of CHRIST from the dead; in which, the *words* or *terms* tranſlated *Soul* and *Hell*, are left in the meaning they bear in the Hebrew tongue of *Body* and *Grave*.

But let us ſuppoſe our Reaſoner to mean that a PROPOSITION is not capable of *two ſenſes*, as perhaps he did in his confuſion of ideas, for notwithſtanding his expreſs words to the contrary, before he comes to the end of his argument, he talks of *the true ſenſe of* ANY PASSAGE *being but one*; and then his aſſertion muſt be, *That if one Propoſition have two Senſes, its ſignificancy is really loſt; and that it is impoſſible to underſtand the real certain intention of him that uſes them; conſequently Revelation will become uſeleſs, becauſe unintelligible.*

Now this I will take the liberty to deny. In the following inſtances a *ſingle Propoſition* was intended by the writers and ſpeakers to have a *double ſenſe*. The poet Virgil ſays,

—" Talia, per clypeum Volcani, dona parentis
" Miratur: rerumque ignarus, imagine gaudet,
" ATTOLLENS HUMERO FAMAMQUE ET FATA NEPOTUM *."

The laſt line has theſe *two ſenſes:* Firſt, that Æneas bore on his ſhoulders a ſhield, on which was engraved a prophetic picture of the fame and fortunes of his poſterity: Secondly, that under the protection of that piece of armour he eſtabliſhed their fame and fortunes, and was enabled to make a ſettlement in Latium, which proved the foundation of the Roman empire †.

Here then is a *double ſenſe*, which, I believe, none who have any taſte of Virgil will deny. The preceding verſe introduces it with great art,

" *Miratur*, rerumque *ignarus* imagine gaudet:"

and prepares us for ſomething myſterious, and hid behind the *letter*.

* Æneid. lib. viii. in fin.

† See note [MMM], at the end of this Book.

On Peter's refuſing to eat of clean and unclean meats promiſcuouſly, in the viſion preſented to him, the Holy Spirit ſays, *What God hath cleanſed that call not thou common* *. The ſingle propoſition is, *That which God hath cleanſed is not common or impure*; but no one who reads this ſtory can doubt of its having this double ſenſe: 1. *That the diſtinction between clean and unclean meats was to be aboliſhed.* 2. And *That the Gentiles were to be called into the church of* CHRIST. Here then the true ſenſe of theſe PASSAGES is not *one*, but *two*: and yet the intention or meaning is not, on this account, the leaſt obſcured or loſt, or rendered doubtful or unintelligible.

He will ſay, perhaps, "that the very nature of the ſubject, in both caſes, determines the two ſenſes here explained." And does he think, we will not ſay the ſame of *double ſenſes in the Prophecies?* But he ſeems to take it for granted, that Judaiſm and Chriſtianity have no kind of relation to one another: Why elſe would he bring in diſcredit of a *double ſenſe*, theſe two verſes of Virgil:

"Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta
"Pulveris exigui jactu compoſta quieſcunt."

On which he thus deſcants—*The words are determinate and clear.—Suppoſe now a man having occaſion to ſpeak of intermitting fevers and the ruffle of a man's ſpirits, and the eaſy cure of the diſorder by pulverized bark* †, *&c.*—To make this pertinent, we muſt ſuppoſe no more relation between the fortunes of the Jewiſh Church and the Chriſtian, than between a *battle of Bees*, and the *tumult of* the *animal Spirits*: if this were not his meaning, it will be hard to know what was, unleſs to ſhew his happy talent at a parody.

But as he ſeems to delight in claſſical authorities, I will give him one not quite ſo abſurd; where he himſelf ſhall confeſs that a *double meaning* does in fact run through one of the fineſt Odes of Antiquity. Horace thus addreſſes a crazy ſhip in which his friends had embarked for the Ægean ſea:

* Acts x. 15. † Page 225.

O navis,

O navis, referent in mare te novi
Fluctus! ô quid agis? fortiter occupa
Portum: nonne vides ut
Nudum remigio latus *, &c.

In the firſt and *primary* ſenſe, he deſcribes the dangers of his friends in a weak unmanned veſſel, and in a tempeſtuous ſea: in the *ſecondary*, the dangers of the Republic in entering into a new civil war, after all the loſſes and diſaſters of the old. As to the *ſecondary ſenſe*, which is ever the moſt queſtionable and obſcure, we have the teſtimony of early Antiquity delivered by Quintilian: As to the *primary ſenſe*, the following will not ſuffer us to doubt of it:

Nuper ſolicitum quæ mihi tædium,
Nunc deſiderium, curaque non levis,
Interfuſa nitentes
Vites æquora Cycladas.

But there being, as we have ſhewn above, two kinds of allegories; (the firſt, *viz.* the *proper* allegory; which hath but *one real ſenſe*, becauſe the literal meaning, ſerving only for the *envelope*, and without a *moral import* †, is not to be reckoned; the ſecond, the *improper*, which hath *two*, becauſe the literal meaning is of *moral import*; and of this nature are Prophecies with a *double ſenſe*) and the Critics on Horace not apprehending the different natures of theſe two kinds, have engaged in very warm conteſts. The one ſide ſeeing ſome parts of the Ode to have a neceſſary relation with a real ſhip, contend for its being *purely hiſtorical*; at the head of theſe is Tanaquil Faber, who firſt ſtarted this criticiſm, after fifteen centuries peaceable poſſeſſion of the Allegory: the other ſide, on the authority of Quintilian, who gives the ode as an example of this figure, will have it to be *purely allegorical*. Whereas it is evidently both one and the other; of the nature of the *ſecond*

* Hor. Od. lib. i. Od. 14.

† See above, p. 369.

kind

kind of allegories, which have a *double ſenſe*; and this double ſenſe, which does not in the leaſt obſcure the meaning, the learned reader may ſee, adds infinite beauty to the whole turn of the Apoſtrophe. Had it been *purely hiſtorical*, nothing had been more cold or trifling; had it been *purely allegorical*, nothing leſs natural or gracious, on account of the enormous length into which it is drawn.—Ezekiel has an allegory of that ſort which Quintilian ſuppoſes this to be, (namely, a *proper allegory with only one real ſenſe*) and he manages it with that brevity and expedition which a *proper allegory* demands, when uſed in the place of a metaphor. Speaking of Tyre under the image of a Ship, he ſays, *Thy Rowers have brought thee into great waters: the eaſt-wind hath broken thee in the midſt of the Seas* *. But ſuppoſe the Ode to be both *hiſtorical* and *allegorical*, and that, under his immediate concern for his Friends, he conveyed his more diſtant apprehenſions for the Republic; and then there appears ſo much eaſe, and art, and dignity in every period, as make us juſtly eſteem it the moſt finiſhed compoſition of Antiquity.

What is it then which makes the *double ſenſe* ſo ridiculous and abſurd in, *Hi motus animorum*, &c. and ſo noble and rational in, *O Navis referent*, &c. but this, That, in the latter caſe, the ſubject of the *two ſenſes* had a cloſe connexion in the INTERESTS OF THE WRITER; in the former, none at all? Now that which makes two ſenſes *reaſonable*, does, at the ſame time, always make them *intelligible* and obvious. But if this be true, then a double ſenſe in Prophecies muſt be both reaſonable and intelligible: For I think no Believer will deny that there was the cloſeſt connexion between the Jewiſh and Chriſtian ſyſtems, in the Diſpenſations of the Holy Spirit.—This will ſhew us, with what knowledge of his ſubject the late Lord Bolingbroke was endowed, when he endeavoured to diſcredit *Types* and *Figures* by this wiſe obſervation, "That "Scripture Types and Figures have NO MORE RELATION TO

* Chap. xxvii. ver. 26.

"the

" the things ſaid to be typified, than to any thing that paſſes " now in France *."

3. His next argument runs thus—" If GOD is diſpoſed to reveal " to mankind any truths—he muſt convey them in ſuch a manner " that they may be underſtood—if he ſpeaks to men, he muſt " condeſcend to their infirmities and capacities—Now if he were " to contrive a Propoſition in ſuch a manner—that the ſame Pro- " poſition ſhould relate to *ſeveral* events; the conſequence would " be, that as often as events happened which agreed to any Pro- " poſition, ſo often would the Revelation be accompliſhed. But " this would only ſerve to increaſe the confuſion of men's minds, " and never to clear up any Prophecy: No man could ſay what " was intended by the ſpirit of GOD: And if MANY events were " intended, it would be the ſame thing as if NO event was intended " at all †."

I all along ſuſpected he was talking againſt what he did not underſtand. He propoſed to prove the abſurdity of a *double* or *ſecondary ſenſe* ‡ of Prophecies; and now he tells us of MANY ſenſes; and endeavours to ſhew how this would make Prophecy uſeleſs. But ſure he ſhould have known, what the very phraſe itſelf intimates, that no prophetic Propoſition is pretended to have more than TWO ſenſes: And farther, that the ſubject of each is ſuppoſed to relate to *two* connected and ſucceſſive Diſpenſations: which is ſo far from creating *any confuſion in men's minds*, or *making a Prophecy uſeleſs*, that it cannot but ſtrengthen and confirm our belief of, and give *double* evidence to, the divinity of the Prediction. On the contrary, he appears to think that what orthodox Divines mean by a *ſecond ſenſe*, is the ſame with what the Scotch Prophets mean by a *ſecond ſight*; the ſeeing one thing after another as long as the imagination will hold out.

4. His laſt Argument is—" Nor is it any ground for ſuch a ſup- " poſition, that the Prophets being FULL OF THE IDEAS of the

* Works, vol. III. p. 306. † Page 226. ‡ See p. 221.

" *Meſſiah*,

" *Meſſiah*, and his glorious kingdom, MADE USE OF IMAGES taken " from thence, to expreſs the points upon which they had occaſion " to ſpeak. From *whenceſoever* they took their ideas, yet when " they ſpoke of *preſent facts*, it was *preſent facts* only that were " to be underſtood. Common language, and the figures of it, and " the manner of expreſſion; the *metaphors*, the *hyperboles*, and all " the uſual forms of ſpeech, are to be conſidered: And if the occa- " ſions of the expreſſion are taken from a *future ſtate*, yet ſtill the " Propoſition is to be interpreted of that *one* thing to which it is par- " ticularly applied *."

Orthodox Divines have ſupported the reaſonableneſs and probability of *double ſenſes* by this material Obſervation, that the inſpired Writers were *full of the ideas of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation*. That is, there being a cloſe relation between the Chriſtian and the Jewiſh, of which the Chriſtian was the completion, whenever the Prophets ſpoke of any of the remarkable fortunes of the one, they interwove with it thoſe of the other. A truth, which no man could be ſo hardy to deny, who believes, 1. That there is that relation between the two Religions: and 2. That theſe inſpired men were let into the nature and future fortunes of both. See now in what manner our Author repreſents this obſervation. *It is no ground*, ſays he, *for a double ſenſe, that the Prophets were full of the ideas of a Meſſiah and his glorious kingdom, and made uſe of images taken from thence*; [that is, that they enobled their ſtyle by their habitual contemplation of magnificent ideas.] *For* (continues he) *whenceſoever they took their ideas, when they ſpoke of preſent facts, preſent facts alone were to be underſtood. Common language and the figures of it*, &c.— Without doubt, from ſuch a *fulneſs of ideas*, as only raiſed and enobled their ſtyle, it could be no more concluded that they meant future facts, when they ſpeak of preſent, than that Virgil, becauſe he was full of the magnificent ideas of the Roman grandeur, where he ſays, *Priami Imperium—Divûm Domus, Ilium, & Ingens*

* Page 227.

gloria

gloria Teucrorum, meant *Rome* as well as *Troy*. But what is all this to the purpoſe? Orthodox Divines talk of a *fulneſs of ideas* ariſing from the Holy Spirit's revealing the *mutual dependency* and *future fortunes* of the two Diſpenſations; and revealing them for the information, ſolace, and ſupport of the Chriſtian Church: And Dr. Sykes talks of a *fulneſs of ideas* got nobody knows how, and uſed nobody knows why,—*to raiſe* (I think he ſays) *their ſtyle and enoble their images*. Let him give ſome good account of this repreſentation, and then we may be able to determine, if it be worth the trouble, whether he here put the change upon himſelf or his readers. To all this Dr. Sykes replies, "It was no anſwer, "to ſhew that there are *allegories and allegorical interpretations*, for "theſe were never by me denied." Exam. p. 363. Why does he tell us of his never denying *allegories*, when he is called upon for denying *ſecondary ſenſes*? Does he take theſe things to be *different*? If he does, his anſwer is nothing to the purpoſe, for he is only charged, in expreſs words, with denying *ſecondary ſenſes*. Does he take them to be the *ſame*? He muſt then allow *ſecondary ſenſes*; and ſo give up the queſtion; that is, retract the paſſages here quoted from him. He is reduced to this dilemma, either to acknowledge that he firſt writ, or that he now anſwers, to no purpoſe *.

From hence, to the end of the chapter, he goes on to examine particular texts urged againſt his opinion; with which I have at preſent nothing to do: firſt, becauſe the proper ſubject of this ſection is the *general nature* only of types and double ſenſes: and ſecondly, becauſe what room I have to ſpare, on this head, is for a much welcomer Gueſt, whom I am now returning to, the original author of theſe profound reaſonings, Mr. COLLINS himſelf.

* See note [NNN], at the end of this Book.

II.

We have ſhewn that *types* and *ſecondary ſenſes* are rational, logical, and ſcholaſtic modes of information: that they were expedient and highly uſeful under the Jewiſh Oeconomy: and that they are indeed to be found in the Inſtitutes of the Law and the Prophets. But now it will be objected, "that, as far as relates to the Jewiſh Oeconomy, a *double ſenſe* may be allowed; becauſe the future affairs of that Diſpenſation may be well ſuppoſed to occupy the thoughts of the Prophet; but it is unreaſonable to make one of the ſenſes relate to a different and remote Diſpenſation, never ſurely in his thoughts. *For the books of the Old Teſtament* (Mr. Collins tells us) *ſeem the moſt plain of all ancient writings, and wherein there appears not the leaſt trace of a Typical or Allegorical intention in the Authors, or in any other Jews of their time* *."

I reply, that was it even as our adverſaries ſuggeſt, that *all* the Prophecies, which, we ſay, relate to Jesus, relate to him only in a *ſecondary* ſenſe; and that there were no other intimations of the New Diſpenſation but what ſuch Prophecies convey; it would not follow that *ſuch* ſenſe was falſe or groundleſs. And this I have clearly ſhewn in the account of their nature, original, and uſe. Thus much I confeſs, that without miracles, in confirmation of ſuch ſenſe, ſome † of them would with difficulty be proved to have it; becauſe we have ſhewn, that a commodious and deſigned obſcurity attends both their nature and their uſe. But then, This let me add, and theſe Pretenders to ſuperior reaſon would do well to conſider it, that the authority of divine Wiſdom as rationally forces the aſſent to a *determined meaning* of an obſcure and doubtful Propoſition, as any other kind of logical evidence whatſoever.

But this which is here put, is by no means the caſe. For we ſay, 1. That ſome of the Prophecies relate to Jesus in a *primary*

* Grounds, p. 82. † See note [OOO], at the end of this Book.

ſenſe,

ſenſe. 2. That beſides theſe, there are in the prophetic Writings, the moſt clear and certain intimations of the *Goſpel Oeconomy*, which are alone ſufficient to aſcertain the reality of the *ſecondary*.

I. That SOME Prophecies relate to the MESSIAH in a *primary ſenſe*, hath been invincibly proved by many learned men before me: I ſhall mention therefore but ONE; and that, only becauſe Mr. Collins hath made ſome remarks upon it, which will afford occaſion for a farther illuſtration of the ſubject. JESUS declares, of John the Baptiſt—*This is the* ELIAS *that was for to come.* "Where-"in (ſays the Author of *the Grounds*, &c.) he is ſuppoſed to refer "to theſe words of Malachi, *Behold I will ſend you Elijah the Pro-"phet before the coming of the great and terrible day of the Lord*; "which, according to their LITERAL ſenſe, are a Prophecy that "*Elijah* or *Elias* was to come in perſon, and therefore not LITE-"RALLY but MYSTICALLY fulfilled in *John the Baptiſt* *." And again, *in his Scheme of literal Prophecy conſidered*, ſpeaking of this paſſage of *Malachi*, he ſays; "But to cut off all pretence for a "*literal* Prophecy, I obſerve, firſt, That the literal interpretation "of this place is, that *Elias*, the real *Elias*, was to come. And "is it not a MOST PLEASANT literal interpretation to make *Elias* "not ſignify *Elias*, but ſomebody who reſembled him in quali-"ties?—Secondly I obſerve, that the *Septuagint* Tranſlators ren-"der it, *Elias the Tiſhbite*,——and that the *Jews*, ſince CHRIST's "time, have generally underſtood, from the paſſage before us, "that *Elias is to come in perſon.*—But *John Baptiſt* himſelf, who "muſt be ſuppoſed to know who he was himſelf, when the queſ-"tion was aſked him, *whether he was Elias*, denied himſelf to be "*Elias*; and when aſked who he was, ſaid, he was the voice of "one crying in the Wilderneſs, *&c.* which is a paſſage taken from "*Iſaiah* †."

1. The firſt thing obſervable in theſe curious remarks is, that this great Advocate of Infidelity did not ſo much as underſtand

* Grounds, p. 47, 48. † Page 127.

the terms of the queſtion. The words, ſays he, *according to their literal ſenſe, are a Prophecy that Elijah was to come in perſon, and therefore not literally but myſtically fulfilled in* John *the* Baptiſt. He did not ſo much as know the meaning of a *primary* and *ſecondary ſenſe*, about which he makes all this ſtir. A *ſecondary* ſenſe indeed implies a *figurative* interpretation; a *primary* implies a *literal*: But yet this *primary* SENSE does not exclude *figurative* TERMS. The *primary* or literal ſenſe of the Prophecy in queſtion is, that, before the great and terrible day of the Lord, a meſſenger ſhould be ſent, reſembling in character the Prophet *Elijah*; this meſſenger, by a *figure*, is called the Prophet *Elijah*. A figure too of the moſt eaſy and natural import; and of eſpecial uſe amongſt the Hebrews, who were accuſtomed to denote any character or action by that of the kind which was become moſt known or celebrated. Thus the Prophet Iſaiah: "And the Lord ſhall utterly deſtroy the "*tongue* of the *Egyptian* ſea, and with his mighty wind ſhall he "ſhake his hand over the river, and ſhall ſmite it in the *ſeven* "*ſtreams* *." Here, a ſecond paſſage through the *Red Sea* is promiſed in *literal terms*: But who therefore will ſay that this is the *literal meaning?* The literal meaning, though the prophecy be in *figurative terms*, is ſimply redemption from bondage. For EGYPT, in the Hebrew phraſe, ſignified *a place of bondage*. So again Jeremiah ſays; "A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter "weeping: RACHEL weeping for her children refuſed to be com-"forted becauſe they were not †." The primary ſenſe of theſe words, according to Grotius, is a prediction of the weeping of the Jewiſh matrons for their children carried captive to Babylon by Nabuzaradan. Will he ſay therefore that this Prophecy was not *literally* fulfilled, becauſe *Rachel* was dead many ages before, and did not, that we read of, return to life on this occaſion? Does not he ſee that, by the moſt common and eaſy figure, the Matrons of the tribe of Benjamin were called by the name of this their great

* Chap. xi. ver. 15. † Chap. xxxi. ver. 15.

Parent?

Parent? As the Iſraelites, in Scripture, are called *Jacob*, and the poſterity of the ſon of Jeſſe by the name of *David:* So again, Iſaiah ſays, "Hear the word of the Lord, ye rulers of SODOM; "give ear unto the Law of our GOD, ye people of GOMORRAH *." Will he ſay, the people of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* are here addreſſed to in the *primary* ſenſe, and the people of the Jews only in the *ſecondary?* But the preceding words, which ſhew the people of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* could not now be addreſſed to, becauſe there were none left, ſhew likewiſe that it is the Jewiſh Nation which is called by theſe names. *Except the Lord of Hoſts had left us a very* ſmall remnant, *we ſhould have been as* Sodom, *and we ſhould have been like unto* Gomorrah †. Would not he be thought an admirable inrerpreter of *Virgil* who ſhould criticiſe the Roman Poet in the ſame manner? —*Virgil ſeems the moſt plain of all ancient writings: And he ſays,*

"Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna."

Which, according to its literal meaning, is, that the Virgin *returns, and old* Saturn *reigns again, in perſon; and therefore not* LITERALLY, *but* MYSTICALLY *fulfilled in the juſtice and felicity of* Auguſtus's *reign. And it is a* MOST PLEASANT *literal interpretation, to make the* Virgin *and* Saturn *not ſignify the* Virgin *and* Saturn, *but ſomebody who reſembled them in qualities.* Such reaſoning on a Claſſic, would be called *nonſenſe* in every language. But Freethinking ſanctifies all ſorts of impertinence. Let me obſerve further, that this was a kind of compound blunder: LITERAL, in common ſpeech, being oppoſed both to *figurative* and to *ſpiritual*; and MYSTICAL ſignifying both *figurative* and *ſpiritual*; he fairly confounded the diſtinct and different meanings both of LITERAL and of MYSTICAL.

He goes on—*I obſerve, that the Septuagint Tranſlators render it* Elias *the* Tiſhbite—*and that the* Jews *ſince* CHRIST'S *time have generally underſtood from this paſſage, that* Elias *is to come in perſon. And*

* Chap. i. ver. 10. † Ver. 9.

John

John Baptiſt *himſelf, who muſt be ſuppoſed to know who he was himſelf, when the queſtion was aſked him, denied himſelf to be* Elias.— Why does he ſay, *Since* CHRIST's *time*, and not *before*, when it appears to be before as well as ſince, from his own account of the tranſlation of the Septuagint? For a good reaſon. We ſhould then have ſeen why *John the Baptiſt*, when aſked, denied himſelf to be *Elias*; which it was not Mr. Collins's deſign we ſhould ſee; if indeed we do not aſcribe too much to his knowledge in this matter. The caſe ſtood thus: At the time of the Septuagint tranſlation, and from thence to the time of CHRIST, the doctrine of a *Tranſmigration*, and of a *Reſurrection of the body, to repoſſeſs the Land of Judea*, were national opinions; which occaſioned the Jews by degrees to underſtand all theſe ſorts of *figurative* expreſſions *literally*. Hence, amongſt their many viſions, this was one, that Elias ſhould come again in perſon. Which ſhews what it was the Jews aſked John the Baptiſt; and what it was he anſwered, when *he denied himſelf to be Elias:* Not that he was not the Meſſenger propheſied of by Malachi (for his pretending to be that Meſſenger evidently occaſioned the queſtion) but that he was not, nor did the prophecy imply that the Meſſenger ſhould be, *Elias in perſon.*

But to ſet his reaſoning in the fulleſt light, Let us conſider a ſimilar prophecy of Amos: *Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord God, that I will ſend a* FAMINE *in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt of water, but of hearing the words of the Lord* *. I would aſk, is this a Prophecy of *a famine of the word* in a *literal*, or in a *myſtical* ſenſe? Without doubt the Deiſt will own (if ever he expects we ſhould appeal again to his ingenuity) in a *literal.* But now ſtrike out the explanation [*not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt of water*] and what is it then? Is it not ſtill a *famine of the word* in a *literal* ſenſe? *Myſtical*, if you will, in the meaning of *metaphorically obſcure*, but not in the meaning of *ſpiritual.* But *myſtical* in this latter ſignification only, is oppoſed to *literal*, in the

* Chap. viii. ver. 11.

queſtion

queſtion about *ſecondary ſenſes.* It appears then, that *a want of preaching the word* is ſtill the *literal* meaning of the Prophecy, whether the explanation be in or out, though the *figurative* term [*famine*] be uſed to expreſs that meaning. And the reaſon why the Prophet explains the term, was not, becauſe it was a harſh or unnatural *figure*, to denote *want of preaching*, any more than the term *Elijah* to denote a ſimilar character, which Malachi does not explain; but becauſe the Prophecy of Amos might have been for ever miſtaken, and the *figurative* term underſtood *literally*; the People being at that time, often puniſhed for their ſins by a *famine of bread.*

But this abuſive cavil at *figurative terms* will remind us of his obſervations on the following Prophecy of Iſaiah – "Even them "will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my "houſe of prayer: their burnt offerings and their ſacrifices ſhall be "accepted upon mine altar; for mine houſe ſhall be called an "houſe of Prayer FOR ALL PEOPLE *." This, he ſays, muſt needs relate to Jewiſh, not to Chriſtian times. Why? Becauſe *ſacrifices* are mentioned. But how could this truth be told the Jewiſh People, *that all nations ſhould be gathered to the true* GOD, otherwiſe than by uſing terms taken from Rites familiar to them; unleſs the nature of the Chriſtian Diſpenſation had been previouſly explained? A matter evidently unfit for their information, when they were yet to live ſo long under the Jewiſh. For though the Prophets ſpeak of the little value of, and ſmall regard due to, the *ceremonial* Law; they always mean (and always make their meaning underſtood) when the *ceremonial Law* is ſuperſtitiouſly obſerved, and obſerved to a neglect of the *moral*; which laſt they deſcribe in the purity and perfection of the Goſpel. So admirable was this conduct! that while it hid the future Diſpenſation, it prepared men for it.

Thus then ſtands the argument of this mighty Reaſoner. There are *no* Prophecies, he ſays, which relate to JESUS but in a *ſecondary ſenſe.* Now a ſecondary ſenſe is *unſcholaſtic* and *enthuſiaſtical.* To

* Chap. lvi. ver. 7.

this

this we anſwer, that the Prophecy of Malachi about Elijah, and of Iſaiah about bringing all people to his holy mountain, relate to Jesus in a *primary ſenſe*. He replies, No, but in a *myſtical, only*. Here he begins to quibble, the ſure ſign of an expiring Argument: *Myſtical* ſignifies as well *ſecondary* as *figurative*. In the ſenſe of *ſecondary*, the interpretation of theſe Prophecies to Jesus is *not myſtical*; in the ſenſe of *figurative* it is. But is the uſe of a *figurative term* enthuſiaſtical or unſcholaſtic, when the end is only to convey information concerning a leſs known thing in the *terms* of one more known? Now whether we are to charge this to ill faith or a worſe underſtanding, his Followers ſhall determine for me.

2. But we will ſuppoſe all that an ingenuous Adverſary can aſk—"That moſt of the Prophecies in queſtion relate to Jesus in a *ſecondary ſenſe only*; the reſt in a *primary*, but expreſſed in *figurative* terms; which, till their completion, threw a ſhade over their meaning, and kept them in a certain degree of obſcurity." Now, to ſhew how all this came about, will add ſtill farther light to this very perplexed queſtion.

We have ſeen, from the nature and long duration of the Jewiſh œconomy, that the Prophecies which relate to Jesus, muſt needs be darkly and enigmatically delivered: We have ſeen how the *allegoric* Mode of ſpeech, then much in uſe, furniſhed the means, by what we call a *double ſenſe* in Prophecies, of doing this with all the requiſite obſcurity. But as ſome of theſe Prophecies by their proper light alone, without the confirmation of miracles, could hardly have their ſublimer ſenſe ſo well aſcertained; to render all oppoſers of the Goſpel without excuſe, it pleaſed the Holy Spirit, under the laſt race of the Prophets, to give credentials to the miſſion of Jesus by predictions of him in a *primary* and *literal* ſenſe. Yet the Jewiſh œconomy being to continue long, there ſtill remained the ſame neceſſity of a covert and myſterious conveyance. That figurative expreſſion therefore, which was before employed in the *propoſition*, was now uſed in the *terms*. Hence, the Prophecies of a *ſingle ſenſe* come to be in highly figurative words: as before, the

the earlier Prophecies of a *double ſenſe* (which had a *primary* meaning in the affairs of the Jewiſh State, and, for the preſent information of that People) were delivered in a much ſimpler phraſe.

The Jewiſh Doctors, whoſe obſtinate adherence, not to the *letter of the Law*, as this Writer ignorantly or fraudulently ſuggeſts, but to the myſtical interpretations of the *Cabala*, prevents their ſeeing the true cauſe of this difference in the LANGUAGE, between the earlier and later Prophets; the Jewiſh Doctors, I ſay, are extremely perplexed to give a tolerable account of this matter. What they beſt agree in is, that the *figurative enigmatic ſtyle* of the later Prophets (which however they make infinitely more obſcure by cabaliſtic meanings, than it really is, in order to evade the relation which the Predictions have to JESUS) is owing to the *declining ſtate* of Prophecy. *Every Prophet*, ſays the famous Rabbi, Joſeph Albo, *that is of a ſtrong, ſagacious, and piercing underſtanding, will apprehend the thing nakedly without any ſimilitude; whence it comes to paſs that all his ſayings are diſtinct and clear, and free from all obſcurity, having a literal truth in them: But a Prophet of an inferior rank or degree, his words are obſcure, enwrapped in riddles and parables; and therefore have not a literal but allegorical truth contained in them**. And indeed our fictitious Rabbi ſeems to have had as little knowledge of this matter as the other; for in anſwer to what Mr. Whiſton, who, extravagant as he was in rejecting all *double ſenſes*, yet knew the difference between a *ſecondary* and *enigmatic* prophecy, which, we ſhall ſee, Mr. Collins did not, in anſwer, I ſay, to Mr. Whiſton, who obſerved *that the Propheſies* [meaning the *primary*] *which relate to Chriſtianity are covered, myſtical and enigmatical*, replies, *This is exactly equal myſticiſm with, and juſt as remote from the real literal ſenſe as the myſticiſm of the Allegoriſts* [*i. e.* the Contenders for a double ſenſe] *and is altogether as* OBSCURE *to the underſtanding* †. His argument againſt *ſecondary ſenſes* is, that they are *unſcholaſtic* and *enthuſiaſtical*. Mr. Whiſton, to humour him,

* Smith's Select Diſcourſes, p. 180. † The Grounds, &c. p. 242.

preſents him with *direct* and *primary* Prophecies, but tells him, at the ſame time, they are expreſſed in *covered, myſtical, and enigmatic terms.* This will not ſatisfy him; *it is no better than the myſticiſm of the Allegoriſts.* How ſo? We may think perhaps, that he would pretend to prove, becauſe his argument requires he ſhould prove, that *enigmatical expreſſions* are as *unſcholaſtic* and *enthuſiaſtical* as *ſecondary ſenſes.* No ſuch matter. All he ſays is, that they are *as* OBSCURE *to the underſtanding.* But *obſcurity* is not his quarrel with *ſecondary ſenſes.* He objects to them as *unſcholaſtic and enthuſiaſtical.* But here lay the difficulty; no man, who pretended to any language, could affirm this, of *figurative enigmatical expreſſions*; he was forced therefore to have recourſe to his uſual refuge, OBSCURITY.

It is true, he ſays, theſe *myſtical enigmatic Prophecies (as Mr. Whiſton calls them) are equally remote from the real literal ſenſe, as the myſticiſm of the Allegoriſts.* But this is only a repetition of the blunder expoſed above, where he could not diſtinguiſh between the literal ſenſe of a *Term*, and the literal ſenſe of a *Propoſition.* And how groſs that ignorance is we may ſee by the following inſtance. Iſaiah ſays, *The Wolf alſo ſhall dwell with the Lamb, and the Leopard ſhall lie down with the Kid; and the Calf, and the young Lion, and the Fatling together, and a little Child ſhall lead them**. Now I will take it for granted that his Followers underſtand this, as Grotius does, of the profound peace which was to follow after the times of Senacherib, under Hezekiah: but though the *terms* be *myſtical*, yet ſure they call this the *literal ſenſe* of the prophecy: For Grotius makes the *myſtical ſenſe* to refer to the Goſpel. Mr. Whiſton, I ſuppoſe, denies that this has any thing to do with the times of Hezekiah, but that it refers to thoſe of CHRIST only. Is not his interpretation therefore *literal* as well as that of Grotius? unleſs it immediately becomes *oddly typical, unſcholaſtic, and enthuſiaſtical*, as ſoon as ever JESUS comes into the queſtion.

* Chap. xi. ver. 6.

II. But

II. But now, beſides the *literal primary* prophecies concerning the PERSON of JESUS, we ſay, in the ſecond place, that there are other, which give a *primary* and *direct* intimation of the CHANGE OF THE DISPENSATION. Iſaiah foretels great mercies to the Jewiſh People, in a future Age; which, though repreſented by ſuch metaphors as bore analogy to the bleſſings peculiar to the Jewiſh œconomy, yet, to ſhew that they were indeed different from what the *figurative terms* alluded to, the Prophet at the ſame time adds, *My thoughts are not as your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, ſaith the Lord* *. This ſurely implies a *different* DISPENSATION. That the change was from *carnal* to *ſpiritual*, is elegantly intimated in the ſubjoining words,—*For as the* HEAVENS *are higher than the* EARTH, *ſo are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts* †. But this higher and more excellent Diſpenſation is more plainly revealed in the following figure: *Inſtead of the thorn ſhall come up the fir-tree, and inſtead of the brier ſhall come up the myrtle-tree* ‡; *i. e.* the *new* Religion ſhall as far excel the *old*, as the fir-tree does the thorn, or the myrtle the brier. In a following Prophecy he ſhews the EXTENT of this new Religion as here he had ſhewn its NATURE; that it was to ſpread beyond Judea, and to take in the whole race of mankind,—*The* GENTILES *ſhall come to thy light, and kings to the brightneſs of thy riſing* §, *&c.* Which idea the Prophet Zephaniah expreſſes in ſo ſtrong a manner, as to leave no room for evaſion: *The Lord will be terrible unto them, for he will* FAMISH *all the* GODS OF THE EARTH; *and men ſhall worſhip him every one* FROM HIS PLACE, *even all the iſles of the* GENTILES ‖. The expreſſion is noble, and alludes to the popular ſuperſtitions of Paganiſm, which conceived that their Gods were nouriſhed by the ſteam of ſacrifices. But when were the Pagan Gods thus *famiſhed*, but in the firſt ages of Chriſtianity?—*Every one from his place*; that is, they were not to go up to JERUSALEM

* Chap. lv. ver. 8. † Ver. 9. ‡ Ver. 13.
§ Chap. lx. ver. 3. ‖ Chap. ii. ver. 11.

to worſhip.—*Even all the iſles of the Gentiles:* but when did theſe worſhip the God of Iſrael *every one from his place*, before the preaching of the Apoſtles? Then indeed their ſpeedy and general converſion diſtinguiſhed them from the reſt of the nations. This he expreſſes yet more plainly in another place. "In that day ſhall "there be an *altar* to the Lord in the midſt of the Land of "*Egypt* *;" *i. e.* the Temple-ſervice ſhall be aboliſhed; and the God of Iſrael worſhipped with the moſt ſolemn rites, even in the moſt abhorred and unſanctified places, ſuch as the Jews eſteemed Egypt. Which Malachi thus diverſifies in the expreſſion, *And in every place incenſe ſhall be offered unto my name, and a* PURE OFFERING †; *i. e.* it ſhall not be the leſs acceptable for not being at the *Temple*.

But Iſaiah, as he proceeds, is ſtill more explicite, and declares, in direct terms, that the Diſpenſation ſhould be changed, *Behold I create* NEW HEAVENS *and a* NEW EARTH; *and the former ſhall not be remembered, nor come into mind* ‡. This, in the prophetic ſtyle, means a NEW RELIGION and a NEW LAW; the metaphors, as we have ſhewn elſewhere, being taken from hieroglyphical expreſſion. He ſpeaks in another place, of the conſequence of this *change*; namely, the transferring the benefits of Religion from the Jewiſh to the Chriſtian Diſpenſation. Is it not yet a very little while, "and Lebanon [*the iſles of the Gentiles*] ſhall be turned into a fruit"ful field, and the fruitful field [*the land of Judea*] ſhall be eſteem"ed as a foreſt §?" To make it yet more clear, I obſerve farther, that the Prophet goes on to declare the *change* of the SANCTION; and this was a neceſſary conſequence of the change of the Diſpenſation.—*There ſhall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days: For the child ſhall die an hundred years old, but the ſinner being an hundred years old ſhall be accurſed* ‖; *i. e.* the SANCTION OF TEMPORAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

* Chap. xix. 19.

† See note [PPP], at the end of this Book.

‡ Iſai. lxv. ver. 17. § Chap. xxix. 17. ‖ Chap. lxv. 20.

ſhall

ſhall be no longer adminiſtered in an extraordinary manner; for we muſt remember, that long life for obedience, and ſudden and untimely death for tranſgreſſions, bore an eminent part in the Sanction of the Jewiſh Law. Now theſe are expreſsly ſaid to be abrogated in the Diſpenſation promiſed, it being declared that the Virtuous, though dying immaturely, ſhould be as if they had lived an hundred years; and Sinners, though living to an hundred years, as if they had died immaturely.

The very ſame prophecy in Jeremiah, delivered in leſs figurative terms, ſupports this interpretation beyond all poſſibility of cavil: "Behold the days come, ſaith the Lord, that I will make a NEW "COVENANT with the houſe of *Iſrael*, and with the houſe of "*Judah*, *not according to the Covenant that I made with their fa-* "*thers*, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them "out of the land of *Egypt*.—But *this ſhall be the Covenant* that I "will make with the houſe of *Iſrael*, After thoſe days, ſaith the "Lord, *I will put my Law in their* INWARD PARTS, *and write it* "*in their* HEARTS *."——

What Iſaiah figuratively names a *new Heaven and a new Earth*, Jeremiah ſimply and literally calls a *new Covenant*. And what kind of Covenant? Not ſuch an one as was made with their Fathers. This was declarative enough of its nature; yet, to prevent miſtakes, he gives as well a *poſitive* as a *negative* deſcription of it: *This ſhall be the Covenant, I will put my Law in their inward parts, &c. i. e.* this Law ſhall be *ſpiritual*, as the other given to their Fathers was *carnal*: For the Ceremonial Law did not ſcrutinize the heart, but reſted in external obedience and obſervances.

Laſtly, to crown the whole, we may obſerve, that Jeremiah too, like Iſaiah, fixes the true nature of the Diſpenſation by declaring the CHANGE of the SANCTION: "In thoſe days they ſhall ſay no "more, the fathers have eaten a ſour grape, and the childrens "teeth are ſet on edge. But every one ſhall die for his own ini- "quity; every man that eateth the ſour grape, his teeth ſhall be

* Chap. xxxi. ver. 31.

ſet

" ſet on edge *." For it was part of the Sanction of the Jewiſh Law, that children ſhould bear the iniquity of their fathers, *&c.* a mode of puniſhing which hath been already explained and juſtified. Yet all theſe Prophecies of the Gospel being delivered in terms appropriate to the Law, the Jews of that time would naturally, as they in fact did, underſtand them as ſpeaking of the extention and completion of the old Diſpenſation, rather than the perfection of it by the introduction of a new. And thus their reverence for the preſent Syſtem, under which they were yet to continue, was preſerved. The neceſſity of this proceeding, for the preſent time;— the effects it would afterwards produce through the perverſity of the ſuperſtitious followers of the Law;—and the divine goodneſs as well as wiſdom manifeſted in this proceeding, are all finely touched in the following paſſage of Iſaiah †——" Whom ſhall he " teach knowledge? and whom ſhall he make to underſtand doc- " trine? Them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from " the breaſts ‡. For precept muſt be [or *hath been*] upon precept, " precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line §, here a " little and there a little. For with ſtammering lips and another " tongue will he ſpeak to this People ||. To whom he ſaid, This " is the reſt, and this is the refreſhing **, yet they would not " hear. But the word of the Lord was unto them, precept upon " precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line, " here a little and there a little; that they might go and fall " backward, and be broken and ſnared and taken ††."

* Ver 29. † Chap. xxviii. 9, *& ſeq.*

‡ i. e. Thoſe who were moſt free from the prejudices of the *Eternity* of the Law.

§ This reduplication of the phraſe was to add force and energy to the ſenſe.

|| i. e. Goſpel truths delivered in the language of the Law.

** i. e. The glad tidings of the Goſpel.

†† i. e. This gradual yet repeated inſtruction, which was given with ſo much mercy and indulgence, to lead them by ſlow and gentle ſteps from the Law to the Goſpel, being abuſed ſo as to defeat the end, God in puniſhment made it the occaſion of blinding their eyes and hardening their hearts.

Not-

Notwithſtanding all this, if you will believe our Adverſary, *The books of the Old Teſtament ſeem the moſt* PLAIN *of all ancient writings, and wherein there appears* NOT THE LEAST TRACE OF TYPICAL OR ALLEGORICAL INTENTION *in the Authors, or in any other* Jews *of their times* *. He that anſwers a Free-thinker will find employment enough.—*Not the leaſt trace of a typical or allegorical intention!* He might as well have ſaid there is *not the leaſt trace* of poetry in Virgil, or of eloquence in Cicero. But there is none, he ſays, *either in the Authors, or in any other* Jews *of their times.* Of both which Aſſertions, this ſingle Text of Ezekiel will be an abundant confutation—*Ah Lord,* THEY SAY OF ME, DOTH HE NOT SPEAK PARABLES †? The Prophet complains that his ineffectual Miſſion proceeded from his ſpeaking, and from the People's conceiving him to ſpeak, of things myſteriouſly, and in a mode of delivery not underſtood by them. The Author of the book of Eccleſiaſticus, who is reaſonably ſuppoſed to have been contemporary with Antiochus Epiphanes, repreſents holy Scripture as fully fraught with typical and allegoric wiſdom: "He that giveth his mind to the Law of "the Moſt High, and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will "ſeek out the wiſdom of the Ancients, AND BE OCCUPIED IN PRO-"PHECIES. He will keep the ſayings of the renowned men; and "where SUBTILE PARABLES are, he will be there alſo. He will "ſeek out the SECRETS OF GRAVE SENTENCES, and be converſant "in DARK PARABLES ‡." Hence it appears that the Jewiſh Prophecies were not ſo *plain* as our Adverſary repreſents them; and that their obſcurity aroſe from their having *Typical* or *Allegorical intentions*: which figures too related not to the *preſent*, but to a *future* Diſpenſation, as is farther ſeen from what Ezekiel ſays in another place—*Son of man, behold they of the houſe of Iſrael ſay,* THE VISION THAT HE SEETH IS FOR MANY DAYS TO COME, AND

* Grounds, &c. p. 82. † Chap. xx. ver. 49.

‡ —— ἐν προφητείαις ἀσχοληθήσεται—ἐν στροφαῖς παραβολῶν συνετισθήσεται—ἐν αἰνίγμασι παραβολῶν ἀναστραφήσεται. Chap. xxxix. ver. 1, 2, 3.

HE

HE PROPHESIETH OF THE TIMES THAT ARE FAR OFF *. So that theſe People to whom the Prophecies were ſo *plain*, and who underſtood them to reſpect their own times only, *without any Typical or Allegoric meaning*, complain of *obſcurities* in them, and conſider them as referring to very *remote times*. But I am aſhamed of being longer ſerious with ſo idle a Caviller. The *Engliſh Bible* lies open to every FREE-THINKER of Great Britain; Where they may read it that will, and underſtand it that can.

As for ſuch Writers as the Author of the *Grounds and Reaſons*, To ſay the truth, one would never wiſh to ſee them otherwiſe employed: But when ſo great and ſo good a man as GROTIUS hath unwarily contributed to ſupport the dotages of Infidelity, this is ſuch a miſadventure as one cannot but lament.

This excellent Perſon (for it is not to be diſguiſed) hath made it his conſtant endeavour throughout his whole Comment on the Prophets, to find a *double* ſenſe even in thoſe *direct* Prophecies which relate to JESUS; and to turn the *primary* ſenſe upon the affairs of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation; only permitting them to relate to JESUS in a *ſecondary*: and by that affected ſtrain of interpretation, hath done almoſt as much harm to Revelation as his other writings have done it ſervice: not from any ſtrength there is in his Criticiſms (for this, and his Comment on the Apocalypſe, are the opprobrium of his great learning), but only from the name they carry with them.

The Principle which *Grotius* went upon, in commenting the Bible, was, that it ſhould be interpreted on the ſame rules of Criticiſm that men uſe in the ſtudy of all other ancient Writings. Nothing could be more reaſonable than his Principle: but unluckily he deceived himſelf in the *application* of it. Theſe rules teach us that the GENIUS, PURPOSE, and AUTHORITY of the Writer ſhould be carefully ſtudied. Under the head of his *authority* it is to be conſidered, whether he be a mere *human* or an *inſpired* Writer.

* Chap. xii. ver. 27.

Thus

Thus far Grotius went right: he examined that authority; and pronounced the Writers to be *inſpired*, and the Prophecies *divine*: But when he came to apply theſe premiſſes, he utterly forgot his concluſion; and interpreted the Prophecies by rules very different from what the confeſſion of their divine original required: for ſeeing them pronounced by Jewiſh Prophets, occupied in Jewiſh Affairs, he concluded their ſole Object was Jewiſh; and conſequently that the proper ſenſe of the Prophecies referred to theſe only. But this was falling back from one of the grounds he went upon, That the Writers were *inſpired*: for his interpretation was only reaſonable on the ſuppoſition that theſe Writers propheſied in the very manner which the Pagans underſtood their Prophets ſometimes to have done, by a *natural ſagacity*: For, on the allowance of a real inſpiration, it was GOD, and not the Writer, who was the proper Author of the Prophecy; and to underſtand *his purpoſe*, which the rules of interpretation requires us to ſeek, we muſt examine the nature, reaſon, and end of that Religion which he gave to the Jews: For on *theſe*, common ſenſe aſſures us, the meaning of the Prophecies muſt be intirely regulated. Now if, on enquiry, it ſhould be found, that this which Grotius admitted for a divine Diſpenſation, was only preparatory of another more perfect, it would then appear not to be improbable that ſome of theſe Prophecies might relate, in their *literal*, *primary*, and *immediate* ſenſe, to that more perfect Diſpenſation. And whether they did ſo or not was to be determined by the joint evidence of the context, and of the nature of GOD's whole Diſpenſation to mankind, ſo far forth as it is diſcoverable to us. But Grotius, inſtead of making the matter thus reaſonably problematical, and to be determined by evidence, determined firſt, and laid it down as a kind of Principle, that the Prophecies related directly and properly to Jewiſh affairs: and into this ſyſtem he wiredrew all his explanations. This, as we ſay, was falſly applying a true rule of interpretation. He went on this reaſonable ground, that the Prophecies ſhould be interpreted like all other ancient Writings: and, on examining

their *authority*, he found them to be truly *divine*. When he had gone thus far, he then prepoſterouſly went back again, and commented as if they were confeſſed to be merely *human*: The conſequence was, that ſeveral of his criticiſms, to ſpeak of them only as the performance of a man of learning, are ſo forced, unnatural, and abſurd, ſo oppoſed to the rational canon of interpretation, that I will venture to affirm they are, in all reſpects, the worſt that ever came from the hand of an acute and able Critic.

III.

Having now proved that the Principles which Mr. Collins went upon are in themſelves falſe and extravagant, one has little reaſon to regard how he employed them. But as this extraordinary Writer was as great a Free-thinker in Logic as in Divinity, it may not be improper to ſhew the faſhionable World what ſort of man they have choſen for their Guide, to lead them from their Religion, when they would no longer bear with any to direct them in it.

His argument againſt what he calls *typical*, *allegorical*, but properly, *ſecondary* ſenſes, ſtands thus:—"Chriſtianity pretends to derive itſelf from Judaiſm. Jesus appeals to the religious books of the Jews as propheſying of his Miſſion. None of theſe Prophecies can be underſtood of him but in a *typical allegoric* ſenſe. Now that ſenſe is abſurd, and contrary to all ſcholaſtic rules of interpretation. Chriſtianity, therefore, not being really predicted of in the Jewiſh Writings, is conſequently falſe."—The conteſtable Propoſition, on which the whole argument reſts, is, *That a typical or allegoric ſenſe is abſurd, and contrary to all ſcholaſtic rules of interpretation.*

Would the Reader now believe that Mr. Collins has himſelf, in this very book, given a thorough confutation of his own capital Propoſition? Yet ſo it is; and, contrary too to his uſual way of reaſoning, he has done it in a very clear and convincing manner; by ſhewing, that the *typical* and *allegorical* way of writing was

univerſally

univerſally practiſed by Antiquity.—" Allegory (ſays he) was much " in uſe amongſt the *Pagans*, being cultivated by many of the " Philoſophers themſelves as well as Theologers. By SOME AS THE " METHOD OF DELIVERING DOCTRINES; but by moſt as the me- " thod of explaining away what, according to the letter, appeared " abſurd in the ancient fables or hiſtories of their Gods. Religion " itſelf was deemed a myſterious thing amongſt the *Pagans*, and " not to be publicly and plainly declared. Wherefore it was " never ſimply repreſented to the People, but was moſt obſcurely " delivered, and vail'd under Allegories, or Parables, or Hiero- " glyphics; and eſpecially amongſt the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and " the Oriental Nations.—They allegorized many things of nature, " and particularly the heavenly bodies—They allegorized all their " ancient fables and ſtories, and pretended to diſcover in them the " ſecrets of Natural Philoſophy, Medicine, Politicks, and in a word " all Arts and Sciences. The works of *Homer* in particular have " furniſhed infinite materials for all ſorts of allegorical Commen- " tators to work upon.—The ancient Greek Poets were reputed to " involve divine, and natural, and hiſtorical notions of their Gods " under myſtical and parabolical expreſſions—The *Pythagorean* " Philoſophy was wholly delivered in myſtical language, the " ſignification whereof was entirely unknown to the world " abroad—The *Stoic* Philoſophers are particularly famous for " allegorizing the whole heathen Theology—We have ſeveral " treatiſes of heathen Philoſophers on the ſubject of allegorical " interpretation *."

If now this kind of *allegorizing*, which involved the Propoſition in a *double ſenſe*, was in uſe amongſt the Pagan Oracles, Divines, Philoſophers and Poets, is not the underſtanding ancient writings *allegorically*, or in a *double ſenſe*, agreeable to all rational, ſcholaſtic rules of interpretation? Surely, as much ſo as the underſtanding mere *metaphorical* expreſſions in a *tropical* ſignification; whoſe

* Grounds, &c. p. 83, 84, 85, 86.

propriety no one ever yet called in queſtion. For the ſenſe of *Propoſitions* is impoſed as arbitrarily as the ſenſe of *words*. And if men, in the communication of their thoughts, agree to give, on ſome occaſions, a *double* ſenſe to *Propoſitions*, as well as on others, a *ſingle*, the interpreting the firſt in *two* meanings is as agreeable to all ſcholaſtic rules, as interpreting the other in *one*: And *Propoſitions*, with a double and ſingle ſenſe, are as eaſily diſtinguiſhable from each other, by the help of the context, as *Words* with a literal and figurative meaning. But this great Philoſopher ſeems to have imagined, that the *ſingle ſenſe of a Propoſition* was impoſed by Nature; and that therefore, giving them a *double meaning* was the ſame offence againſt Reaſon as the deviating from the unity of pure *Theiſm* into *Polytheiſm*: and, conſequently, that the univerſal lapſe into ALLEGORY and IDOLATRY rendered neither the one nor other of them the leſs abſurd *.

I ſay, he ſeems to think ſo. More one cannot ſay of ſuch a Writer. Beſides, he ſeems to think otherwiſe, where, in another place, as if aware that *Uſe* would reſcue a *double ſenſe* from his *irrational* and *unſcholaſtic* cenſure, he endeavours to prove, that the Jews, during the prophetic period, did not uſe this allegoric way of expreſſion. Now if we be right in this laſt conjecture about his meaning, he abuſes the terms he employs, under a miſerable quibble; and, by *ſcholaſtic* and *unſcholaſtic rules*, only means interpreting in a *ſingle* or a *double ſenſe*.

The Reader perhaps will be curious to know how it happened, that this great Reaſoner ſhould, all at once, overthrow what he had been ſo long labouring to build. This fatal iſſue of his two books of the GROUNDS, &c. and SCHEME, &c. had theſe cauſes:

1. He had a preſſing and immediate *objection* to remove. And, as he had no great ſtock of argument, and but ſmall forecaſt,

* See note [QQQ], at the end of this Book.

any

any thing, at a plunge, would be received, which came to his relief.

The objection was this—"That the allegorical interpretations of "the Apoſtles were not deſigned for abſolute proofs of Chriſtianity, "but for arguments *ad homines* only to the Jews, who were accuſ- "tomed to that way of reaſoning *."——Thus, he himſelf tells us, ſome Divines are accuſtomed to talk. He gives them indeed a ſolid anſwer; but he dreams not of the conſequence. He ſays, this *allegoric reaſoning* was common to all mankind. Was it ſo? Then the grand Propoſition on which his whole Work ſupports itſelf is entirely overthrown. For if all mankind uſed it, the method muſt needs be *rational* and *ſcholaſtic*. But this he was not aware of. What kept him in the dark, was his never being able to diſtinguiſh between the USE and the ABUSE of this mode of information. Theſe two things he perpetually confounds, *The Pagan Oracles delivered themſelves in allegories*;——this was the uſe: *Their later Divines turned all their Religion into allegory*;——this was the abuſe. *The elder* Pythagoreans *gave their Precepts in allegory*——this was the uſe: *The later* Stoics *allegorized every thing*;——this was the abuſe. Homer *had ſome allegories*;—this was the uſe: *His Commentators turned all to allegory*;——and this again was the abuſe. But though he has talked ſo much of theſe things, yet he knew no more of them than old JOHN BUNYAN; whoſe honeſter ignorance, joined to a good meaning, diſpoſed him to *admire* that which the malignity of our Author's folly inclined him to *decry:* and each in the like ridiculous extreme.

2. But the other cauſe of this ſubverſion of his own ſyſtem was the delight he took to blacken the ſplendor of Religion. He ſuppoſed, we may be ſure, it would prove an effectual diſcredit to Revelation, to have it ſeen, that there was this conformity between the Pagan and Jewiſh method of delivering Religion and Morality. His attempt hath been already expoſed as it deſerves †. But in

* Page 79.

† See Vol. II. Book iv. § 1. at the end.

this

this inſtance it labours under much additional folly. For the *different* reaſons which induced the Propagators of Paganiſm, and the Author of Judaiſm, to employ the *ſame* method of information, are obvious to the meaneſt capacity, if advanced but ſo far in the knowledge of nature to know, that *different ends* are very commonly proſecuted by the *ſame means*. The Pagans allegoriſed in order to hide *the weakneſs and abſurdities of their national Religions*; the Author of Judaiſm allegorized in order to prepare his followers *for the reception of a more perfect Diſpenſation*, founded on Judaiſm, which was preparatory of it; and, at the ſame time, to *prevent* their *premature rejection* of Judaiſm, under which they were ſtill to be long exerciſed.

Thus we ſee how this formidable Enemy of our Faith has himſelf overturned his whole Argument by an unwary anſwer to an occaſional objection. But this is but *one*, of a Work full of contradictions. I have no occaſion to be particular, after removing his main Principles; yet, for the Reader's diverſion, I ſhall give him a taſte of them. In his 81ſt page, he ſays——*And there has been for a long time, and is at this time as little uſe of allegory in thoſe reſpects amongſt them* [the Jews] *as there ſeems to have been during the time the books of the Old Teſtament were written, which ſeem the moſt plain of all ancient Writings, and wherein there appears not the leaſt trace of a typical or allegorical intention in the Authors, or in any other* Jews *of their times.* Yet it is but at the 85th page that we find him ſaying—*And in this* [*viz.* in delivering his Philoſophy in myſtical language] Pythagoras *came up to* Solomon's *character of wiſe men, who dealt in dark ſayings, and acted not much unlike the moſt divine Teacher that ever was. Our Saviour ſpake with many parables*, &c. Now it ſeems, it was Solomon's character of *wiſe men* that they dealt in *dark ſayings*. But theſe wiſe men were the Authors of the Jewiſh Scriptures. And yet he had but juſt before aſſured us, *That the books of the Old Teſtament ſeem the moſt plain of all ancient Writings, and wherein there appears not the leaſt trace*

trace of a typical or allegorical intention in the Authors, or in any Jews of their times.

Again, in his pages 85, 86, he ſays, "The Pythagorean Philo-"ſophy was wholly delivered in myſtical language; the ſignifica-"tion whereof was intirely unknown to the world abroad, and "but gradually explained to thoſe of the ſect, as they grew into "years, or were proper to be informed—The Stoic Philoſophers "were particularly famous for *allegorizing*—We have ſeveral trea-"tiſes of heathen Philoſophers on the ſubject of allegorical inter-"pretation—And from Philoſophers, Platoniſts, and Stoics, the "famous Origen is ſaid to have derived a great deal of his ſkill in "allegorizing the books of the Old Teſtament." This he ſays, and yet at the 94th page he tells us,—"That the Apoſtles, and "particularly St. Paul, wholly diſcarded all other methods of rea-"ſoning uſed by Philoſophers, except the *allegorical:* and ſet that "up as the true and ONLY reaſoning proper to bring all men to "the faith of CHRIST: and the Gentiles were to be WHOLLY beat "out of the literal way of arguing, and to argue as *became Jews.* "And the event of preaching the Goſpel has been ſuited to matters "conſidered in this view and light. For we know that the WISE "did not receive the Goſpel at firſt, and that they were the lateſt "Converts: *Which* PLAINLY *aroſe from their uſing maxims of rea-"ſoning and diſputing* WHOLLY *oppoſite to thoſe of Chriſtians.*" By theſe *wiſe*, can be meant none but the Pagan Philoſophers: and theſe, according to our Author, were altogether given up to myſtery and allegory. Yet St. Paul, and the reſt of the Apoſtles, who, he ſays, were likewiſe given up to the ſame method, could make no converts amongſt theſe *wiſe* men. Why? It would now methinks have ſuited his talents as well as temper, to have told us, it was *becauſe two of a trade could not agree:* No, ſays this incomparable Logician, *it was becauſe the Philoſophers uſed maxims of reaſoning and diſputing wholly oppoſite to the Chriſtians.*

What

What now but the name and authority of *Freethinking* could hinder ſuch a Writer from becoming the contempt of all who know either how to make, or to underſtand an argument? Theſe men profane the *light* they receive from *Revelation* in employing it to rob the treaſures of the *Sanctuary*. But Religion arreſts them in the *manner*, and pronounces one common doom upon the whole race.

" —Ne IGNIS NOSTER facinori præluceat,
" Per quem colendos cenſuit Pietas Deos,
" VETO ESSE TALE LUMINIS COMMERCIUM *."

Hence the fate that attends them all, in the inſeparable connexion between *impiety* and *blundering*; which always follow one another as the crime and the puniſhment.

If it be aſked then, What it is that hath ſo ſtrangely prejudiced our modern Reaſoners againſt this ancient mode of information by TYPICAL and SECONDARY ſenſes? I anſwer, the folly of Fanatics, who have abuſed it in ſupport of the moſt abominable nonſenſe. But how unreaſonable is this prejudice! Was there ever any thing rational or excellent amongſt Men that hath not been thus abuſed? Is it any diſparagement to the *method of Geometers*, that ſome conceited writers on Morality and Religion have of late taken it up, to give an air of weight and demonſtration to the whimſies of pedantic importance? Is there no truth of nature, or reaſonableneſs of art, in *Grammatical conſtruction*, becauſe cabaliſtic Dunces have in every age abuſed it to pervert all human meaning? We might as well ſay that the ancient Egyptians did not write in Hieroglyphics, becauſe Kircher, who endeavoured to explain them, hath given us nothing but his own viſions, as that the ancient Jews had not *types* and *ſecondary ſenſes*, becauſe modern Enthuſiaſts have allegorized their whole Story.

* Phæd. l. iv. Fab. 10.

But

But I from theſe *abuſes* would draw a very contrary concluſion. The rage of *allegorizing* in Religion hath infected all ages: Can there be a ſtronger proof that the original mode was founded in the common conceptions of mankind? The Pagans began the *abuſe*; and the peſtilent infection ſoon ſpread amongſt the followers of true Religion.

1. The early propagators of PAGANISM, in order to hide the weakneſs of the national Religion, delivered many things in Types and Allegories. But a growing Superſtition, accompanied with an equal advance in knowledge, made it at length impoſſible to ſcreen the folly even of the leſs obnoxious parts from common obſervers. Their Succeſſors therefore, to ſupport its credit, went on where the others had left off; and allegorized all the traditional ſtories of their Gods into *natural*, *moral*, and *divine* Entities. This, notwithſtanding the extravagance of the means, fully anſwered the end.

2. The JEWS ingrafted on *their* predeceſſors, juſt as the Pagans had done on *theirs*; and with the ſame ſecular policy: For being poſſeſſed with a national prejudice, that their Religion was to endure for ever, and yet ſeeing in it the marks of a carnal, temporary, and preparatory Diſpenſation, they cunningly allegorized its Rites and Precepts into a *ſpiritual* meaning, which covered every thing that was a real deficiency in a Religion which they conſidered as perfect and perpetual. Both theſe ſorts of Allegoriſts therefore had reaſon in their rage.

3. Afterwards came a ſet of CHRISTIAN Writers, brought out from amongſt *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and theſe too would needs be in the faſhion, and allegorize their Religion likewiſe; but with infinitely leſs judgement than the others; though alas! with equal ſucceſs. In their hands, the *end* proved as hurtful to truth as the *means* were extravagant in nature. And how ſhould it be otherwiſe in a Religion both *divine* and *perfect*? For in ſuch an one, there was nothing either to HIDE or to SUPPLY. We have ſhewn that *types* and *ſecondary ſenſes* were employed in the Jewiſh Religion

for the *ſake of the Chriſtian*, of which the Jewiſh was the groundwork and preparation. When therefore the *Chriſtian* was come, theſe modes of information muſt needs ceaſe, there being no farther occaſion, nor indeed room, for them. As clear as this is to the loweſt underſtanding, yet would ſome primitive Doctors of the Church needs contend with Jewiſh Rabbins, and Pagan Philoſophers, in all the rage of *allegorizing*: Deaf to the voice of Reaſon, which called aloud to tell them, that thoſe very arguments, which proved that there were, and muſt needs be, *types* and *ſecondary* ſenſes in the *Old Teſtament*, proved as plainly that there neither were, nor could be any, in the *New*. Thus, to the inexpreſſible damage of Chriſtianity, they expoſed a *reaſonable Service*, and a *perfected Diſpenſation* (where nothing was taught but Truth, plain, ſimple, and open) to the laughter and contempt of Infidels: who, bewildered in the univerſal maze of this *allegoric* mode of information, were never able to know what it was in its original, nor how to diſtinguiſh between the *uſe* and the *abuſe*.

To CONCLUDE, Let not the Reader think I have been all this while leading him out of the way, while I have engaged his attention to the *book of* JOB; to the *Caſe of* ABRAHAM; and to TYPES *and ſecondary ſenſes* under the Jewiſh Diſpenſation. All theſe ſtrictly belong to the Argument:

1. Firſt, as they greatly contribute to ſhew the HARMONY *of Truth*; and how all the parts of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation ſupport and illuſtrate one another.

2. Secondly, as they contribute to ſhew the UNIFORMITY of it; and how the Holy Spirit, quite throughout GOD's grand œconomy, from his firſt giving of the Law to the completion of it by the Goſpel, obſerved the ſame unvaried method of the GRADUAL COMMUNICATION *of Truth*.

3. Thirdly, as they contribute to ſhew the FOLLY of thoſe who contend that the Chriſtian Doctrine of a Future State was revealed to the early Jews; ſince this opinion deſtroys all the reaſon of a *ſecondary ſenſe* of Prophecies: and of how great importance the reality

reality of *this ſenſe* is to the truth of Chriſtianity hath been largely explained: For how can it be known with certainty, from the Prophecies themſelves, that they contain *double ſenſes*, but from hence, that the *old* Law was preparatory to, and the rudiment of, the *new?* How ſhall this *relation* be certainly known, but from hence, that *no future ſtate* of Rewards and Puniſhments is to be found in the Moſaic Diſpenſation *? So cloſe a dependence have all theſe important Principles on one another.

RECAPITULATION.

And now, if the length of the Demonſtration have not tired out the Reader's patience, or, to ſpeak more properly, if length of time have not worn out his attention to the Subject, it may be proper (the Argument being here concluded) to take a retroſpective view of the whole, as it hath been inforced in this and the preceeding Volume. For the deep Profeſſor, who hath digeſted his Theology into Summs and Syſtems, and the florid Preacher, who never ſuffered his thoughts to expatiate beyond the limits of a pulpit-eſſay, will be ready to tell me, that I had promiſed to DEMONSTRATE THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES; and that now I had written two large Volumes on that ſubject, "all that they could find in them were Diſcourſes on the foundation of Morality—the origin of civil and religious Society—the Alliance between Church and State—the policy of Lawgivers—the Myſteries of the Prieſts—and the opinions of the *Greek* Philoſophers—The Antiquity of Egypt—their Hieroglyphics—their Heroes—and their Brute-worſhip. That, indeed, at laſt I ſpeak a little of the Jewiſh policy; but I ſoon break away from it, as from a ſubject I would avoid, and employ the remaining part of the Volume on the Sacrifice of Iſaac—on the book of Job—and on primary and ſecondary Prophecies. But what (ſay they) is all this to *The Divine Legation of Moſes?*

Dic, Poſthume! de tribus Capellis."

* See note [RRR], at the end of this Book.

To call the Topic I went upon a PARADOX, was ſaid, without doubt, to my diſcredit; but not to ſee that I had proved it in form, will, I am afraid, redound to their own. Yet I had already beſpoke their beſt attention in the words of Cicero, who, I believe, often found himſelf in my ſituation: "Video hanc primam ingreſſionem meam non ex ORATORIS diſputationibus ductam, ſed è media Philoſophia repetitam, et eam quidem cum antiquam tum ſubobſcuram, aut REPREHENSIONIS aliquid, aut certe ADMIRATIONIS habituram. Nam aut mirabantur QUID HÆC PERTINEANT AD EA QUÆ QUÆRIMUS: quibus ſatisfaciet res ipſa cognita, ut non ſine cauſa ALTE repetita videatur: aut reprehendent, QUOD INUSITATAS VIAS INDAGEMUS, TRITAS RELINQUAMUS. Ego autem me ſæpe *nova* videre dicere intelligo cum *pervetera* dicam, ſed *inaudita* pleriſque *."

But as this Apology hath not anſwered its purpoſe, and as the ARGUMENT is indeed drawn out to an uncommon length; raiſed upon a great variety of ſupports; and ſought out from every quarter of antiquity, and ſometimes out of corners the moſt remote and dark; it was the leſs to be admired if every *inattentive* Reader did not ſee their force and various purpoſe; or if every *attentive* Reader could not combine them into the body of a compleated Syllogiſm; and ſtill leſs if the envious and the prejudiced ſhould concur to repreſent theſe Volumes as an indigeſted and inconnected heap of diſcourſes, thrown out upon one another, to diſburthen a commonplace. For the ſatisfaction therefore of the more candid, who acknowledge the fairneſs of the attempt, who ſaw ſomething of the progreſs of the argument, but, miſled by the notice of a remaining part, neglected to purſue the proof to the CONCLUSION here deduced, I ſhall endeavour to lay open, in one plain and ſimple view, the whole conduct of theſe myſterious Volumes.

Nor ſhall I neglect the other ſort of Readers, though it be odds we part again as diſſatisfied with one another as the Toyman of Bath and his Cuſtomer: Of whom the ſtory goes, that a grave

* Cicero.

well-

well-dreſſed man coming into the ſhop of this ingenious inventor, and reliever of the diſtreſſes of thoſe who are too dull to know what they want, and too rich to be at eaſe with what they have, demanded to ſee ſome of his beſt reading-glaſſes; which when he had tried to no purpoſe, he returned. The Toyman, ſurpriſed at ſo ſtrange a phænomenon, gravely aſked him, whether ever he had learnt to read? to which the other as gravely replied, that if he had been ſo happy, he ſhould have had no need of his aſſiſtance. Now, before I bring the diſtant parts of my Argument to converge, for the uſe of theſe dim-ſighted Gentlemen, may I aſk them, without offence, a ſimilar queſtion? They have ANSWERED; without aſking; but not with the ſame ingenuity.

In reading the LAW and HISTORY of the JEWS, with all the attention I could give to them, amongſt the many circumſtances peculiar to that amazing Diſpenſation (from ſeveral of which, as I conceive, the divinity of its original may be fairly proved) theſe two particulars moſt forcibly ſtruck my obſervation, THE OMISSION OF THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE, and THE ADMINISTRATION OF AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. As unaccountable as the firſt circumſtance appeared when conſidered ſeparately and alone, yet when ſet againſt the other, and their mutual relations examined and compared, the *omiſſion* was not only well explained, but was found to be an invincible medium for the proof of the DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES: which, as Unbelievers had been long accuſtomed to decry from this very circumſtance, I choſe it preferably to any other. The Argument appeared to me in a ſupreme degree ſtrong and ſimple, and not needing many words to inforce it, or, when inforced, to make it well underſtood.

RELIGION hath always been held neceſſary to the ſupport of CIVIL SOCIETY, becauſe human Laws alone are ineffectual to reſtrain men from evil, with a force ſufficient to carry on the affairs of public regimen: and (under the common diſpenſation of Providence) a FUTURE STATE of rewards and puniſhments is confeſſed to be as neceſſary to the ſupport of RELIGION, becauſe nothing

elſe

elſe can remove the objections to God's moral Government under a Providence ſo apparently unequal, whoſe phænomena are apt to diſturb the ſerious profeſſors of Religion with doubts and ſuſpicions concerning it, as it is of the eſſence of religious profeſſion to believe, *that God is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him.*

Moſes, who inſtituted a Religion and a Republic, and incorporated them into one another, ſtands ſingle amongſt ancient and modern Lawgivers, in teaching a Religion, without the *ſanction*, or even ſo much as the *mention* of a future state of rewards and punishments. The ſame Moſes, with a ſingularity as great, by uniting the Religion and civil Community of the Jews into one incorporated body, made God, by natural conſequence, their ſupreme civil Magiſtrate, whereby the form of Government ariſing from thence became truly and eſſentially a Theocracy. But as the *Adminiſtration* of Government neceſſarily follows its *Form*, that before us could be no other than an extraordinary or equal Providence. And ſuch indeed not only the Jewiſh Lawgiver himſelf, but all the ſucceeding Rulers and Prophets of this Republic, have invariably repreſented it to be. In the mean time, no Lawgiver or founder of Religion amongſt any other People ever promiſed ſo ſingular a Diſtinction; no Hiſtorian ever dared to record ſo remarkable a Prerogative.

This being the true and acknowledged ſtate of the caſe; Whenever the Unbeliever attempts to diſprove, and the Advocate of Religion to ſupport, the divinity of the Moſaic Diſpenſation, the obvious queſtion (if each be willing to bring it to a ſpeedy deciſion) will be, "Whether the extraordinary Providence thus pro-"phetically promiſed, and afterwards hiſtorically recorded to be per-"formed, was real or pretended only?"

We Believers *hold* that it was real: and I, as an Advocate for Revelation, undertake to *prove* it was ſo; employing for this purpoſe, as my medium, the omission of a future state of rewards and punishments. The argument ſtands thus:

If Religion be neceſſary to civil Government, and if Religion cannot ſubſiſt, under the common diſpenſation of Providence, without a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments; ſo conſummate a Lawgiver would never have neglected to inculcate the belief of ſuch a ſtate, had he not been well aſſured that an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE was indeed to be adminiſtered over his People: Or were it poſſible he had been ſo infatuated, the impotency of a Religion wanting a future ſtate muſt very ſoon have concluded in the deſtruction of his Republic: Yet nevertheleſs it flouriſhed and continued ſovereign for many ages.

Theſe two proofs of the propoſition (*that an extraordinary providence was really adminiſtered*) drawn from the THING OMITTED and the PERSON OMITTING, may be reduced to the following SYLLOGISMS.

I. Whatſoever Religion and Society have no future State for their ſupport, muſt be ſupported by an extraordinary Providence.

The Jewiſh Religion and Society had no future State for their ſupport:

Therefore the Jewiſh Religion and Society were ſupported by an extraordinary Providence.

And again,

II. The Ancient Lawgivers univerſally believed, that a Religion without a future State could be ſupported only by an extraordinary Providence.

Moſes, an Ancient Lawgiver, learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians (the principal branch of which wiſdom was inculcating the doctrine of a future ſtate) inſtituted ſuch a Religion:

Therefore Moſes believed that his Religion was ſupported by an extraordinary Providence.

This is the ARGUMENT OF THE DIVINE LEGATION; plain, ſimple, and convincing, in the opinion of the Author; a PARADOX, in the repreſentation of his Adverſaries: Attempts of this nature being ſtill attended with the fortune they have long undergone.

gone. *William of Newburg*, ſpeaking of Gregory the Eighth, tells us, that he was, "Vir plane & ſapientiæ et vitæ ſinceritate con- "ſpicuus, æmulationem Dei habens in omnibus *ſecundum ſcientiam*; "et *ſuperſtitioſarum conſuetudinum* quarum in Eccleſia per quorun- "dam ruſticam ſimplicitatem citra Scripturarum auctoritatem mul- "titudo inolevet, *Reprehenſor acerrimus*. Unde *a quibuſdam minus* "*diſcretis* putatus eſt turbato per nimiam abſtinentiam cerebro de- "lirare." This curious paſſage ſhews what hath been, and what is likely to be, the fate of all oppoſers of fooliſh and ſuperſtitious practices and opinions, when oppoſers are moſt wanted, that is to ſay, to be thought mad. Only one ſees there was this difference between *William's* age and our own. In the time of good Gregory, they were the *People of leaſt diſcretion* who paſſed this judgement on every Reformer's headpiece; whereas in our times, they are the *more diſcreet* who have made this diſcovery.

Our Author's adverſaries proved to be of two ſorts, Free-thinkers and Systematical Divines. Thoſe denied the Major of the two Syllogiſms; Theſe, the Minor: yet one could not be done without contradicting the univerſal voice of Antiquity; nor the other, without explaining away the ſenſe, as well as letter, of ſacred Scripture. Had it not been for this odd combination, my *Demonſtration of the Divine Legation of Moſes* had not only been as *ſtrong* but as *ſhort* too as any of Euclid's: whoſe theorems, as Hobbes ſomewhere obſerves, ſhould they ever happen to be connected with the paſſions and intereſts of men, would ſoon become as much matter of diſpute and contradiction as any moral or theological Propoſition whatſoever.

It was not long, therefore, before I found that the diſcovery of this important Truth would engage me in a full dilucidation of the three following Propoſitions——

1. "That inculcating the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards "and puniſhments, is neceſſary to the well-being of civil So- "ciety."

2. "That

2. "That all mankind, eſpecially the moſt wiſe and learned nations of Antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching, "that this doctrine was of ſuch uſe to civil Society."

3. "That the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Moſaic "Diſpenſation."

—Neither a ſhort nor an eaſy taſk. The two firſt requiring a ſevere ſearch into the *Religion*, the *Politics*, and the *Philoſophy* of ancient times: And, the latter, a minute examination into the *nature and genius of the Hebrew Conſtitution*.

To the firſt part of this enquiry, therefore, I aſſigned the firſt Volume of this work; and to the other, the ſecond.

I.

I. The *firſt* Volume begins with proving the MAJOR of the firſt Syllogiſm, *that whatſoever Religion and Society have no future State for their ſupport, muſt be ſupported by an extraordinary Providence.* In order to which, the FIRST PROPOSITION was to be inforced, That *the inculcating the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is neceſſary to the well-being of Society.*

This is done in the following manner—By ſhewing that CIVIL SOCIETY, which was inſtituted as a remedy againſt force and injuſtice, falls ſhort, in many inſtances, of its effects—as it cannot, by its own proper force, provide for the obſervance of above one third part of moral duties; and, of that third, but imperfectly: and further, which is a matter of ſtill greater importance, that it totally wants the firſt of thoſe two great hinges on which Government is ſuppoſed to turn, and without which it cannot be carried on, namely REWARD and PUNISHMENT. Some other coactive power was therefore to be added to civil Society, to ſupply its wants and imperfections. This power is ſhewn to be no other than RELIGION; which, teaching the juſt Government of the Deity, provides for all the natural deficiencies of civil Society. But this government, it is ſeen, can be no otherwiſe ſupported

than by the general belief of a *future ſtate*; or of an *extraordinary Providence*, that is, by a Diſpenſation of things very different from what we ſee adminiſtered at preſent.

This being proved, the diſcourſe proceeds to remove objections.—The Reader obſerves, that the ſteps and gradations of this capital truth advance thus,—A future ſtate is neceſſary as it ſupports Religion—Religion is neceſſary as it ſupports Morality—And Morality as it ſupports (though it be reciprocally ſupported by) civil Society, which only can procure ſuch accommodations of life as man's nature requires. Hence I concluded, that the Doctrine of a future ſtate was neceſſary to civil Society, under the preſent adminiſtration of Providence.

Now there are various kinds or rather degrees of Libertinism. Some, though they own Morality to be neceſſary to Society, yet deny Religion to be neceſſary. Others again deny it even to Morality.—As both equally attempt to break the chain of my reaſoning, both come equally under my examination. And, opportunely for my purpoſe, a great Name in the firſt inſtance, and a great Book, in the ſecond, invited me to this entertainment.

1. The famous M. Bayle had attempted to prove, that *Religion* was not neceſſary to Society; and that, ſimple *morality*, as diſtinguiſhed from Religion, might well ſupply its place: which Morality too, an Atheist might compleatly poſſeſs. His arguments in ſupport of theſe propoſitions I have carefully examined: and having occaſion, when I came to the laſt of them, to enquire into *the true foundation of Morality*, I ſtate all its pretences, conſider all its advantages, and ſhew that obligation, properly ſo called, proceeds from will, and from will only. This enquiry was directly to my point, as the reſult of it proves that the *morality* of the *Atheiſt* muſt be without any true foundation, and conſequently weak and unſtable. It had a further propriety, as the Religion, whoſe divine original I am here attempting to demonſtrate, has founded *moral obligation* in *Will* only; and had a peculiar

culiar expediency likewiſe, as it is become the faſhion of the times to ſeek for this *foundation* any where but there where Religion has placed it.

2. But MANDEVILLE, the Author of *the Fable of the Bees*, went a large ſtep further; and pretended to prove that MORALITY was ſo far from being neceſſary to Society, that it was *vice* and not *virtue* which rendered ſtates flouriſhing and happy. This execrable Doctrine, that would cut away my Argument by the roots, was preſented to the People with much laboured art and plauſible inſinuation. It was neceſſary therefore to confute and expoſe it. This I have done with the ſame care, but with better faith than it was inforced.

In this manner I endeavoured to prove the MAJOR PROPOSITION of the firſt Syllogiſm: and with this, the firſt book of *the Divine Legation of Moſes* concludes.

II. The ſecond Book begins with eſtabliſhing the MAJOR of the ſecond Syllogiſm, *That the ancient Lawgivers univerſally believed that a Religion without a future ſtate could be ſupported only by an extraordinary Providence.* In order to which, the SECOND PROPOSITION was to be inforced, *That all mankind, eſpecially the moſt wiſe and learned nations of Antiquity, have concurred in believing and teaching, that the Doctrine of a future ſtate was neceſſary to the well-being of civil Society.*

The proof of this propoſition divides itſelf into two parts—— The *conduct of the* LAWGIVERS; and *the opinion of the* PHILOSOPHERS.

The firſt part is the ſubject of the *preſent* Book; as the ſecond part is of the *following*.

In proving this propoſition from the *conduct of the Lawgivers*, I ſhew,

1. Their care to PROPAGATE *Religion in general*, 1. As it appears from the *effects*, the ſtate of Religion every where in the civilized World. 2. As it appears from the *cauſe*, ſuch as their univerſal pre-

tence to *inſpiration*, in order to inſtil the belief of the Divine Superintendency over human affairs; and ſuch as their univerſal practice in *prefacing their Laws*, in order to eſtabliſh the belief of that Superintendency. And here it ſhould be obſerved, that in proving their care to propagate *Religion in general*, I prove their care to propagate the doctrine of a *future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments*; ſince there never was a formed Religion in the World, the *Jewiſh* excepted, of which this Doctrine did not make an eſſential part.

2. But I ſhew, in the ſecond place, their care to propagate *this Doctrine*, with more than common attention and aſſiduity. And as the moſt effectual method they employed to this end was the inſtitution of the MYSTERIES, a large account is given of their riſe and progreſs, from Egypt into Greece, and from thence, throughout the civilized world. I have attempted to diſcover the APOPHTA, or hidden doctrines of theſe Myſteries, which were THE UNITY OF THE GODHEAD and the ERROR OF THE GROSSER POLYTHEISM, namely, *the Worſhip of dead men, deified.* This diſcovery not only confirms all that is advanced, concerning the riſe, progreſs, and order of the ſeveral ſpecies's of Idolatry, but clears up and rectifies much embarras and miſtake even of the moſt celebrated Moderns, ſuch as *Cudworth*, *Stillingfleet*, *Prideaux*, *Newton*, &c. who, contrary to the tenure of Holy Scripture, in order to do imaginary honour to Religion, have ventured to maintain, that *the one true God was generally known and worſhipped in the Pagan World*; for, finding many, in divers countries, ſpeaking of the *one true God*, they concluded, that he muſt needs have a *national Worſhip*. Now the Diſcovery of the ἀπόῤῥητα of the *Myſteries* enables us to explain the perfect conſiſtency between ſacred and prophane Antiquity; which, left to ſpeak for themſelves, concur to inform us of this plain and conſiſtent truth, "That the Doctrine of the *one true God* was indeed taught in all places, but as a profound ſecret, to the FEW, in the celebration of their myſterious Rites; while, in the Land of JUDÆA alone, he had a *public and*

and national Worſhip." For to the *Hebrew* PEOPLE *alone*, (as Euſebius expreſſes it) *was reſerved the honour of being* INITIATED *into the knowledge of the Creator of all things.* And of this difference, God himſelf ſpeaks by the Prophet,—*I have not* ſpoken IN SECRET, IN A DARK PLACE OF THE EARTH *. And the holy Apoſtle Paul informs us of the *conſequence* of that *myſterious* manner of teaching the true God amongſt the Pagan nations, that when, by this means, they came to the *knowledge* of him, *they glorified him not as God* †.

To confirm and illuſtrate my account of the MYSTERIES, I ſubjoin a Diſſertation on *the ſixth Book of Virgil's Æneis*; and another on *the metamorphoſis of Apuleius.* The firſt of which books is ſhewn to be one continued deſcription of the *Eleuſinian Myſteries*; and the other to be purpoſely written to recommend the uſe and efficacy of the *Pagan Myſteries in general.*

And here the attentive Reader will obſerve, that throughout the courſe of this whole argument, on the conduct of the ancient LAWGIVERS, it appears, that all the fundamental principles of their Policy were borrowed from EGYPT. A truth which will be made greatly ſubſervient to the *minor* of the ſecond Syllogiſm; that *Moſes*, though learned in all the Wiſdom of Egypt, yet *inſtituted the Jewiſh Religion and Society without a future State.*

From this, and from what has been ſaid above of MORAL OBLIGATION, the intelligent Reader will perceive, that, throughout *the Divine Legation*, I have all along endeavoured to ſelect for my purpoſe ſuch kind of arguments, in ſupport of the *particular* queſtion in hand, as may, at the ſame time, illuſtrate the truth of *Revelation in general*, or ſerve as principles to proceed upon in the *progreſs of the preſent Argument.* Of which will be given, as occaſion ſerves, ſeveral other inſtances in the courſe of this review.—And now having ſhewn the Legiſlators care to *propagate* Religion in general, and the Doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments

* Iſaiah xlv. 19. † Rom. i. 21.

niſhments in particular (in which is ſeen their ſenſe of the inſeparable connexion between them); I go on, to explain the contrivances they employed to perpetuate the knowledge and influence of them: by which it appears that, in their opinion, RELIGION was not a temporary expedient, uſeful only to ſecure their own power and authority, but a neceſſary ſupport to civil Society itſelf.

1. The firſt inſtance of this care was, as we ſhew, their ESTABLISHING A NATIONAL RELIGION, *protected by the Laws of the State*, in all places where they were concerned. But as Men, ignorant of *true Religion*, could hardly avoid falling into miſtakes in contriving the *mode* of this *Eſtabliſhment*, I have therefore (the ſubject of my Work being no idle ſpeculation, but ſuch a one as affects us in our higheſt intereſts, as Men and Citizens) attempted to deliver the true *Theory* of the *Alliance between Church and State*, as the beſt defence of the juſtice and equity of an ESTABLISHED RELIGION.

2. The ſecond inſtance of their care, I ſhew to have been the allowance of a GENERAL TOLERATION; which as it would, for the like reaſon, be as imperfectly framed as an *Eſtabliſhment*, I have ventured to give the true *Theory* of that likewiſe. The ancient Lawgiver contrived to *eſtabliſh* one mode of Religion, by *allying* it to the State, for the ſake of its DURATION: He *tolerated* other modes of it, for the ſake of their INFLUENCE, for a Religion forced upon man, has none; and the Lawgiver concerns himſelf with Religion only for the ſake of its *influence*. — Diſcourſing upon this Subject, I was naturally led to vindicate *true Religion* from an aſperſion of Infidelity: Where, I ſhew, that the firſt perſecution for Religion was not that which was *committed*, but that which was *undergone* by the Chriſtian Church: And that the ill ſucceſs attending its propagation amongſt barbarous Nations in our times, is altogether owing to the prepoſterous method employed for that purpoſe.—And with this, the ſecond Book of the Divine Legation concludes.

III. The

III. The third Book goes on in ſupporting the MAJOR of the ſecond Syllogiſm, by *the opinions of the* PHILOSOPHERS. For as the great waſte and ravages of time have deſtroyed moſt of the Monuments of ancient *Legiſlation*, I held it not improper to ſtrengthen my poſition of the ſenſe of their Lawgivers, by that of their Sages and Philoſophers. In this is ſhewn,

1. From their own words, the conviction they in general had of the neceſſity of the doctrine of *a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments* to civil ſociety. And, to ſet this conviction in the ſtrongeſt light, I endeavour to prove, that even ſuch of them (viz. the ſeveral ſects of Grecian Philoſophers) who did not believe *a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments*, did yet, for the ſake of Society, diligently teach and propagate it.—That they *taught* it, is confeſſed; that they did *not believe* it, was my buſineſs to prove: which I have done by ſhewing, 1. That they all thought it lawful to ſay one thing, and think another. 2. That they conſtantly practiſed what they thus thought to be lawful: and, 3. That they practiſed it on the very Doctrine in queſtion.—To explain and verify the two firſt of theſe aſſertions, I had occaſion to enquire into the riſe, progreſs, perfection, decline, and genius of the ancient *Greek Philoſophy*, under all its ſeveral diviſions. In which, (as its riſe and progreſs are ſhewn to have been from *Egypt)* ſtill more materials are laid in for inforcing the *minor* propoſition of the ſecond Syllogiſm.—I then proceed to a *more particular* inquiry into the ſentiments of each ſect of Philoſophy, on this point; and ſhew from the character and genius of each School, and from the Writings of each man, that none of them did indeed believe the Doctrine of *a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments*. At the ſame time it appears, from almoſt every proof brought for this purpoſe, that they all thought the Doctrine to be of the higheſt utility to the State.—Here, in examining the philoſophy of PYTHAGORAS, the ſubject led me, to conſider his ſo celebrated *Metempſychoſis*; in which, I take occaſion to ſpeak of the *origin of the Pagan Fables*,

and

and the nature of the *Metamorphoſis of Ovid*, here ſhewn to be *a Popular Hiſtory of Providence*, very regularly and artfully deduced from the moſt early times to his own: From the whole I draw this concluſion, "that Pythagoras, who ſo ſeduloufly propagated this ſpecies of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments (the *Metempſychoſis*) that he was thought by ſome to be the author of it, conſidered it only as a commodious Fable to reſtrain the unruly populace."

2. To ſupport this fact, it is ſhewn, in the next place, that theſe Philoſophers not only *did not*, but that they *could not* poſſibly believe the Doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments, becauſe the belief of it contradicted two Metaphyſical principles univerſally held and *believed* by them, concerning the nature of God and of the Soul; which were, that *the Deity could not hurt any one*; and that *the ſoul was part of the ſubſtance of the Deity, and reſolvable again into him.* In explaining and verifying their reception of this latter principle, I take occaſion to ſpeak of its original; which, I prove, was *Grecian* and not *Egyptian*; as appears from the genius and character of the two Philoſophies; though the ſpurious books going under the name of *Hermes*, but indeed written by the later Platoniſts, would perſuade us to the contrary. The uſe of this inquiry likewiſe (i. e. concerning the *origin* of this principle) will be ſeen when we come to ſettle the *character of Moſes*, as aforeſaid.—But, with regard to the *belief* of the Philoſophers on both points, beſides the direct and principal uſe of it, for the ſupport of the *major* of the ſecond Syllogiſm, it hath (as I ſaid before, it was contrived my arguments ſhould have) two further uſes; the one, to ſerve as a principle in the progreſs of my general Argument: the other, to illuſtrate the truth of Revelation in general. For, 1ſt, it will be a ſufficient anſwer to that ſolution of the Deiſts, (to be conſidered hereafter) that *Moſes did not teach the Doctrine of a future ſtate becauſe he did not believe it*, ſince it is ſhewn by the ſtrongeſt evidence, that the not believing a doctrine ſo uſeful

to

to Society, was eſteemed no reaſon why the Legiſlator ſhould not propagate it. 2. It is a convincing proof of the *expediency* of the Goſpel of Jeſus, that the ſages of Greece, with whom all the wiſdom of the Wiſe was ſuppoſed to be depoſited, had *philoſophiſed* themſelves out of one of the moſt evident and uſeful truths with which mankind has any concern; and a full *juſtification* of the ſeverity with which the holy Apoſtles always ſpeak of the *Philoſophers* and the *Philoſophy of Greece*, ſince it is hereby ſeen to be directed only againſt theſe pernicious principles; and not, as *Deiſts* and *Fanatics* concur to repreſent it, a condemnation of human learning in general.

3. But as now, it might be objected, "that by this repreſentation, we loſe on the one hand what we gain on the other; and that while we ſhew the *expediency* of the Goſpel, we run a riſque of diſcrediting its *reaſonableneſs*; for that nothing can bear harder upon this latter quality, than that the beſt and wiſeſt perſons of Antiquity did not believe that which the Goſpel was ſent to propagate, namely, the Doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments." As this, I ſay, might be objected, we have given (beſides explaining on what abſurd principles their *unbelief* reſted) a further anſwer; and, to ſupport this anſwer, ſhewn, that the two extremes into which Divines have uſually run, in repreſenting the ſtate and condition of *revealed Religion*, are attended with great and real miſchiefs to it; while the only view of Antiquity, which yields ſolid advantage to the Chriſtian Cauſe, is ſuch a one as is here repreſented for the true: Such a one as ſhews *natural Reaſon* to be *clear* enough to *perceive* TRUTH, and the neceſſary deductions from it *when propoſed*, but not generally *ſtrong* enough to *diſcover* it. He, who of all the Pagan World beſt knew its force, and was in that very ſtate in which only a true judgement could be paſſed, has with the greateſt ingenuity confeſſed this truth, "Nam neque "tam eſt acris acies in naturis hominum et ingeniis, ut res tantas "quiſquam, niſi monſtratus poſſit videre; neque tanta tamen in "rebus obſcuritas, ut eas peritus acri vir ingenio cernat, ſi modo "aſpexerit."

" aſpexerit." In explaining this matter, it is occaſionally ſhewn, that the great and acknowledged ſuperiority of the modern Syſtems of *Deiſtical Morality* above the ancient, in point of excellence, is entirely owing to the unacknowledged, and perhaps unſuſpected, aid of Revelation.

Thus the Reader ſees, in what manner we have endeavoured to prove the MAJOR PROPOSITIONS of the two Syllogiſms, that *whatſoever Religion and Society have no future State for their ſupport, muſt be ſupported by an extraordinary Providence.* And that, *The ancient Lawgivers univerſally believed, that a Religion without a future State could be ſupported only by an extraordinary Providence.* For having ſhewn, that Religion and Society were unable, and believed to be unable, to ſupport themſelves under an *ordinary Providence*, without a future State; if they were ſupported without that Doctrine, it could be, and could be believed to be, only by an *extraordinary Providence.*

But now as the proof is conducted through a long detail of circumſtances, ſhewing the *abſolute neceſſity* of *Religion* to civil Society; and the *ſenſe* which all the wiſe and learned amongſt the ancients had of that neceſſity; leſt this ſhould be abuſed to countenance the idle and impious Conceit that RELIGION WAS THE INVENTION OF POLITICIANS, I concluded the third Book and the Volume together, with proving that the Conceit is both IMPERTINENT and FALSE.

1. *Impertinent*, for that, were this account of the origin of Religion true, it would not follow, that the thing itſelf was viſionary; but, on the contrary, moſt real, evidently ſo even from that *univerſal utility*, on which this its pretended origin is ſupported. Indeed, againſt this *utility*, paradoxical men, or men in a paradoxical humour, have often reaſoned; ſuch as BAYLE, PLUTARCH, and BACON: Their arguments are here examined: And the *Maſter ſophiſm*, which runs through the reaſoning of all three, is detected and expoſed.

2. *Falſe*;

2. *Falſe*; for that, in fact, *Religion* exiſted before the *civil Magiſtrate* was in being. In proving this point, the matter led me to ſpeak of the *origin of Idolatry*; to diſtinguiſh the ſeveral ſpecies of it; to adjuſt the order in which they aroſe out of one another; and to detect the ends of the later Platoniſts, in their attempts to turn the whole into an ALLEGORY (in which the reaſonings of a late Writer in his *Letters concerning Mythology* are conſidered.) And becauſe the rage of ALLEGORISING had ſpread a total confuſion over all this matter, The origin, and progreſs of the folly, and the various views of its ſectators in ſupporting it, are here accounted for and explained.

But my end and purpoſe in all this, was not barely to remove an objection againſt the Truths delivered in this place, but to prepare a reception for thoſe which are to *follow*: For if Religion were ſo uſeful to Society, and yet not the invention of the Magiſtrate, we muſt ſeek for its original in another quarter; either from NATURE or REVELATION, or from BOTH.

Such is the ſubject-matter of the FIRST Volume of *The Divine Legation*: which, as it was thought proper to publiſh ſeparately, I contrived ſhould not only contain a *part* of that general Argument, but ſhould likewiſe be a complete Treatiſe of itſelf, eſtabliſhing one of the moſt important Truths with which Man has any concern; namely, THE NECESSITY OF RELIGION FOR THE SUPPORT OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT. And if, in ſupport of this truth, I have entered into a long detail of ſome capital articles of Antiquity, I preſume I ſhall not need an apology.

II.

We come now to the SECOND VOLUME of *The Divine Legation*, which is employed in proving the MINOR PROPOSITION of the two Syllogiſms; the firſt, that the *Jewiſh Religion and Society had no future ſtate for their ſupport*: the other, that *Moſes, an ancient Lawgiver, and learned in all the Wiſdom of Egypt, purpoſely inſtituted*

ſuch a Religion, in order to which the THIRD GENERAL PROPOSITION was to be enforced; That *the Doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the Moſaic Diſpenſation.* But in proving the MINOR, a method ſomething different from that obſerved in proving the MAJOR PROPOSITIONS was to be followed. *Theſe*, in the firſt Volume, were proved *ſucceſſively* and in order. But here the MINOR PROPOSITIONS are inforced all the way *together*. And this difference ariſes from the reaſon of the thing; the facts, brought to prove the doctrine to be omitted, do, at the ſame time, *accidentally* ſhew that the Omiſſion was deſigned: And the reaſons, brought to prove the uſes in a deſigned omiſſion, *neceſſarily* ſhew that the Doctrine was omitted.

To proceed therefore with the ſubject of the SECOND VOLUME.

IV. I juſt before obſerved, that the concluſion of the firſt Volume, which detected the abſurdity and falſity of the Atheiſtic Principle, that *Religion was an invention of Politicians, and a creature of the ſtate*, opened the way to a fair inquiry whether its true original was not as well from REVELATION as from NATURAL REASON.

In the introduction therefore to this ſecond Volume, I took the advantage which that opening afforded me, of ſhewing that the univerſal pretence to *Revelation* proves *ſome* Revelation muſt be true: That this *true* Revelation muſt have ſome characteriſtic marks to diſtinguiſh it from the *falſe*: And that theſe *marks* are to be found in the Inſtitutions of MOSES.

But this was only by way of *introduction*; and to lead the Reader more eaſily into the main road of our inquiry; by ſhewing that we purſued no deſperate adventure, while we endeavoured to deduce the *divinity* of Moſes's Law from the circumſtances of the Law itſelf.

I proceeded then to the proof of the MINOR PROPOSITIONS, that *the Jewiſh Religion and Society had no future State for their ſupport*: and that *Moſes, an ancient Lawgiver, and learned in all the wiſdom*

of

of Egypt, purpoſely inſtituted ſuch a Religion. To evince theſe truths with ſufficient evidence, the *nature* of that Inſtitution was to be firſt underſtood; which again required a general knowledge, at leaſt, of the *manners* and *genius* of the Hebrew People, and of the *character* and *abilities* of their Lawgiver. Now theſe having been entirely faſhioned on Egyptian models, it was further expedient that we ſhould know *the ſtate of Egyptian ſuperſtition and learning* in that early period.

1. In order to this, the following propoſition is advanced, that *the Egyptian learning celebrated in Scripture, and the Egyptian ſuperſtition there condemned, were the very learning and ſuperſtition repreſented by the Greek Writers as the honour and opprobrium of that kingdom.* Where I firſt ſtate the queſtion; and then ſhew the equal extravagance of each of thoſe two parties amongſt the learned, who have been accuſtomed to *advance* or to *depreſs* the high antiquity of Egypt.

1. I corroborate the Propoſition, firſt, by FACT, the teſtimony of holy Scripture, and of the ancient Greek Writers, ſet together and ſupporting one another; and both ſupported by circumſtances regarding the peculiar ſituation of the land of Egypt. And here the *objections* of the author of *the Sacred and Prophane Hiſtory of the World connected*, frightened by the common panic of the high antiquity of Egypt, are confuted and expoſed.

Secondly, by REASON, in an argument drawn from the nature, origin, and various uſes of their ſo famed HIEROGLYPHICS. Where it is ſhewn,

1. That this ſpecies of writing was employed by the Egyptians as the vehicle of learning, even *after* the invention of LETTERS: for which no good reaſon can be aſſigned but this, that they were applied to the ſame purpoſe *before*. Now LETTERS were in uſe amongſt them before the time of *Moſes*.

2. Again, it is ſhewn that the ONIROCRITICS borrowed their art of deciphering dreams from *hieroglyphic Symbols*: but *hieroglyphic Symbols* were the myſterious vehicle of the civil ſcience and of the

Theology

Theology of the Egyptians. Now ONIROCRITIC or the art of interpreting of dreams was practiſed in the time of Joſeph.

3. And again, It is ſhewn that ANIMAL-WORSHIP in Egypt aroſe from the myſterious uſe of the ſame *hieroglyphic Symbols*. Now ANIMAL-WORSHIP was eſtabliſhed amongſt them before the time of *Moſes*.

From all this, it appears, that EGYPT was of that high antiquity which *Scripture* and the beſt *Greek* Writers concur to repreſent it. By which, we come to underſtand what were the *ſpecific manners and ſuperſtitions* of Egypt in the time of Moſes; theſe being, as it now appears, identically the ſame with what the Greek Writers have delivered to us.

In the courſe of this proof from *Reaſon*, which opens at large the nature, origin, and various kinds of EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS, I interweave (as the explanation of my ſubject neceſſarily required) a detailed hiſtory of the various modes of ancient communication amongſt men, as well by *real* and *literary* characters, as by *words* and *action*; and ſhew how SPEECH and WRITING ran parallel in their progreſs; and influenced, and were influenced by, one another. On the ſame account, when I come to the origin of BRUTE-WORSHIP, I give the hiſtory of the various modes of ancient Idolatry, in the order in which they roſe, one out of another.

Theſe things I have not only made to ſerve in ſupport of the queſtion I am *here* upon, but likewiſe in ſupport of one queſtion *preceding*, and of one which is to *follow*.

For in the hiſtory of the *various modes of ancient communication* was laid, as the Reader will find, the foundation of my diſcourſes on the *nature of ancient Prophecies* in the ſixth Book.

And, in the hiſtory of *the various modes of ancient Idolatry*, the Reader hath a neceſſary ſupplement to what had been ſaid before on the ſame ſubject, in the latter end of the third Book, againſt the Atheiſt's pretended origin of Religion.

So ſtudious have I been to obſerve, what a great maſter of Reaſon lays down as the *rule* and *teſt* of good order in Compoſition, *That every*

every former part may give ſtrength to all that follow; and every latter bring light unto all before.*

But the *high antiquity of Egypt*, though proved from *Antiquity* itſelf, ſeemed not to be enough ſecured, while the authority of one *great modern* remained entire, and his reaſonings unanſwered.

In the next place, therefore, I examine Sir ISAAC NEWTON'S *Chronology of the Egyptian Empire*; a Chronology erected on the ſuppoſed *identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris*; which is a fancy that not only contradicts all *ſacred* as well as *prophane* antiquity, but, what is ſtill more, the very *nature of things.*

In the courſe of this confutation, *the cauſes of that endleſs confuſion in the early Greek hiſtory and Mythology*, are inquired into and explained: Which ſerves, at the ſame time, to confirm and illuſtrate all that hath been occaſionally ſaid in the latter end of the *third* book, and, here again, in this *fourth*, concerning—the origin and progreſs of Idolatry—the genius of Pagan Religion—the Gentile modes of worſhip—and their Theological opinions.

Thus far concerning *the high antiquity of Egypt.* Which, beſides the *immediate* purpoſe of leading us into the true idea of the *Jewiſh Inſtitution* in general, hath theſe further uſes:

We have ſeen, in the foregoing Volume, that EGYPT, as it was moſt famed for the arts of legiſlation, ſo it moſt of all inculcated the doctrine of *a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments.* Now, if Egypt were indeed of the high antiquity here aſſigned unto it, that doctrine muſt needs be of national belief, at the time the Hebrews lived there in ſlavery. But then they having, as we find in Scripture, thoroughly imbibed the religious notions of the place, muſt needs be much prejudiced in favour of ſo reaſonable and flattering a Doctrine: Conſequently their Lawgiver, who likewiſe had been bred up in all the learning of Egypt, would, if he had acted only by human direction, have, in imitation of his Maſters, taken advantage of this favourable prejudice to make the doctrine of a future ſtate the grand SANCTION of his Religion and Law.

* Hooker.

Again,

Again, the proof of the *high Antiquity of Egypt* was neceſſary to vindicate *ſacred Scripture*; which all along declares for that Antiquity; and which the DEIST having endeavoured to take advantage of, in oppoſing Moſes's pretence to inſpiration, ſome imprudent BELIEVERS were grown not unwilling to explain away. Sir Iſaac Newton's CHRONOLOGY afforded them the aid they wanted: And while it offered itſelf in ſupport of the *Bible-divinity*, they ſeemed little attentive to the liberties it had taken with the *Bible-hiſtory*.

2. In order to bring on this Truth of the *high antiquity of Egypt* nearer to my purpoſe, I proceeded to the *ſecond* Propoſition, *That the Jewiſh People were extremely fond of Egyptian manners, and did frequently fall into Egyptian ſuperſtitions: and that many of the Laws given to them by the miniſtry of Moſes were inſtituted partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in oppoſition to thoſe ſuperſtitions.* In the proof of the firſt part of this Propoſition, I ſhew the high *probability* that the Law was inſtituted with reference to Egyptian manners; and through the proof of the ſecond, is deduced a *demonſtration* that it was actually ſo framed.

For a further illuſtration of this Argument, I give an hiſtorical account of the degeneracy of the Hebrew People, and of their amazing propenſity to imitate the manners of Egypt, from the time that Moſes was firſt ſent upon his Miſſion, to their entire ſettlement in the land of Judea: Which fully ſhews (what will ſtand us in ſtead hereafter) that a People ſo perverſe and headſtrong needed, in the conſtruction of their civil and religious Inſtitutions, all poſſible curbs to diſorder: Now of all ſuch curbs, the doctrine of a *future ſtate* was ever held the chief in ancient policy; and as this doctrine was ſo peculiarly Egyptian, they muſt needs have the moſt favourable prejudice towards it.

But then, as it might perhaps be objected, that while I am endeavouring to get this way into the interior of the Jewiſh Conſtitution, I open a back door to the ravages of Infidelity: it was thought neceſſary, in order to prevent the Deiſt's taking advantage of the great Truth contained in the preceding Propoſition (which

is

is the ſecond), to guard it by the following (which is the third), viz. *That Moſes's Egyptian Learning, and the Laws inſtituted in compliance to the Peoples prejudices, are no reaſonable objection to the divinity of his Miſſion.* Where, in explaining the *firſt part*, which ſhews what this learning was, and how well it ſuited with Moſes's Miſſion, I had occaſion to inquire into the origin and uſe of the SCHOOLS OF THE PROPHETS: Which the Reader will find of this further uſe, viz. To give ſtrength and ſupport to what is ſaid in the ſixth Book of the NATURE OF THE JEWISH PROPHECIES; and particularly to what is there obſerved of GROTIUS's fatal error, in his mode of interpreting them.

And in explanation of the *ſecond part*, having proved the Propoſition, That to inſtitute Laws in compliance to popular prejudices is no reaſonable objection to their divine original; having proved this, I ſay, from the nature of things; the Diſcourſe proceeds to examine all the Arguments which have been urged in ſupport of the contrary opinion, by HERMAN WITSIUS, in his learned Treatiſe intitled *Ægyptiaca*, that Book having been publickly recommended by Dr. *Waterland*, for *a diſtinct and ſolid confutation of Spencer's De Legibus Hebræorum ritualibus.*

And the anſwer to Witſius's laſt argument bringing into queſtion the intrinſic value of the *ritual Law*; the famous character of it given by the Prophet EZEKIEL, *of ſtatutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they ſhould not live*—is explained in a large analyſis of the whole Prophecy, againſt an old fooliſh notion revived by Dr. Shuckford, that theſe *Statutes* and *Judgments*, here ſaid to be *given* by God, were the *Pagan Idolatries*, which, in defiance of God, they took without leave.

But I go yet further in ſupport of the fourth Propoſition, and prove, that *theſe very circumſtances of Moſes's Egyptian Learning, and the Laws inſtituted in compliance to the People's prejudices, are a ſtrong confirmation of the divinity of his Miſſion.*

1ſt, For, that one bred up in the arts of Egyptian Legiſlation could never, on his own head, have thought of reducing an unruly

people to government, on maxims of Religion and Policy, fundamentally oppoſite to all the principles of Egyptian WISDOM, at that time the univerſal Model on which all the Legiſlators worked, in reducing a barbarous People to Society. Yet Moſes went upon principles diametrically oppoſite to that WISDOM, when he enjoined the PUBLIC worſhip of the *one true God only*, and OMITTED *the doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments*, in the inſtitution of his Law and Religion.

2dly, For, that One who *falſely* pretended to receive the whole frame of a national Conſtitution from God, would never have riſqued his pretenſions by a *ritual Law*, which the people might ſee was politically inſtituted, partly in compliance to their prejudices, and partly in oppoſition to Egyptian ſuperſtitions.

Here, all the imaginable motives are inquired into, which MOSES, though a mere human Lawgiver, might have had to act in the manner he did; and theſe motives are ſhewn to be inſufficient to induce a wiſe Legiſlator thus to act.—In concluſion, it is made apparent, *that a ritual, contrived to oppoſe to the reigning ſuperſtitions*; and, at the ſame time, *to prefigure, by its typical nature*, all the eſſential parts of a future Diſpenſation, contains a ſtrong INTERNAL ARGUMENT THAT THE RITUAL LAW WAS NOT A MERE HUMAN INVENTION. And with this the fourth Book concludes.

V. What hath been hitherto ſaid, was to let the Reader into the genius of the Jewiſh Policy in *general*, in order to his judging more exactly of the *peculiar nature* of its Government; that, from thence, he might be enabled to determine, with full certainty, of the matters in queſtion, as they are contained in the two MINOR terms.

1. The *fifth Book*, therefore, comes ſtill nearer to the point, and ſhews, that the Government inſtituted by Moſes was a THEOCRACY, properly ſo called, where God himſelf was the ſupreme civil Magiſtrate. It begins with aſſigning and ſettling the true reaſon of the ſeparation of the poſterity of Abraham from the reſt of mankind;—

mankind;—becauſe this ſeparation has been greatly miſunderſtood—but principally becauſe the true reaſon of the *ſeparation* leads us into the uſe and neceſſity of a *Theocratic* form of Government.

In evincing this neceſſity, the juſtice *of the Law for puniſhing Idol-worſhip capitally*, under a Theocracy, is explained: And becauſe the Deiſt hath been accuſtomed to urge *this Law* againſt the divine original of the whole Inſtitution, it is here juſtified at large, on the principles of natural equity: Which ſerves, as well a paſt purpoſe, viz. the adding ſtrength and ſupport to what hath been ſaid on the ſubject of TOLERATION, in the ſecond Book; as it does at preſent, viz. to confirm the *reality of this Theocracy*, which a celebrated diſſenting Miniſter has prepoſterouſly gone out of his way to bring in queſtion: whoſe *reaſoning*, therefore, is examined and expoſed.

2. This THEOCRACY, thus proved to be *neceſſary*, was likewiſe of the moſt eaſy introduction, as I have ſhewn from the notions and opinions of thoſe times, concerning *tutelary Deities*. And here, ſpeaking of the method of divine Providence, in applying the prejudices and manners of men to the great ends of his Diſpenſations, I obſerve, that He is always accuſtomed to impreſs on his inſtitution, ſome characteriſtic note of difference, to mark it for his own: which leading me to give inſtances in ſome of theſe *notes*, I inſiſt chiefly upon this, "that the Moſaic Religion was *built upon* "*a former*, namely, the Patriarchal: whereas the various Religions "of the Pagan World were all unrelated to, and independent of "one another." As this was a circumſtance neceſſary to be well attended to, by all who would fully comprehend the nature of the Moſaic Policy, I took the advantage, which the celebrated Author of the *Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion* had afforded me, to ſupport this characteriſtic note, againſt his idle attempt to prove, that the Pagans, likewiſe, were accuſtomed to build one pretended Revelation on another.

3. I proceed, in the next place, to ſhew, that thoſe prejudices which made the *introduction of a* Theocracy *ſo eaſy*, occaſioned *as eaſy a defection from it.* In which, I had occaſion to explain the nature of the *worſhip of tutelary Gods*; and of that *Idolatry* wherewith the Iſraelites were ſo obſtinately beſotted.

Both of which Diſcourſes ſerve theſe further purpoſes: the *former*, to ſupport and explain whath hath been ſaid in the ſecond Book concerning the *Pagan intercommunity of worſhip:* and the *latter* (beſides a peculiar uſe to be made of it in the third Volume) to obviate a popular objection of Unbelievers: who, from this circumſtance, of the perpetual defection of the Iſraelites into idolatry, would infer, that God's Diſpenſation to them could never have been ſo convictive as their Hiſtory repreſents it; the Objectors having taken it for granted, on the allowance of Believers, that this Idolatry conſiſted in renouncing the Law of Moſes, and renouncing it as diſſatisfied with its truth. Both which ſuppoſitions are here ſhewn to be falſe. This affords an occaſion to confute the falſe reaſoning of Lord Bolingbroke; who, from this frequent lapſe into Idolatry, infers ſuch a defect and political inability in the Law, as ſhews its pretence to a divine original to be an impoſture.

4. The nature of the Theocracy, and the circumſtances attending its *erection*, being thus explained, we come next to inquire concerning its *duration*. Here we ſhew, that, in ſtrict truth and propriety, it ſubſiſted throughout the whole period of the Jewiſh œconomy, even to the coming of Chriſt: In which diſcourſe, the contrary opinions, of an earlier abolition, are all conſidered and confuted, and the above truth ſupported and eſtabliſhed. In the courſe of this reaſoning, it is ſhewn, that the famous Prophecy of Jacob, of the *Sceptre's not departing from Judah till the coming of Shiloh*, is a promiſe or declaration of the exiſtence of the Theocracy till the coming of Chriſt. And as the truth of this interpretation is of the higheſt importance to Revelation, all the different

ſenſes

ſenſes given to this Prophecy are examined, and ſhewn to be erroneous. And the laſt of them being one borrowed by Dr. Sherlock, Biſhop of London, and received into his Book of *the Uſe and Intent of Prophecy*, is particularly diſcuſſed.

The uſe to be hereafter made of *the duration of the Theocracy to the coming of Chriſt*, is to inforce, by this circumſtance, amongſt many others, the CONNEXION between the two Religions: a truth, though too much neglected, yet incumbent on every rational Defender of Revelation to ſupport.

The Argument then proceeds to a conſideration of the *peculiar conſequences* attending the adminiſtration of a Theocracy, which brings us yet nearer to our point. Here it is ſhewn, that one neceſſary *conſequence* was an EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. And agreeably to this deduction from the *nature of things*, we find, that holy Scripture does, *in fact*, exhibit this very repreſentation of God's Government of Judea; and that there are many favourable circumſtances in the character of the Hebrew People, to induce us to believe the repreſentation to be true. Here, many cloudy cavils of the three Doctors, SYKES, STEBBING, and RUTHERFORD, are occaſionally removed and diſperſed. But the attentive Reader will obſerve, that my Argument does not require me to prove more in this place, than that holy Scripture REPRESENTS an *extraordinary Providence* to have been adminiſtered. The proof of its REAL Adminiſtration is eſtabliſhed by the MEDIUM of my Theſis, *the omiſſion of the Doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments*. Which anſwers all objections as to our inadequate conceptions of ſuch an adminiſtration; as well as to certain paſſages of Scripture that ſeem to claſh with its general repreſentation of it. Yet both theſe ſort of objections are, however, conſidered *ex abundanti*.

As important as the fact is, to our preſent purpoſe of an extraordinary Providence thus repreſented, it has ſtill a further uſe, when employed amongſt thoſe diſtinguiſhing *marks* of the truth of

Moſes's

Moſes's divine Miſſion in general: for it ſhews us, the unneceſſary trouble and hazard to which he expoſed himſelf had that Miſſion been feigned. Had he, like the reſt of the ancient Lawgivers, only pretended to *inſpiration*, he had then no occaſion to propagate the belief of an *extraordinary Providence*; a Diſpenſation ſo eaſy to be confuted. But by deviating from their practice, and announcing to his People, that their *tutelary God* was become their KING, he laid himſelf under a neceſſity of teaching an *extraordinary Providence*; a dead weight upon an Impoſtor, which nothing but downright folly could have brought him to undergo.

To proceed. After having laid this ſtrong and neceſſary Foundation, we come at length DIRECTLY to the point in queſtion. If the Jewiſh Government were a THEOCRACY, adminiſtered, as it muſt be, by an *extraordinary Providence*, the next conſequence is, that TEMPORAL REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, and not FUTURE, were the SANCTION of their Law and Religion. Thus far, therefore, have our conſiderations on the *nature alone* of the Jewiſh Government conducted us: and it is almoſt to our journey's end: for it fairly brings us up to the proof of our two MINOR Propoſitions. So neceſſary, as the Reader now ſees, is the long diſcourſe *of the nature of the Jewiſh Government.*

But, to prevent all cavil, the Argument goes on, and proves in the next place, that the Doctrine of *a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments*, which could not, from the *nature* of things, be the SANCTION of the Jewiſh œconomy, was not in *fact* contained in it at all: nay further, that it was PURPOSELY OMITTED by the great Lawgiver. This is proved from ſeveral paſſages in the Book of *Geneſis* and the *Law.*

And here, more fully to evince, that Moſes, who, it is ſeen, *ſtudiouſly* omitted the mention of it, was *well appriſed* of its importance, I ſhew, that the PUNISHMENT OF CHILDREN FOR THE SINS OF THEIR PARENTS was brought into this Inſtitution purpoſely to afford ſome advantages to Government, which the Doctrine

trine of *a future ſtate*, as it is found in all other Societies, amply ſupplies. This, at the ſame time that it gives further ſtrength to the poſition of *no future ſtate in the Moſaic Diſpenſation*, gives the Author a fair occaſion of vindicating the juſtice and equity of the Law of *puniſhing Children for the ſins of their Parents*; and of proving the perfect agreement between MOSES and the Prophets EZEKIEL and JEREMIAH, concerning it; which hath been, in all ages, the ſtumbling-block of Infidelity.

But we now advance a ſtep further, and ſhew, that as Moſes did not teach, yea forbore to teach the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Puniſhments, ſo neither had the ancient Jews, that is to ſay, the Body of the People, any knowledge of it. The proof is ſtriking, and ſcarce to be reſiſted by any Party or Profeſſion but that of the SYSTEM-MAKER. The Bible contains a very circumſtantial account of this People, from the time of Moſes to the great Captivity; not only the hiſtory of public occurrences, but the lives of private perſons of both ſexes, and of all ages, conditions, characters, and complexions; in the adventures of virgins, matrons, kings, ſoldiers, ſcholars, parents, merchants, huſbandmen. They are given too in every circumſtance of life; captive, victorious, in ſickneſs and in health; in full ſecurity, and amidſt impending dangers; plunged in civil buſineſs, or retired and ſequeſtered in the ſervice of Religion. Together with their ſtory, we have their compoſitions likewiſe: in one place we hear their triumphal; in another, their penitential ſtrains. Here we have their exultations for bleſſings received; there, their deprecations of evil apprehended: Here they urge their moral precepts to their *contemporaries*; and there again, they treaſure up their Prophecies and Predictions for the uſe of *Poſterity*; and on each, denounce the threatenings and promiſes of Heaven. Yet in none of theſe different circumſtances of life, in none of theſe various caſts of compoſition, do we ever find them acting on the motives, or influenced by the proſpect, of a FUTURE STATE: or indeed, expreſſing the leaſt

hopes

hopes or fears, or even common curioſity, concerning it: But every thing they do or ſay reſpects the preſent life only; the good and ill of which are the ſole objects of their purſuits and averſions.

The ſtrength of this argument is ſtill further ſupported by a view of the *general hiſtory* of Mankind; and particularly of thoſe nations moſt reſembling the *Jewiſh* in their genius and circumſtances: in which we find the Doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments, was always puſhing on its influence. It was their conſtant viaticum through life; it ſtimulated them to war, and ſpirited their ſongs of triumph; it made them inſenſible of pain, immoveable in danger, and ſuperior to the approach of death.

This is not all: We obſerve, that even in the *Jewiſh* Annals, when this Doctrine was become national, it made as conſiderable a figure in their Hiſtory, as in that of any other nation.

It is ſtill further urged, that this concluſion does not reſt merely on the *negative ſilence* of the Bible-hiſtory; it is ſupported on the *poſitive* declarations contained in it; by which the ſacred Writers plainly diſcover that there was no popular expectation of *a future ſtate* or *Reſurrection*.

From the *Old Teſtament* we come to the *New*. By the Writers of which it appears, that the Doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments DID NOT MAKE PART of the Moſaic Diſpenſation.

Their evidence is divided into two parts; the *firſt*, proving that TEMPORAL rewards and puniſhments *were the ſanction* of the Jewiſh Diſpenſation; The *ſecond*, that it had *no other*. And thus, with the moſt direct and unexceptionable proof of the two MINOR propoſitions, the fifth Book concludes.

VI. But to remove, as far as poſſible, all the ſupports of prejudice againſt this important Truth, the ſixth and laſt Book of this Volume is employed in examining all thoſe texts of the *Old* and *New* Teſtament,

Teſtament, which had been commonly urged to prove, that the Doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments DID MAKE PART of the Moſaic Diſpenſation.

And amongſt thoſe of the *Old* Teſtament, the famous paſſage of the xixth chapter of Job, concerning a *Reſurrection* (as it has been commonly underſtood) holding a principal place, it was judged expedient, for the reaſons there given, to examine that matter to the bottom. This neceſſarily brought on an enquiry into the NATURE and GENIUS of that Book; WHEN WRITTEN, and to WHAT PURPOSE. By the aid of which enquiry, a fair account is given of the ſenſe of that famous Text, conſiſtent with our general Propoſition.

But the whole *Diſcourſe on the Book of Job* hath this further uſe: It provides a ſtrong ſupport and illuſtration of what will be hereafter delivered concerning the GRADUAL DECAY *of the extraordinary Providence* from the time of *Saul*, to the return from the great *Captivity*.

Yet this is not all. The *Diſcourſe* hath yet a further uſe, with regard to *Revelation in general*. For the explaining, How the principles of the *Goſpel-Doctrine* were opened by degrees, fully obviates the calumnies of thoſe two leaders in Infidelity, TYNDAL and COLLINS; who pretend, that the Heads and Governors of the Jews refined their old Doctrines concerning the Deity, and invented new ones: juſt as the *Prieſts* improved in knowledge, or the *People* advanced in curioſity; or as *Both* were better taught by the inſtructions they received from their Maſters in the country whither they were led away captive.

The *diſcourſe of Job* being of this importance, we were led to ſupport all the parts of it, from the attacks of various Writers, who had attempted to confute it.

The reſt of the Old Teſtament-texts are gone through with greater diſpatch, being divided into two parts. 1. Such as are ſuppoſed to teach the ſeparate exiſtence, or, as it is called, the *immortality* of the Soul. And, 2. Such as are ſuppoſed to teach *a future*

ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, together with a *Reſurrection of the body*. In the courſe of which examination, much light, it is hoped, has been thrown both on the *particular texts* and on the *general queſtion*.

From the texts of the *Old* Teſtament, the Argument proceeds to examine thoſe of the *New*: Amongſt which, the famous *eleventh Chapter of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews* is not forgotten; the ſenſe of which is cleared up, to oppoſe to the inveterate miſtakes of *Syſtematical Divines*: And here, occaſion is taken to explain the *nature of St. Paul's reaſoning againſt the errors of the Jewiſh converts*; a matter of higheſt moment for a right underſtanding of this Apoſtle's Letters to the ſeveral Churches; and for the further illuſtration of the general Argument.

As in all this, nothing is taught or inſinuated which oppoſes the doctrine of our excellent Church, common decency required that this *conformity* ſhould be fully ſhewn and largely inſiſted on.

Having therefore, all along, gone upon this Principle, "That "though a future State of rewards and puniſhments made no part "of the Mosaic Diſpenſation, yet that the Law had a SPIRITUAL "meaning; though not ſeen or underſtood till the fullneſs of time "was come. Hence the Ritual Law received the nature, and "afforded the efficacy of PROPHECY: In the interim (as is ſhewn) "*the myſtery of the Goſpel was occaſionally revealed*, by God, to his "choſen ſervants, the Fathers and Leaders of the Jewiſh Nation; "and the *dawnings* of it gradually opened by the Prophets, to the "People." Having, I ſay, gone, all the way, upon this principle, I ſhew, from the SEVENTH ARTICLE *of Religion*, that it is the very Doctrine of our excellent Church.

And in explaining that part of the ARTICLE which ſays,—*That they are not to be heard which feign that the old Fathers did look only for tranſitory Promiſes*, I ſupport this doctrine by the caſe of ABRAHAM, *who*, our bleſſed Maſter tells us, *rejoiced to ſee his day, and ſaw it and was glad*.

Here,

Here, I attempt to prove, in illuſtration of this text, that the *Command to Abraham to offer Iſaac* was merely an information given, at Abraham's earneſt requeſt, in a *repreſentative action*, inſtead of *words*, of the REDEMPTION OF MANKIND by the great Sacrifice of Chriſt on the Croſs. Which interpretation, if it be the true one, is, I think, the nobleſt proof that ever was given of the HARMONY between the Old and New Teſtament.

From this long Diſſertation, beſides the immediate purpoſe of vindicating the Doctrine of our national Church, in its *ſeventh Article*, we gain theſe two advantages; 1. The firſt of which is, ſupporting a real and eſſential *connexion* between the Moſaic and the Chriſtian Religions. 2. The other is, diſpoſing the Deiſts to think more favourably of Revelation, when they ſee, in this interpretation of the COMMAND, all their objections to this part of Abraham's ſtory, overthrown.

The matter being of this high importance, it was proper to fix my interpretation on ſuch principles as would leave no room for reaſonable doubt or objection: And this was to be done by explaining the nature of thoſe *various modes of information* in uſe amongſt the Ancients; for which explanation, a proper ground had been laid in the diſcourſe on the *Hieroglyphics* in the fourth Book. To all this (for the reaſon here given) is ſubjoined a continued refutation of all that Dr. Stebbing has been able to urge againſt this idea of the *Command*.

Nor is this all. This *Diſſertation*, which affords ſo many new openings into the truths of *Revelation* in general, and ſo many additional ſupports to the argument of the *Divine Legation* in particular, hath another very important uſe. It is a neceſſary introduction to the long Diſcourſe which follows, concerning PROPHECY.

In this (which is the laſt of the preſent Volume) I have attempted to clear up and vindicate the logical truth and propriety of *Types in action*, and *ſecondary ſenſes in ſpeech*: For on the truth and pro-

priety of theſe depends the divine original of the ancient JEWISH PROPHECIES concerning Chriſt. A matter much needing a ſupport: For though the greater part of theſe Prophecies confeſſedly relate to Jeſus only in a *ſecondary ſenſe*, yet had ſome men of name, and in the intereſts of Religion, through ignorance of the true origin and nature of *ſuch ſenſes*, raſhly concurred with modern Judaiſm and Infidelity, to give them all up as *illogical* and *enthuſiaſtic*, to the imminent hazard of the very foundation of CHRISTIANITY.

In the progreſs of this inquiry, I had occaſion to examine, and was enabled, on the principles here laid down, to confute Mr. Collins's famous Work of *the Grounds and Reaſons of the Chriſtian Religion*, one of the moſt able and plauſible books ever written amongſt us, againſt our holy Faith; he having borrowed the Argument, and ſtolen all the reaſoning upon it, from the moſt ſagacious of the modern Rabbins; who pretend that none of the Prophecies can relate to Jeſus in any other ſenſe than a *ſecondary*; and that a *ſecondary ſenſe is illogical and fanatical.*——Had I done no more, in this long work, than explain and clear up, as I have done, this much embarraſſed and moſt important queſtion of the Jewiſh Prophecies which relate to Chriſt, and to the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, I ſhould have thought my time and labour well employed; ſo neceſſary to the very being of our holy Faith, is the ſetting this matter on its true foundation. Thus much may be ſaid in favour of this large diſſertation conſidered in itſelf alone: But, as part of the Argument of the *Divine Legation* of Moſes, it has theſe more immediate uſes:

1. To ſhew, that thoſe who contend, that the Chriſtian Doctrine of a future State was revealed to the early Jews, deſtroy all *uſe and reaſon of a ſecondary ſenſe of Prophecies*; for how ſhall it be certainly known, from the Prophecies themſelves, that they contain *double ſenſes*, but from this *acknowledged* truth, that the *old Law* was preparatory to, and the rudiments of, the *New?* Or how ſhall this relation between theſe *two Laws* be certainly known, but

but from the evidence of this *conteſted* truth, *that the Doctrine of a future ſtate of Rewards and Puniſhments is not to be found in the Moſaic Diſpenſation?* So cloſe a dependence have all theſe capital Principles on one another.

2. The other more immediate reaſon for this Diſſertation on *Types and ſecondary Senſes* was this: As I had ſhewn, that a future State of rewards and puniſhments was not revealed under any part of the Jewiſh œconomy, otherwiſe than by *thoſe modes* of information; it was neceſſary, in order to ſhew the *real connexion* between Judaiſm and Chriſtianity (the truth of the latter Religion depending on that *real connexion*) to prove *thoſe modes* to be logical and rational. For, as on the one hand, had the doctrine of life and immortality been *revealed* under the Moſaic œconomy, Judaiſm had been *more* than a rudiment of, and preparation to, Chriſtianity; ſo on the other, had no *covert* intimations, at all, been given of the doctrine, it had been *leſs*: that is, the dependency and connexion between the two Religions had not been ſufficiently marked out and aſcertained. With this Diſſertation therefore, ſo important in its uſe and application, the ſixth and laſt Book of the ſecond Volume concludes.

Thus the READER, at length, may ſee how regularly, and intently, theſe two Volumes have been carried on: For, though the AUTHOR (whoſe paſſion is not ſo much a fondneſs for his *own conceived argument*, as for the honour and ſupport of Religion itſelf) hath neglected no fair occaſion of inforcing every collateral circumſtance, which might ſerve to illuſtrate the truth of *Revelation in general*; yet he never loſes ſight of his end, but as the precept for conducting the moſt regular works direct,

Semper ad eventum feſtinat.

This Volume too, like the firſt, I thought fit to publiſh alone, not *merely* for the ſame reaſon, that it was a compleat and entire work of itſelf, which *explained the nature and genius of the Jewiſh Conſtitution*;

Conſtitution; but for this additional one, that it *fairly ended and compleated the Argument.*

For the firſt Volume having proved the MAJOR, and the ſecond Volume, the MINOR Propoſitions of the TWO SYLLOGISMS; my logic teaches me to think, that the CONCLUSION follows of courſe, viz. THAT THE JEWISH RELIGION AND SOCIETY WERE SUPPORTED BY AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE.

Or put it in another light,—Having proved my three principal Propoſitions,

I. "That the inculcating the Doctrine of a future State of re-
" wards and puniſhments, is neceſſary to the well-being of civil
" Society."

II. "That all mankind, eſpecially the moſt wiſe and learned na-
" tions of Antiquity, have concurred in believing, and teaching,
" that this Doctrine was of ſuch uſe to civil Society."

III. "That the Doctrine of a future State of rewards and pu-
" niſhments is not to be found in, nor did make part of, the *Moſaic*
" Diſpenſation."

The concluſion is, that therefore THE LAW OF MOSES IS OF DIVINE ORIGINAL.

A CONCLUSION which neceſſarily follows the premiſſes contained in theſe three propoſitions. Notwithſtanding all this, the evidence of their truth proving ſo various, extending ſo wide, and having been drawn out to ſo great a length; What between *inattention* and *prejudice*, the Argument, here brought to its final iſſue, hath been generally underſtood to be left imperfect; and the Concluſion of it reſerved for another Volume. Yet a very moderate ſhare of reflection might have led the candid Reader to underſtand, that I had here effectually performed what I had promiſed, namely, TO DEMONSTRATE THE DIVINE LEGATION OF MOSES. For if it be indeed proved, That the Doctrine of a future ſtate is neceſſary to the well-being of civil Society, under the ordinary government of Provi-

Providence – That all mankind have ever ſo conceived of the matter—That the Moſaic Inſtitution was without this ſupport, and that yet it did not want it,—What follows but that the Jewiſh affairs were adminiſtered by an extraordinary Providence, diſtributing reward and puniſhment with an equal hand; and conſequently that the MISSION OF MOSES WAS DIVINE?

However, the complaint againſt the AUTHOR, for not having performed his Convention with the Public, became pretty general. To which a great deal might be ſaid, and perhaps to little purpoſe. The following Tale will put it in the faireſt light. In a ſolemn Treaty lately concluded between the Governor of one of our American Provinces and the neighbouring Savages, it had, it ſeems, been ſtipulated, that the Settlement ſhould ſupply thoſe Warrior-Tribes with a certain number of good and ſerviceable Muſkets. Which engagement was ſo ill performed, that at their next general meeting, the Chiefs of the Barbarians complained, that, though indeed the Colony had ſent them the number of Muſkets agreed upon, yet, on examination, they were all found to be *without Locks*. This miſchance (occaſioned by the Muſkets and the Locks being put into two different cargoes) the Governor promiſed ſhould be redreſſed. It was redreſſed accordingly; and the Locks ſought out, and ſent. He now flattered himſelf that all cauſe of umbrage was effectually removed; when, at their next meeting, he was entertained with a freſh complaint, that the Colony had fraudulently ſent them *Locks without Muſkets*. The truth was, this brave People, of unimpeached morals, were only defective in their military Logic; they had not the dexterity, till they were firſt ſhewn the way, to put the *major* of the Muſket and the *minor* of the Muſket-lock together; and from thence to draw the *concluding* trigger.

But then it will be ſaid, "If, as is here pretended, the PREMISSES have been indeed proved, in theſe two Volumes, with all the detail which their importance required, and with all the evidence

dence which a moral ſubject can ſupply; and the CONCLUSION, therefore, eſtabliſhed with all the conviction which the Laws of logic are able to inforce; Why was another Volume promiſed? For no other end, as would ſeem, than to miſlead a well-meaning Reader, in the vain purſuit of an Argument already ended."

It was promiſed for a better purpoſe—*To remove all conceivable objections againſt the* CONCLUSION, *and to throw in every collateral light upon the* PREMISSES. For it is one thing to ſatisfy Truth; and another, to ſilence her pretended friends. He who defends *Revelation* has many prejudices to encounter; but he who defends it by *Reaſon* only, has many more.

The third and laſt Volume, therefore, is deſtined to SUPPORT what hath been already proved: not, as has been abſurdly ſuggeſted, to continue and conclude an unfiniſhed Argument.

It conſiſts of three Books, like each of the preceding Volumes.

1. The ſeventh Book therefore is employed in ſupporting the MAJOR and the MINOR Propoſitions of the firſt Syllogiſm: in a continued Hiſtory of the RELIGIOUS OPINIONS of the Jews, from the time of the earlier *Prophets*, who firſt gave ſome dark intimations of a different Diſpenſation, to the time of the *Maccabees*, when the Doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments was become national.

2. The eighth Book is employed in ſupporting the MAJOR and MINOR Propoſitions of the ſecond Syllogiſm, in which is conſidered the PERSONAL CHARACTER of Moſes and the GENIUS OF THE LAW, as far as it concerns or has a relation to the character of the Lawgiver. Under this latter head, is contained a full and ſatisfactory Anſwer to thoſe who may object, "That a revealed Religion with a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments is unworthy the Divine Author to whom it is aſcribed."

3. The

3. The ninth and laſt Book explains at large the nature and genius of the CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION: For having, towards the end of the eighth Book, examined the PRETENDED REASONS (offered both by Believers and Unbelievers to evade my concluſion) for omitting the Doctrine of a future State of rewards and puniſhments in the Moſaic Diſpenſation, I was naturally and neceſſarily led to inquire into the TRUE. For now, it might be finally objected, "That though, under an extraordinary Providence, there might be *no occaſion* for the doctrine of a future State, in ſupport of Religion, or for the ends of Government; yet as that Doctrine is a *truth*, and conſequently, under every regimen of Providence, *uſeful*, it ſeems hard to conceive, that the Religious Leader of the Jews, becauſe as a *Lawgiver* he could do without it, that therefore, as a *Divine*, he would omit it." The objection is of weight in itſelf, and receives additional moment from what hath been obſerved in the fifth Book, concerning *the Reaſon of the Law of puniſhing children for the crimes of their Parents*. I held it therefore inſufficient barely to reply, "*Moſes omitted it, that his Law might* "*thereby ſtand, throughout all ages, an invincible Monument of the* "*truth of his pretences:*" but proceeded to explain the GREAT AND PRINCIPAL reaſon of the *omiſſion*. And now,—*ventum ad* VERUM *eſt*.

The whole concludes with one general but diſtinct view of the entire courſe of God's univerſal œconomy from Adam to Chriſt. In which it is ſhewn, that if Moſes were, in truth, ſent from God, *he could not teach* a future State; that Doctrine being out of his Commiſſion, and reſerved for him who was at the head of another Diſpenſation, by which *life and immortality was to be brought to light*.

This Diſcourſe, beſides the immediate purpoſe of ſupporting and illuſtrating the ARGUMENT here compleated, ſerves another end, which I had in view, as to the general diſpoſition of the whole work: which was to explain and diſcriminate the diſtinct and

various natures of the PAGAN, the JEWISH and the CHRISTIAN Religions: the *Pagan* having been conſidered in the firſt Volume, and the *Jewiſh* in the ſecond; the *Chriſtian* is reſerved for the third and laſt. Let me conclude therefore, in an addreſs to my Reverend Brethren, with the words of an Ancient Apologiſt*: Quid nobis invidemus, ſi veritas Divinitatis, noſtri temporis Ætate maturuit? Fruamur bono noſtro, et recti ſententiam temperemus: cohibeatur SUPERSTITIO, IMPIETAS expietur, VERA RELIGIO reſervetur.

* Minucius Felix.

APPEN-

APPENDIX

Concerning the BOOK of JOB.

AN exellent Writer having *freely and candidly examined* the late Biſhop of London's collection of Sermons, and in page 165 of his *Examination*, aſked this queſtion, *Where was Idolatry ever puniſhed by the Magiſtrate, but under the Jewiſh œconomy?* The Oxford Profeſſor, in the ſecond Edition of his *Prelections, concerning the ſacred Poetry of the Hebrews*, thinks fit to give the following anſwer—" It was puniſhed under the Œconomy " of the Patriarchs, in the families and under the DOMINION of Abraham, " Melchiſedec and JOB. Idolatry ſpreading wider and wider, Abraham " was called by God from Chaldea, for this end, to be the father of a " People, which, divided from all others, might continue to worſhip the " true God; to be ſet up for an exemplar of true Religion, and to be ready " to give teſtimony againſt the worſhip of vain Deities. Was not Abraham, " therefore (exerciſing the SOVEREIGNTY in his own family) to puniſh " Idolatry? Were not Melchiſedec and Job, and all the SOVEREIGNS of " Tribes of that time, who ſtill retained the knowledge and worſhip of the " true God, amidſt a general defection of all the ſurrounding People, to " take care that their own did not backſlide? To curb offenders, and to " inflict puniſhment on the obſtinate, the REBELLIOUS, and on all thoſe " who ſpread abroad the contagion of this vice."—Ad quæſtionem reſpondetur: Sub œconomia Patriarcharum; in familiis, et ſub DOMINATU Abrahami, Melchizedechi, Jobi, cæterorumque. Ingruente Idololatria divinitus evocabatur ex Chaldæa Abrahamus: eum in finem, ut fieret pater Gentis, quæ ab aliis omnibus diviſa, verum Deum coleret, publicum proponeret exemplum puræ religionis, contraque cultum vanorum numinum teſtimonium perhiberet. Nonne erat igitur Abrahami in ſua familia PRINCIPATUM exercentis proprium officium et munus in Idololatriam animadvertere?

madvertere? Nonne Melchizedechi, Jobi, omniumque tunc temporis in ſuis Tribubus PRINCIPUM, qui veri Dei cognitionem et cultum in communi fere gentium circumvicinarum defectione adhuc retinebant, cavere, ne ſui deficerent; coercere delinquentes; obſtinatos et REBELLES, et ſceleris contagionem propagantes, ſupplicio afficere?—*Supplementum ad primam Prælectionem Editionem: Addit. Editionis ſecundæ*, p. 312.

This is ſo pleaſant an anſwer, and ſo little needing the maſterly hand of the *Examiner*, to correct, that a few ſtrictures, in a curſory Note, will be more than ſufficient to do the buſineſs.

1. The *Examiner*, to prove, I ſuppoſe, that the book of Job was a dramatic work, written long after the time of the Patriarch, aſks, *Where was Idolatry ever puniſhed by the* MAGISTRATE, *but under the Jewiſh Œconomy?* The *Profeſſor* anſwers, *It was puniſhed under the* JOBEAN ŒCONOMY. And he advances nothing without proof. Does not Job himſelf ſay, that Idolatry was *an iniquity to be puniſhed by the Judge?* The *Examiner* replies, that the Job who ſays this, is an airy Fantom, raiſed for other purpoſes than to lay down the Law for the Patriarchal times. The *Profeſſor* maintains that they are all Aſſes, with ears as long as *Father Harduin's*, who cannot ſee that this is the true and genuine old Job.—In good time. *Sub Judice lis eſt:* And while it is ſo, I am afraid the learned *Profeſſor* BEGS THE QUESTION; when, to prove that Idolatry was puniſhed by the Magiſtrate, out of the land of Judea, he affirms that KING JOB puniſhed it. If he ſay, he does not reſt his aſſertion on this paſſage of the book of Job alone, but on the ſacred Records, from whence he concludes that thoſe CIVIL MAGISTRATES, Abraham and Melchiſedec, puniſhed Idolatry; I ſhall own he acts fairly, in putting them all upon the ſame footing; and on what ground that ſtands, we ſhall now ſee.

2. The *Examiner* ſays, *Where was Idolatry ever puniſhed by the Magiſtrate, but under the Jewiſh Œconomy?* A queſtion equivalent to this,—"Where was Idolatry puniſhed by the civil Magiſtrate on the eſtabliſhed Laws of the State, but in Judea? To which, the *Profeſſor* replies, "It was puniſhed by all the Patriarchal Monarchs, by king Job, king Abraham, and king Melchiſedec."

Of a noble race was Shenkin.

But here, not one, ſave the laſt, had ſo much as a nominal title to civil Magiſtracy: And this laſt drops, as it were, from the clouds, without lineage or parentage; ſo that, though of *divine*, yet certainly not a Monarch

of

of the true ſtamp, by *hereditary right*. The Critic therefore fails in his firſt point, which is, finding out civil Magiſtrates to do his hierarchical drudgery.

3. But let us admit our *Profeſſor's* right of inveſtiture, to confer this high office, and then ſee how he proves, that theſe his Lieges puniſhed the crime of Idolatry by civil puniſhment. ABRAHAM, and the Patriarchs his deſcendants, come firſt under conſideration. *What!* (ſays he) *was not Abraham, exerciſing the* SOVEREIGNTY *in his own family, to puniſh Idolatry?* Hobbes is, I believe, the only one (ſave our Profeſſor) who holds that "Abraham had a right to preſcribe to his family what Religion they "ſhould be of, to tell them what was the word of God, and to puniſh "thoſe who countenanced any Doctrine which he had forbidden." *Leviath.* chap. 40.—But God ſpeaking of Abraham, ſays, *I know that he will command his children and his houſhold after him, and they ſhall keep the way of the Lord, &c.* Gen. xviii. 19. And Hobbes and our *Profeſſor*, I ſuppoſe, regard this declaration as a clear proof of the divine doctrine of RESTRAINT in matters of Religion; eſpecially when interpreted by their darling text of—*force them to enter in.* On the contrary, thoſe who have been bred up in the Principles of *Toleration*, hold it to be a mere teſtimony (a glorious one indeed) of Abraham's pious and parental care to INSTRUCT his family in the Law of God. And it is well it can go for no more, or I ſhould fear the learned Profeſſor would have brought in Iſaac as a backſlider to Idolatry; and his Father's laying him on the ſacrifical Pile, as a kind of *Auto de fe*. Now, except in theſe two places of Abraham's Hiſtory, of ſuch wonderful force to ſupport *intolerant* principles, the Patriarch appears in all others ſo averſe to this inquiſitorial ſpirit, that where God comes down to deſtroy Sodom, the *Father of the Faithful* intercedes, with the utmoſt importunity, for that *idolatrous* as well as inceſtuous City. The truth is this: The uſurped right of puniſhing for opinions was firſt aſſumed and long ingroſſed by Idolaters. And, if tradition may be believed, Abraham himſelf narrowly eſcaped the *Fire* for preaching againſt its Divinity. But this is not all. From his own conduct, and from the conduct of his poſterity, he ſeems to have made one part of that fidelity *in keeping the way of the Lord* (for which he is ſo nobly diſtinguiſhed by God himſelf) to conſiſt in inculcating the divine doctrine of Toleration. When JACOB and his family, without leave-taking, had departed from Laban, Rachel ſtole away her father's Gods. The old man followed and overtook them; and complaining

plaining of the theft, Jacob frankly anſwered, *With whomſoever thou findeſt thy Gods, let him not live.* Now, I would aſk, was this condemnation on the offender denounced for *Idolatry*, or for the *Theft?* The words of the Patriarch, which immediately follow, determine this—*Before our brethren diſcern thou what is thine, with me, and take it to thee.* Well, Rachel, by a female ſtratagem, contrived to keep her father's Gods; for no better purpoſe, we may be ſure, than that for which the good man employed ſo much pains to recover them. The *theft*, indeed, had it been diſcovered, would have been *puniſhed by the Judge:* But, as for the *Idolatry*, which, from its nature, could not be long hid, the ſilence of Scripture ſhews it to have been *coram non Judice.* And ſo far was Rachel from being doomed to the fire, that we do not find, even her Gods underwent this puniſhment.

After the affair of the Shechemites, Jacob, by God's command, goes to Bethel: and there, in pious emulation of his grandfather's *care to keep the way of the Lord*, the text tells us, he commanded *his houſhold and all that were with him, to put away the ſtrange Gods from amongſt them.* They obeyed, all was well; and not a word of *puniſhing by the Judge.* Indeed, theſe *Patriarchal Judges* were much better employed, and more ſuitably to their office, in puniſhing civil crimes and immoralities, as appears from the adventure of Judah and his daughter in law, Tamar.

Melchisedec's ſtory is a ſhort one; he is juſt brought into the ſcene to *bleſs* Abraham in his return from conqueſt. This promiſes but ill. Had this *King and Prieſt of Salem* been brought in *curſing*, it had had a better appearance: for, I think, puniſhment for opinions, which generally ends in a *Fagot*, always begins with a *curſe.* But we may be miſled perhaps by a wrong tranſlation. The Hebrew word to *bleſs*, ſignifies likewiſe to *curſe*, and, under the management of an intolerant Prieſt, good things eaſily run into their contraries. What follows, is his taking *Tythes* from Abraham. Nor will this ſerve our purpoſe, unleſs we interpret theſe *Tythes* into *Fines for nonconformity*; and then, by the *bleſſing*, we can eaſily underſtand *abſolution.* We have ſeen much ſtranger things done with the *Hebrew Verity.* If this be not allowed, I do not ſee how we can elicite fire and fagot from this adventure; for I think there is no inſeparable connexion between *Tythes* and *Perſecution*, but in the ideas of a Quaker.—And ſo much for *king Melchiſedec.*

But

But the learned *Profeſſor*, who has been hardily brought up in the keen Atmoſphere of WHOLESOME SEVERITIES, and early taught to diſtinguiſh between *de facto* and *de jure*, thought it needleſs to enquire into *Facts*, when he was ſecure of the *Right*. And, therefore only ſlightly and ſupercilioufly aſks, "What! was not Abraham, by his very *princely office*, *to puniſh Ido-* "*latry?* Were not Melchiſedec and Job, and all the heads of Tribes, to "do the ſame?" Why, no: and it is well for Religion that they were not. It is for its honour that ſuch a ſet of perſecuting Patriarchs is no where to be found, but in a *poetical Prelection*.

4. For in the laſt place, let it be obſerved, that as theſe Patriarchs *did not de facto* (which appears from their hiſtory), ſo they *could not de jure* (which appears from the laws of Nature and Nations) *puniſh Idolatry by the Judge*. Becauſe, as hath been ſhewn, Idolatry is not amenable to civil Juſtice, but where it becomes *Crimen læſæ Majeſtatis*. It could not become the crime of leſe-majeſty under the Patriarchs, unleſs they had been GODS as well as KINGS. Indeed, they were as much one as the other. However, it is not pretended that their government, though *Regal*, was *Theocratical* likewiſe. The Patriarchs, therefore, could not *puniſh Idolatry by the Judge*.

From the *Examiner*, the Profeſſor (without the leaſt provocation given him) proceeds to the Author of *The Divine Legation*; who, he will ſhew, is as ignorant, abſurd, and mad-brained, as Father Harduin himſelf.

The Author of *The Divine Legation* had ſaid, that the Writer of the book of Job *obſerved decorum*, in imitating the manners of the early ſcene which he had propoſed to adorn. To this, the Profeſſor objects,—"I can "never bring myſelf to allow to a SEMI-BARBAROUS POET, writing after "the Babylonian Captivity, ſuch a piece of ſubtilty and refinement."—A mighty piece of refinement truly, for a Writer, who lays his ſcene in an early age, to paint, the beſt he could the manners of that age.—"Beſides "(ſays the *Profeſſor*) which is the principal point, the ſtyle favours won- "derfully of Antiquity, and its peculiar character is a certain primitive "and noble ſimplicity. So that they who degrade this Book to the times "poſterior to the Babylonian Captivity, ſeem to judge almoſt as inſanely "of *Hebrew* literature as Father Harduin did of the *Roman*, who aſcribed "the golden Poems of Virgil, Horace, and the reſt, to the iron ages of "the Monks"—Verum Poetæ ſemibarbaro poſt Captivitatem ſcribenti tantam ſubtilitatem ut concedam, impetrare a me non poſſum. Porro vero

Stylus

Stylus Poematis, quod vel maximum eſt, præcipue vetuſtatem ſapit; eſt ejus peculiaris character αρχαϊσμος. Adeo ut qui id infra Captivitatem Babylonicam deprimunt, non multo ſanius in *Hebraicis* judicare videantur, quam in *Latinis* Harduinus; qui aurea Virgilii, Horatii, cæterorumque poemata ferreis Monachorum Sæculis adſcripſit. *Idem ib.*

The learned *Profeſſor* is a little unlucky in his compariſon. The age of Job, as fixed by him, and the age of the Writer of his hiſtory, as fixed by me, run exactly parallel, not with the times of Virgil and Frederic Barbaroſſa, as he would inſinuate, but with thoſe of Ennius and Virgil. Job, the hero of the Poem, lived in an *age* when civil Society was but beginning to ſhew itſelf, and what is more, in a *Country* where it never yet was formed: And Ezra (whom I ſuppoſe to be the Author of the Poem) was an eminent Citizen in the moſt perfect civil government in the World, which he was ſent home to reſtore, laden with the literary treaſures of the Eaſt; treaſures that had been long accumulating under the warm influence of a large and powerful Empire. From this ſecond tranſplantation of the Republic, Science got footing in Judea; and true Religion took deeper root in the hearts of its Inhabitants. Henceforward, we hear no more of their abſurd Idolatries. A ſtrict *adherence* to the Law now as much diſtinguiſhed them from others, as did the *ſingularity* of the Law itſelf. And a ſtudious cultivation of the Language, in which that Law was written, as naturally followed, as it did amongſt the Sarazens, who cultivated the Arabic, on the ſame principle. And to underſtand how great this was in both, we need only conſider, that each had the ſame averſion to a tranſlation of their Law into a foreign language. It is true, that in courſe of time, when the Jewiſh Policy was aboliſhed, and the Nation was become vagabond upon Earth, while the Arabs, on the contrary, had erected a great Empire, a manifeſt difference aroſe between them, as to the cultivation of the two Languages.—Yet for all this, the Profeſſor calls Ezra, a Semi-barbarian; though we agree that he wrote by the inſpiration of the Moſt High; amidſt the laſt blaze indeed, yet in the full luſtre of expiring Prophecy.

But the learned Profeſſor has an internal argument from taste *, full as good as the other from *Chronology*. "The book of Job favours of Antiquity, and thoſe who cannot reliſh it, have as depraved a taſte as Father Harduin, who could not diſtinguiſh Partridge from Horſe-fleſh"

* See what hath been ſaid on this head in the 260th, 261ſt, and 262d pages of this Volume.

The

The truth is, the Greek and Latin Languages having, for many Ages, been the mother-tongues of two of the greateſt People upon earth (who had ſhared between them the Empires of *Eloquence* and of *Arms*) became daily more and more copious by the cultivation of Arts; and leſs and leſs pure by the extenſion of Commerce. In theſe two languages there yet remains a vaſt number of writings on all ſorts of Subjects. So that modern Critics (in the foremoſt rank of whom will always ſtand the incomparable BENTLEY) had by long application to them, through their various and progreſſive refinements and depravations from age to age, acquired a certain ſagacity, in paſſing a tolerable judgement concerning the time of the Writer, by his ſtyle and manner. Now Pedantry, which is the ape of Criticiſm, would mimic the ſame talent of diſcernment, in the narroweſt and moſt barren of all Languages; little ſubject to change, both from the common genius of the Eaſt, und from the peculiar ſituation of a ſequeſtered People. Of this Language, long ſince become a dead one, the only remains are in one ſmall Volume; the contents of which, had not Providence been mercifully pleaſed to ſecure, while the Tongue was yet living, by a tranſlation into Greek, the HEBREW VERITY, tranſmitted to us in the manner it was found in the moſt ancient MSS, where no vowel-points are uſed, nor ſpace left to diſtinguiſh one word from another, and where a great number of terms occur only once, would at this day be a mere arbitrary CIPHER, which every Rabinical or Cabaliſtic juggler might make the key of his unrevealed Myſteries.—"Idem accidit etiam Mahometanis (ſays Abraham Ekell.) ante inventa ab Ali Abnaditalebo puncta vocalia: Tanta enim legentium erat diſſentio, ut niſi Othomanni coërcita fuiſſet authoritate, et determinata lectio punctis, quæ Ali excogitaverat, JAM DE ALCORANO ACTUM ESSET." And if this had been the caſe of the Arabic of the Alcoran, a copious and a living language, what had become of the Hebrew of the Bible? a very narrow and a dead one. Of which an ancient Jewiſh Grammarian gives this character: "Lingua iſta [Arabica] elegans eſt, et longe lateque ſcriptis dilatata, et qui eam loquitur nulla dictione deficit: Lingua vero ſancta pauca eſt præ illa, cum illius nihil extet niſi quod in Libris Scripturæ reperitur, *nec ſuppeditet omnes dictiones loquendi neceſſarias.*" Yet this is the language whoſe peculiarities of ſtyle and compoſition, correſpondent to every age and time, the *Profeſſor* ſeems to think, may be as eaſily diſtinguiſhed as thoſe of the Greek or Latin Claſſics. So much for the Author of *The Divine Legation:* and indeed too much, had

not Mr. Locke's defence been involved in his: that excellent perſon having declared (ſpeaking of the words of Job, *that Idolatry was an iniquity to be puniſhed by the Judge)* "This place alone, were there no other, "is ſufficient to confirm their opinion who conclude that book to be writ "by a Jew."

From *The Divine Legation*, the learned Profeſſor turns again to the Examiner, who ſeems to ſit heavy on his ſtomach.—This excellent Writer deſired to know of the learned, *Where they could find a civil or religious Conſtitution out of Judæa, which declared that the Children ſhould ſuffer for the crime of their Parents.* To which the Profeſſor replies in theſe very words—In præſens Horatiano illo verſiculo contentus abito Examinatorum omnium candidissimus—*For the preſent, let this* most candid *of all Examiners go about his buſineſs, and be thankful for this ſcrap of Horace,*

"Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
"Romane."——

This is true Poetical payment: He is called upon for his reckoning, and he diſcharges it with an old Song. But the Examiner is not a man to take rhime for reaſon. He aſked for an *old ſyſtem of Laws*; and the contemptuous Profeſſor gives him *an old Ballad:* But a little more civility at parting had not been amiſs; for he, who did not ſpare the Biſhop, would certainly demoliſh the Profeſſor, ſhould he take it into his head to examine the *Prælections* as he hath done the *Sermons*.

NOTES

NOTES ON BOOK VI.

P. 234. [A]. TO give an example only in Biſhop BULL, whoſe words, in a *Latin* tract, for a future ſtate's not being in the Moſaic Diſpenſation, I have quoted in the fourth ſection of this VIth book; yet in an *Engliſh* poſthumous ſermon, he ſeems to ſpeak in a very different manner.—I ſhould not have illuſtrated this cenſure by the example of ſo reſpectable a Perſon, but for the indiſcretion of my Anſwerers, who, to ſupport their own *ill logic*, have expoſed his *morals*.

P. 240. [B]. Job's *Life*, by means of the Devil and his falſe Friends, was an exerciſe of his Patience; and his *Hiſtory*, by means of Criticiſm and his Commentators, has ſince been an exerciſe of ours. I am far from thinking myſelf unconcerned in this miſchief; for by a fooliſh attempt to ſupport his Name and Character, I have been the occaſion of bringing down whole bands of hoſtile Critics upon him, who, like the *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans* of old, ſoon reduced him back to his Dunghill. Some came armed in Latin, ſome in Engliſh, and ſome in the language of Billingſgate. Moſt of them were profeſſedly written againſt me; but all, in reality, bear hardeſt on the good old Patriarch.

However, though I am, as I ſaid, to be reckoned, along with theſe amongſt Job's Perſecutors; yet I have this to ſay for myſelf, that the vexation I gave him was ſoon over. If I ſcribbled ten pages on his back, my Adverſaries and his have *made long furrows* and ſcribbled ten thouſand. Now, though amongſt all theſe Job found no favour, yet by ill-hap my Syſtem did: But to whom I am moſt obliged, whether to thoſe who attacked it, or to thoſe who eſpouſed it, is not eaſy to ſay: for, by a ſingular event, the Aſſailants have left me in poſſeſſion of all its ſupports, and the Defenders have taken them all away *: the better, I preſume, to fit

* See Mr. G's diſcourſes on the book of Job.

it to their own uſe. Learned Naturaliſts tell us of a certain Animal in the watery waſte, which, for I know not what conceit, they call *Bernard the Hermit*; and which, in courteſy, they rank with the teſtaceous tribe, though Nature (ſo bountiful to the reſt of its kind) hath given This no habitation of its own, but ſent it naked and unhouſed into the world. In recompence, ſhe has enabled it to figure amongſt the beſt of its tribe: for, by a noble endowment of inſtinct, it is taught to make its way into the beſt accommodated, and beſt ornamented ſhells of its brethren; which it either finds empty, or ſoon makes ſo, to fit them up for its own eaſe and convenience.

P. 241. [C]. But if the reader would ſee the abſurdity of ſuppoſing the book of Job to be written thus early, and at the ſame time, to teach the reſurrection and a future ſtate, expoſed at large, he may read the third chapter of *The free and candid examination of the* Bishop *of London's Principles.*

P. 242. [D]. Calmet makes the following obſervation, in his comment on the 1ſt verſe of chap. xxxviii. L'Ecrivain de cet Ouvrage a obſervé de ne point employer ce nom de *Jehovah* dans les diſcours directs, qu'il fait tenir à Job et à ſes Amis: mais dans les recits, qui ſont au commencement, et à la fin du Livre, il uſe de ce terme, comme font d'ordinaire les Ecrivains Hebreux. Ce qui *demontre* que l'Ouvrage a été ecrit par un Juif, et depuis Moyſe; puiſque ce nom incommunicable ne fut connu que depuis l'apparition du Buiſſon ardent.

P. 245. [E]. The Corniſh Critic thinks otherwiſe. "Theſe falſe friends "(ſays he) are deſcribed as having ſo much fellow-feeling of Job's ſuffer- "ings, that they ſit with him ſeven days and nights upon the ground "without being able to ſpeak to him. If this be the dramatic way of re- "preſenting falſe friends, how ſhall we know the falſe from the true?" p. 19. Sempronius, in the Play of Cato, is all along warmer than even Cato himſelf in the cauſe of liberty and Rome. *If this be the dramatic way of repreſenting a falſe patriot* (may our Critic ſay) *how ſhall we know the falſe from the true?* I anſwer, by obſerving him with his mask off. And do not Job's falſe friends unmask themſelves, when they ſo cruelly load their ſuffering Acquaintance with the moſt injurious reflections? Indeed the Critic deſerves our pity, who cannot ſee that the formal circumſtance of *ſitting ſilent ſeven days* was a dramatic embelliſhment in the Eaſtern manner: The not knowing that the number *ſeven* was a ſacred number

ber amongſt the Jews, may indeed be more excuſable.—But he goes on. "I have been often ſtruck with ſurpriſe to ſee him [the author of the "D. L.] very earneſtly endeavouring to ſupport his allegorical interpre- "tation of the book of Job by arguments drawn from the contradictions, "which he fancies he has there eſpied, to the truth of the hiſtory or tra- "dition upon which his allegory is built. Than which, in my apprehen- "ſion, there can ſcarce be a greater abſurdity. I would deſire him to "conſider attentively the allegorical ode in Horace, *O navis, referent,* &c. "that though every thing therein may be accommodated to a republic, "yet it is true in the literal or primary ſenſe only of a ſhip, and that there "is not one ſingle ſtroke in it that can be underſtood of a republic and "not of a ſhip; and this might ſhew him his miſtake in applying paſ- "ſages in the book of Job to the Jewiſh People, MERELY becauſe they "cannot be underſtood of Job: which is directly annihilating the allegory "he would eſtabliſh. For it is as plain that in an allegory two things or "perſons *muſt be concerned*, as that two and two muſt go to make four." p. 09, 100.—The inſolence, the fraud, the nonſenſe of this paſſage is as much without example as it was without provocation.—I deſire to underſtand, by what other means, except by revelation, an *allegorical* writing can be known to be *allegorical*, but by circumſtances in it which cannot be reconciled to the ſtory or fable which ſerves both for a cover and vehicle to the moral? And yet this man tells us that to attempt to prove the nature of a writing to be allegorical from this circumſtance is one of the *greateſt abſurdities*. When the allegory is of ſome length, and takes in the life and adventures of a certain perſon, it can ſcarce be otherwiſe but that ſome circumſtances in it muſt be varied from the fact, to adapt it to the moral. In a ſhorter, where the object is more ſimple, there may be no need for any variation. And this ſhews the diſingenuity of this man, in bringing the ode of Horace into compariſon. For which too, the little he knows, he is indebted to the author of the Divine Legation. And how little that is we ſhall now ſee.

In the firſt place, I have ſhewn this Ode not to be of the nature of an *allegory*, where the ſtory is only the cover and vehicle to the moral: but of the nature of a relation containing a *double ſenſe*, primarily and ſecondarily: in which an information is conveyed in both ſenſes: conſequently there ought not to be a *ſingle ſtroke in it that can be underſtood of a republic and not of a ſhip:* But this is a ſpecies of writing entirely diſtinct from the allegory

allegory in queſtion; ſo that the urging it was impertinent: and the following obſervation is made with his uſual inſolence:—*this might ſhew him his miſtake in applying paſſages of the book of Job to the Jewiſh People* MERELY *becauſe they cannot be underſtood of Job!* but not with inſolence only, but with fraud: For I do not apply paſſages in the book of Job, MERELY for this reaſon; no nor principally; but only as one of many reaſons.

However, contending for ſuch diſcordant circumſtances in the vehicle-ſtory, he ſays, *is directly annihilating the allegory.* Now I underſtood it was the eſtabliſhing it; as it is the only means of getting to the knowledge of its being an allegory. He goes on,—*For it is as plain that in an allegory two things or perſons muſt be concerned, as that two and two muſt go to make four.* What he means by this jargon of *two's being concerned*, I know not. If he means that the *fable* and the *moral* muſt go to the making up the *allegory*, nobody will diſpute it with him. But if he means, that all the perſonages in the *fable* muſt have all the qualities, attributes, and adventures of the perſonages in the *moral*, all Æſop's fables will confute this profound reaſoner on allegories. However, ſomething, to be ſure, he did mean: He had a notion, I ſuppoſe, that there was a right and wrong in every thing: he only wanted to know where they lie: Therefore, to make theſe curſory notes as uſeful as I can, I will endeavour to explain his meaning. It is certain then, that though the juſtice of allegoric writing does not require that the facts in the fable do in reality correſpond exactly with the facts in the moral, yet the truth of things requires the *poſſibility* of their ſo correſponding. Thus, though the Aſs perhaps never actually covered himſelf with a Lion's ſkin, and was betrayed by his long ears, as Æſop relates; yet we have an example before us, ſufficient to convince us that he might have done ſo, without much expence of inſtinct. But when *Dryden* made his *Hind and Panther* diſpute about the doctrine and diſcipline of particular Churches; as they never poſſibly could have done ſo, *this* (to take his own words, inſtead of better) *is directly annihilating the allegory he would eſtabliſh; for it is as plain that in an allegory two things or perſons muſt be concerned, as that two and two muſt go to make four.* But I fancy I aſcribe more to his ſagacity than it deſerves, in ſuppoſing, that he underſtood, what kind of allegory the book of Job muſt needs be, if it be any allegory at all. I now begin to ſuſpect he took it to be of the ſame kind with the Ode of Horace, not indeed becauſe he compares it to that Ode; for ſuch kind of Writers are accuſtomed to make, as the Poet ſays, *compariſons unlike*;

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but becauſe this ſuſpicion may give ſome light to his cloudy obſervation, *that two things or perſons muſt be concerned:* For in that ſort of allegory, which is of the nature of a relation containing a *double ſenſe* primarily and ſecondarily, every thing ſaid muſt agree exactly both to the primary and to the ſecondary ſubject. Which perhaps is what this man means by his clumſy precept, of *two things or perſons concerned.* The reaſon of this diſtinction, in theſe two ſorts of allegory, is this,—In that ſort of allegory, which is of the nature of the book of Job, or of the APOLOGUE, the cover *has no moral import:* But in that ſort which is of the nature of a NARRATIVE WITH A DOUBLE SENSE, the cover *has a moral import.*

P. 246. [F]. To this, the Corniſh Critic—"What a happy way is here "of reconciling contradictions! It ſeems truth may become falſhood, if "it be neceſſary to ſupport the allegory. The moral and the fable may "diſagree as widely as you pleaſe, and the concluſion by a new ſort of "logic have ſomething in it very different from the premiſſes." p. 19.—If his kind Reader knows what to make of this jargon of *truth becoming falſhood*, and *the concluſion having more in it than the premiſſes*, he may take it for his pains. All that the Author of the Divine Legation aſſerts to be here done, and which may be done according to nature and good ſenſe, is no more than this; that a dramatic Writer, when he fetches his ſubject from Hiſtory, may alter certain of the circumſtances, to fit it to his Plot; which all dramatic Writers, antient and modern, have done. Much more reaſonable is this liberty, where the work is not only *dramatic* but *allegorical.* Now I will ſuppoſe, that, together with Job's patience under the hand of God, tradition had brought down an account of his further ſufferings under the uncharitable cenſure of three friends: Was not the Maker of this allegoric work at liberty, for the better carrying on his purpoſe, to repreſent them as *falſe* ones Yet, this liberty, our wonderful Critic calls *reconciling contradictions, making truth become falſhood*, and I can't tell what nonſenſe beſides of *premiſſes and concluſions.*

P. 246. [G] *Maimonides* having given a ſummary of the diſpute, draws this inference from it: *Vide & perpende, quâ ratione hoc negotium confuſos reddiderit homines, & ad ſententias illas de providentiâ Dei erga creaturas quas expoſuimus permoverit.* Yet, when he comes to ſpeak of the ſolution of theſe difficulties, he could find none. But not to ſay nothing (the thing moſt dreaded by Commentators) he pretends to diſcover, from the obſcurity in which

which things are left, the true ſcope of the book of Job: *Hic fuit ſcopus totius libri Jobi, ut ſcilicet conſtituatur hic articulus fidei, & doceatur, à rebus naturalibus diſcendam eſſe, ut non erremus, aut cogitemus ſcientiam ejus* [Dei ſc.] *ita ſe habere ut ſcientiam noſtram; intentionem, providentiam, & gubernationem ejus, ſicut intentionem, providentiam, & gubernationem noſtram.* Mor. Nev. p 3. c. xxiii.

P. 246. [H] Here Dr. Grey exclaims—"How, Sir, *no wiſer?* Is God "introduced to *unfold* the myſterious ways of his Providence, and yet the "knot is left untied, becauſe the Writer, though ſpeaking in the perſon "of God, and by his inſpiration, was not *wiſe enough* to untie it? Is that "a ſpeech to the purpoſe, which in a Controverſy, as you will have it, "where the diſputants have much perplexed the queſtion, and a ſuperior "Wiſdom *was wanted to determine it*, clears up no difficulties? Or is it "language fit to be made uſe of, when ſpeaking of a book dictated by the "ſpirit of God, that the writer of it has recourſe to the common expedient "of dramatic writers to help him out of his ſtraits?" *Anſwer to Remarks*, p. 125. Softly, good Doctor! In determining a diſpute concerning the ways of Providence, though God himſelf had indeed interpoſed, we can conceive but two ways of doing it: The one to SATISFY us, by explaining the end and means of that Providence, where the explanation is uſeful to us, and adequate to our capacities: The other, to SILENCE us, by an argument to our modeſty, drawn from the incomprehenſible nature and government of the Deity, where an explanation is not uſeful to us, and inadequate to our capacities. Both theſe Determinations, the one by *explanation*, the other by *authority*, attended by their reſpective circumſtances, are equally reaſonable: and the laſt is here employed for the reaſon hinted at, to put an end to this embarraſſed diſpute. Let this ſerve in anſwer to the Doctor's queſtion, *Is that a ſpeech to the purpoſe, which in a controverſy where the diſputants have much perplexed the queſtion, and a ſuperior wiſdom was wanted to determine it, clears up no difficulties?*

Indeed, though there was no *untying the knot*, there was a way to *cut it*, which would have done full as well; and that was by revealing the doctrine of a future ſtate. Why it was not done, I leave the learned Critic and all in his ſentiments, to give us ſome good account, ſince they are not diſpoſed to receive that which the author of the Divine Legation has given. For this Doctor tells us, *it is but ſmall comfort that ariſes from reſolving all*

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into ſubmiſſion to the almighty power of God, p. 107. St. Paul indeed tells us, it is the greateſt *comfort*, as well as wiſdom, *to reſolve all into ſubmiſſion to the almighty power of God*.—But Doctors differ.

From the MATTER of the D. L. the Doctor proceeds (as we ſee) to the LANGUAGE.—*Is it language fit to be made uſe of when ſpeaking of a book dictated by the ſpirit of God?*—The language hinted at, I ſuppoſe, is what he had quoted above, that *the ſacred writer was no wiſer when he ſpoke poetically in the perſon of God*, &c. I think it *not unfit*, and for theſe reaſons: a Prophet ſpeaking or writing by inſpiration is juſt ſo far and no further enlightened than ſuits the purpoſe of his Miſſion. Now the clearing up the myſterious ways of Providence being reſerved amongſt the arcana of the Deity, a Prophet (though employed to end the fooliſh and hurtful diſputes about it, amongſt men, by an appeal to the incomprehenſible nature of the Deity) was certainly, when he made this appeal *in the perſon of God, no wiſer* in the knowledge of this arcanum, *than when he ſpoke in the perſon of Job or his friends*.

P. 248. [I]. This Writer endeavouring to prove the high age of *Job* or of the *Book of Job*, for theſe two things, after better reaſoners, he all along confounds, cloſes his arguments in this manner, *Denique poſt formatam rempublicam Judaicam, ſecretamque à cæteris gentibus, per inſtituta propria & legem à Deo datam: non facile, credo, hanc ſanctam gentem, ejuſdem temporis & ſæculi alienigenam, vel hominem Gentilem, in exemplum pietatis propoſituram, aut ipſius acta & hiſtoriam in ſacros eorum codices relaturam.* Archæol. Philoſ. p. 266. ed. 8vo, 1728. The Reader ſees, all the ſtrength of the argument reſts on this falſe ſuppoſition, that the book muſt needs be as old as its ſubject. For if Job were of the Patriarchal times, he was a fit example of piety, let his hiſtory be written when it would: and, if written by a ſacred Author, it was worthy to be inſerted into the Canon of Scripture: and was likely to be ſo inſerted, if compoſed (as we ſhall ſee it was) by a Jewiſh Prophet.

P. 249. [K]. Vell. Paterc. Hiſt. l. i. c. 3. Had Dr. R. Grey known but juſt ſo much of the nature of theſe Compoſitions, he had never fallen into the ridiculous miſtake I am going to take notice of. This learned Critic, to confute the ſyſtem I advance, that the ſubject of the argumentative part of the book of Job was, *Whether, and why, the good are ſometimes unhappy and the bad proſperous*; and that the queſtion was debated for

the ſake of the Iſraelites in the time of Ezra; obſerves as follows. "Zopher "ſays, c. xx. 4, 5. *Knoweſt thou not this of old, ſince man was placed "upon earth, that the triumphing of the wicked is ſhort, and the joy of the "hypocrite but for a moment?* Now lay your hand upon your heart, Sir, "and aſk yourſelf ſeriouſly, whether this can relate to an extraordinary "Providence over the Jews only," p. 111. He is ſo pleaſed with the force of this obſervation that he repeats it, p. 116. To which I need only reply, Lay your hand, Sir, on your head, and reflect upon this rule of good writing, *Nihil enim ex Perſona Poetæ, ſed omnia ſub eorum, qui illo tempore vixerunt, dixerunt.*

P. 249. [L]. From amongſt many inſtances which might be given of theſe ſlips, take the following of Euripides, in his *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Act. 3. where he makes the Chorus ſay, *Troy periſhes. And for whom? For you, cruel Helen, who, as they ſay, are the daughter of Jupiter, who, under the form of a Swan, had commerce with Leda.*—So far is well: becauſe we may ſuppoſe the Chorus alluded to the popular tale concerning Helen's birth, ſpread abroad in her life-time. But when the Chorus goes on and ſays,—*If at leaſt the writings of the Poets be not fabulous*, the Author had forgot himſelf; for the Poets who embelliſhed her ſtory, lived long afterwards.

P. 250. [M]. Here the Corniſh anſwerer affirms, "that this method of "puniſhment was not peculiar to the Jewiſh Polity, but was obſerved, *in "ſome degrees at leaſt*, with reſpect to all mankind." For which he quotes Iſaiah's threatenings on the Children of the king of Babylon, chap. xiv, 20, & ſeq. That is, in order to prove that God *puniſhed the crimes of the fathers on the children in ſome degree at leaſt; with reſpect to all mankind*, he quotes an inſtance, not of the *general* providence of God to all mankind, but a *particular* diſpenſation to the Babylonians: and not a *particular* puniſhment, which ſelects out the children of tranſgreſſing parents, but a *general* one, which in the nature of things neceſſarily attends the total overthrow of a State or Community.

P. 251. [N]. Mr. Locke thought this ſo deciſive a proof that the book of Job was written after the giving the Law, that he ſays, THIS PLACE ALONE, WERE THERE NO OTHER, *is ſufficient to confirm their opinion who conclude that book to be writ by a Jew.—Third Letter for Toleration*, p. 81, 82. Let thoſe

thoſe Critics reflect upon this, who think there is no footſtep nor ſhadow of alluſion to any thing relating to the people of Iſrael.

P. 253. [O]. Ver. 21. evidently taken from theſe words of the Pſalmiſt, *Thou ſhalt keep them ſecretly in a pavilion from the ſtrife of tongues*, Pſ. xxxi. 20. For which was the copy and which the original can here admit no doubt, ſince the image was an obvious one in the Pſalmiſt, who lived in a great city, leſs natural in Job who lived in a deſert, as we have obſerved above.

P. 262. [P]. The beſt and ableſt Critics are generally agreed, and have as generally taken it for granted, that this *queſtion* is the ſubject of debate between the ſeveral diſputants in the book of Job. It would be abuſing the reader's patience to produce a long train of Authorities. Though it may not be improper to give the ſentiments of the laſt, though not the leaſt able of them, on this head.—Operæ pretium eſt admonere te, amice Lector, quid nobis de tota hujus Libri materia cogitandum eſſe videatur. Primum quidem amici Job ſic ſtatuunt, quandoquidem tot tantiſque cladibus Deus amicum ipſorum Job afflixit, ei Deum eſſe iratum; eum igitur pœnas tales aliquo ſcelere, vel aperto, vel occulto commeruiſſe. Cujus ſuæ ſententiæ teſtes adhibent generationes hominum priores, in quibus inauditum eſt, inquiunt, *Deum vel integros viros aſpernatum, vel impios manu apprehendiſſe*. Si quis noſtræ ætatis homo ſic diſputaret, nemo eſſe quin ejus temeritatem atque audaciam miraretur, qui rem aperte falſam ſumeret, cum ſæpiſſimè eveniat et ſummas miſerias experiri hac in mortali vita viros bonos, et florentiſſimam fortunam, flagitioſos. Tamen Job, *id quod eſt maxime conſiderandum*, redargutione tali non utitur. Non id negat, quod ſui amici, Patrum memoria teſte confirmabant; quod tamen Job, ſi falſum id ſibi videretur, uno verbo, *Mentiris*, poterat confutare. Atque etiam idem Job alterum negans, tales ſe miſerias crimine aliquo ſuo fuiſſe commeritum, alterum tamen non diſſimulat, Deum ſibi adverſari; in qua ipſa ſancti viri confeſſione adverſariorum cauſa ex parte vincebat, cum ſuas clades Job ſic acciperet, ut iræ divinæ conſueta ſigna, cumque inde non parum animo æſtuaret. Quæ cum ita ſint, nos ſic exiſtimamus, non falſos fuiſſe memoriæ teſtes Job amicos; atque adeo, PRIMIS MUNDI TEMPORIBUS, homines impios fuiſſe, præter ſolitum naturæ curſum, divinâ irâ percuſſos, iiſque acceptos plagis, quarum ſancti homines eſſent immunes; Deo Opt. Max. humanas res ita moderante, ut Religionem in terris tue-

retur, et ut homines, cum talia exempla paterentur, cogitarent esse in cœlo Deum justum, a quo mortales ut recte factorum præmium sperare deberent, sic scelerum ultionem timere. Houbigant. *in librum Job, Lector.*

But, since the writing of my Dissertation, the language of the rabbinical men has been greatly changed. And, partly to keep up the antiquity of the book, but principally to guard against an *extraordinary Providence*, several of them, in defiance of their senses, have denied that this, which this honest Priest of the Oratory makes to be the subject of the book of Job, has indeed any thing at all to do with it. Amongst the foremost of these is Dr. Richard Grey, the epitomiser of Albert Schultens' Comment on this book. In the preface to his Abstract, amongst other things, he has criticised my opinion of the scope of the book in the following manner.—Nam quod dicit vir clariss. id præcipue in hoc libro disceptari, nempe an bonis semper bona, malisque mala, an utrisque utraque promiscue obtingent; hanc autem quæstionem (a nobis quidem alienam, minus ideo perpensam) nusquam alibi gentium præterquam in Judæa nec apud ipsos Judæos alio quovis tempore, quam quod assignat, moveri potuisse, id omne ex veritate suæ hypothesis pendet, et mea quidem sententia, longe aliter se habet. Præf. p. 10—15. *For as to what this writer* [the author of the D. L.] *says, that the main question handled in the book of Job is whether good happens to the good, and evil to evil men, or whether both happen not promiscuously to both; and that this question (a very foreign one to us, and therefore the less attended to) could never be the subject of disputation any where but in the land of Judæa, nor there neither at any other time than that which he assigns; all this, I say, depends on the truth of his hypothesis, and is, in my opinion, far otherwise.*—That which *depends on the truth of an hypothesis* has, indeed, generally speaking, a very slender foundation: and I am partly of opinion it was the common prejudice against this support which disposed the learned Prefacer to give my notions no better a name. But what I have shewn to be the subject of the book is so far from depending on the truth of my hypothesis, that the truth of my hypothesis depends on what I have shewn to be the subject of the book: and very fitly so, as every reasonable *hypothesis* should be supported on a *fact*. Now I might appeal to the learned world, whether it be not as clear a fact that the subject of the book of Job is *whether good happens to the good, and evil to evil men, or whether both happen not promiscuously to both*; as that the subject

ject of the firſt book of *Tuſculan Diſputations* is *de contemnenda morte*. On this I founded my hypotheſis, that the book of Job muſt have been written about the time of Eſdras, becauſe no other aſſignable time could at all ſuit the ſubject———But 'tis poſſible I may miſtake in what he calls *my hypotheſis*: for aught I know, he may underſtand not that of the book of Job, but that of the *Divine Legation*. And then, by *my hypotheſis*, he muſt mean the great religious principle I endeavoured to evince, THAT THE JEWS WERE IN REALITY UNDER AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE. But it will be paying me a very unuſual compliment to call that my hypotheſis which the Bible was not only divinely written, but was likewiſe divinely preſerved, to teſtify; which all Believers profeſs to believe; and which none but Unbelievers and *Anſwerers* to the Divine Legation directly deny. However, if this be the *hypotheſis* he means, I need deſire no better a ſupport. But the truth is, my interpretation of the book of Job ſeeks ſupport from nothing but thoſe common rules of grammar and logic on which the ſenſe of all kind of writings are or ought to be interpreted.

He goes on in this manner. Nempe id unum voluiſſe mihi videtur ſacer Scriptor, ut iis omnibus, utcunque afflictis, humilitatis et patientiæ perpetuum extaret documentum ex contemplatione gemina, hinc infinitæ Dei perfectionis, ſapientiæ & potentiæ; illinc humanæ, quæ in ſanctiſſimis quoque viris ineſt, corruptionis, imbecillitatis & ignorantiæ. *For the* SOLE *purpoſe of the ſacred writer ſeems to me to be this, to compoſe a work that ſhould remain a perpetual document of humility and patience to all good men in affliction from this two-fold conſideration, as on the one hand of the infinite perfection, power, and wiſdom of God; ſo on the other, of human corruption, imbecillity, and ignorance, diſcoverable even in the beſt of men.* Such talk in a popular diſcourſe, for the ſake of a moral application, might not be amiſs: but to ſpeak thus to the learned world, is ſurely out of ſeaſon. The Critic will be apt to tell him, he hath miſtaken the *Actor for the ſubject*; and that he might on the ſame principle as well conclude that the purpoſe of Virgil's poem is not the eſtabliſhment of an empire in Italy, but the perſonal piety of Æneas. But to be a little more explicit. The book of Job conſiſts of two diſtinct parts; the *narrative*, contained in the prologue and epilogue; and the *argumentative*, which compoſes the body of the work. Now when the queſtion is of the ſubject of a book, who means any other than the body of it? yet the learned Doctor miſtaking the

the *narrative* part for the *argumentative*, gives us the ſubject of the introduction and concluſion for that of the work itſelf. And it is very true that the beginning and the end do exhibit *a perpetual document of humility and patience to all good men in affliction.* But it is as true that the body of the work neither does nor could exhibit any ſuch document. Firſt it does not; for, that humility and patience, which Job manifeſts before his entering into diſpute, is ſucceeded by rage and oſtentation when he becomes heated with unreaſonable oppoſition. Secondly, it could not; becauſe it is altogether argumentative; the ſubject of which muſt needs be a propoſition debated, and not a document exemplified. A precept may be conveyed in hiſtory; but a diſputation can exhibit only a debated queſtion. I have ſhewn what that queſtion is; and he, inſtead of proving that I have aſſigned a wrong one, goes about to perſuade the reader, that there is no queſtion at all.

He proceeds. Quamvis enim in ſermonibus, qui in eo habentur, de religione, de virtute, de providentia, Deique in mundo gubernando ſapientia, juſtitia, ſanctitate, de uno rerum omnium principio, aliiſque graviſſimis veritatibus diſſertetur, hunc tamen quem dixi unicum eſſe libri ſcopum, tam ex initio et fine, quam ex univerſâ ejus œconomiâ cuivis opinor manifeſtum erit. Ea enim, ut rem omnem ſummatim complectar, Jobum exhibet, primo quidem querentem, expoſtulantem, effræno luctui indulgentem; mox (quum, ut ſacri dramatis natura poſtulabat, amicorum contradictione, ſiniſtriſque ſuſpicionibus magis magiſque irritatus et faceſſitus eſſet) imprudentius Deum provocantem, atque in juſtitia ſua gloriantem; ad debitam tandem ſummiſſionem ſuique cognitionem revocatum, tum demum, nec antea, integritatis ſuæ tam præmium, quam teſtimonium a Deo reportantem. *For although in the ſpeeches that occur, there be much talk of religion, virtue, and providence, of God's wiſdom, juſtice, and holineſs in the government of the world, of one principle of all things, and other moſt important truths, yet that this which I have aſſigned is the only ſcope of the book will appear manifeſt to every one, as well from the beginning and the end as from the œconomy of the whole. For to ſay all in a word, it firſt preſents Job complaining, expoſtulating, and indulging himſelf in an ungovernable grief: but ſoon after (when, as the nature of the ſacred drama required, by the contradiction of his friends, and their ſiniſter ſuſpicions, he became more and more teized and irritated) raſhly challenging God, and glorying in his own integrity:*

yet

yet at length brought back to a due ſubmiſſion and knowledge of himſelf. The reader ſees that all this is juſt as pertinent as if I ſhould ſay, Mr. CHILLINGWORTH's famous book againſt Knot the Jeſuit, was not to prove *the religion of Proteſtants a ſafe way to ſalvation*, but to give the picture of an artful Caviller and a candid Diſputer. "For, although, in the arguments that occur, there be much talk of proteſtantiſm, popery, infallibility, a judge of controverſies, fundamentals of faith, and other moſt important matters, yet that this which I have aſſigned is the only ſcope of the book, will appear manifeſt to every one, as well from the beginning and the end, as from the œconomy of the whole. For it firſt of all preſents the ſophiſt quibbling, chicaning, and indulging himſelf in all the imaginable methods of falſe reaſoning: and ſoon after, as the courſe of diſputation required, reſting on his own authority, and loading his adverſary with perſonal calumnies; yet at length, by the force of truth and good logic, brought back to the point; confuted, expoſed, and put to ſilence. Now if I ſhould ſay this of the book of Chillingworth, would it not be as true, and as much to the purpoſe, as what our author hath ſaid of the book of Job? The matters in the diſcourſe of *the Religion of Proteſtants* could not be treated as they are without exhibiting the two characters of a Sophiſt and a true Logician. Nor could the matters in the book of Job be treated as they are without exhibiting a good man in afflictions, complaining and expoſtulating; impatient under the contradiction of his friends, yet at length brought back to a due ſubmiſſion, and knowledge of himſelf. But therefore, to make this the *ſole* or *chief Scope* of the book, (for in this it varies) is perverting all the rules of interpretation. But what miſled him we have taken notice of above. And he himſelf points to it, where he ſays,—*the ſubject I have aſſigned to the book of Job appears the true both from the* BEGINNING *and the* END. It is true, he adds, and *from the œconomy of the whole* likewiſe.

Which he endeavours to prove in this manner: *For it firſt preſents Job complaining, expoſtulating, and indulging himſelf in an ungovernable grief: but ſoon after (when, as the nature of the ſacred drama required, by the contradiction of his friends, and their ſiniſter ſuſpicions, he became more and more teized and irritated) raſhly challenging God, and glorying in his own integrity: yet at length brought back to a due ſubmiſſion and knowledge of himſelf;*

himſelf; and then at laſt, and not before, receiving from God both the reward and teſtimony of his uprightneſs. This is indeed a fair account of the CONDUCT of the drama. And from this it appears, firſt, that that which he aſſigns for the SOLE SCOPE of the book cannot be the true. For if its deſign were to give *a perpetual document of humility and patience*, how comes it to paſs, that the author, in the execution of this deſign, repreſents *Job complaining, expoſtulating, and indulging himſelf in an ungovernable grief, raſhly challenging God, and glorying in his own integrity?* Could a painter, think you, in order to repreſent the eaſe and ſafety of navigation, draw a veſſel getting with much pains and difficulty into harbour, after having loſt all her lading and been miſerably torn and ſhattered by a tempeſt? and yet you think a writer, in order to give a *document of humility and patience*, had ſufficiently diſcharged his plan, if he made Job conclude *reſigned and ſubmiſſive*, though he had drawn him turbulent, impatient, and almoſt blaſphemous throughout the whole piece. Secondly, it appears from the learned Author's account of the *conduct* of the drama, that that which I have aſſigned for the *ſole Scope* of the book is the true. For if, in Job's diſtreſsful circumſtances, the queſtion concerning an equal or unequal providence were to be debated: His friends, if they held the former part, muſt needs doubt of his integrity; this doubt would naturally provoke Job's indignation; and, when it was perſiſted in, cauſe him to fly out into the intemperate exceſſes ſo well deſcribed by the learned Doctor: yet conſcious innocence would at length enable patience to do its office, and the concluſive argument for his integrity would be his reſignation and ſubmiſſion.

The learned Writer ſums up the argument thus. Ex his inquam apparet, non primario agi in hoc libro de providentia, ſive æquali, ſive inæquali, ſed de perſonali Jobi integritate. *From all this, I ſay, it appears, that the perſonal integrity of Job, and not the queſtion concerning an equal or unequal Providence, is the principal ſubject of the book.* He had before only told us his *opinion*; and now, from his opinion, he ſays it *appears*. But the appearances, we ſee, are deceitful; and ſo they will always be, when they ariſe only out of the fancy or inclination of the Critic, and not from the nature of things.

But he proceeds. Hanc enim (quod omnino obſervandum eſt) in dubium vocaverant amici, non ideo tantum quod afflictus eſſet, ſed quod

afflictus

afflictus impatientius ſe gereret, Deique juſtitiæ obmurmuraret: et qui ſtrenuus videlicet aliorum hortator fuerat ad fortitudinem et conſtantiam, quum ipſe tentaretur, victus labaſceret. *For that* [i. e. his perſonal integrity] *it was which his friends doubted of, not ſo much on account of his affliction, as for the not bearing his affliction with patience, but murmuring at the juſtice of God. And that he who was a ſtrenuous adviſer of others to fortitude and conſtancy, ſhould, when his own trial came, ſink under the ſtroke of his diſaſters.*—But why not *on account of his afflictions?* Do not we find that even now, under this unequal diſtribution of things, cenſorious men (and ſuch doubtleſs he will confeſs Job's comforters to have been) are but too apt to ſuſpect great afflictions for the puniſhment of ſecret ſins. How much more prone to the ſame ſuſpicion would ſuch men be in the time of Job, when the ways of Providence were more equal? As to his *impatience in bearing affliction*, that ſymptom was altogether ambiguous, and might as likely denote want of fortitude as want of innocence; and proceed as well from the pain of an ulcerated body, as the anguiſh of a diſtracted conſcience.

Well, our Author has brought the Patriarch thus far on his way, to expoſe his *bad temper*. From hence he accompanies him to his place of reſt; which, as many an innocent man's is, he makes to be in a *bad argument*. Quum acceſſerat ſanctiſſimi viri malis, hæc graviſſima omnium tentatio, ut tanquam improbus et hypocrita ab amicis damnaretur, et quod unicum ei ſupererat, conſcientiæ ſuæ teſtimonio ac ſolatio, quantum ipſi potuerunt, privandus foret, quid miſero faciendum erat? Amicos perfidiæ crudelitatis arguit: Deum integritatis ſuæ teſtem vindicemque appellat: quum autem nec Deus interveniret, ad innocentiam ejus vindicandam, nec remitterent quicquam amici de acerbis ſuis cenſuris, injuſtiſque criminationibus, ad SUPREMUM ILLUD JUDICIUM provocat, in quo REDEMPTOREM ſibi affuturum, Deumque a ſuis partibus ſtaturum, ſumma cum fiducia ſe noviſſe affirmat. *Now when* (ſays the learned Writer) *the moſt grievous trial of all was added to the other evils of this holy perſon; to be condemned by his friends as a profligate, and an hypocrite, and to be deprived, as much as in them lay, of his only remaining ſupport, the Teſtimony of a good conſcience, What was left for the unhappy man to do? He accuſes his friends of perfidy and cruelty; he calls upon God as the witneſs and avenger of his integrity: But when neither God interpoſed to vindicate his innocence, nor his friends forbore to urge their harſh cenſures and unjuſt accuſations, he appeals to that* LAST JUDGEMENT, *in which with the utmoſt confidence he affirms that he knew that his* REDEEMER

would be preſent to him, and that God would declare in his favour. To underſtand the force of this repreſentation, we muſt have in mind this unqueſtionable truth; "That, be the ſubject of the book what it will, yet if the ſacred Writer bring in the perſons of the drama diſputing, he will take care that they talk with *decorum* and to the purpoſe." Now we both agree that Job's friends had pretended at leaſt to ſuſpect his integrity. This ſuſpicion it was Job's buſineſs to remove; and, if the Doctor's account of the ſubject be right, his only buſineſs. To this end he offers various arguments, which failing of their effect, he at laſt (as the Doctor will have it) appeals to the SECOND COMING OF THE REDEEMER OF MANKIND. But was this likely to ſatisfy them? They demand a preſent ſolution of their doubts, and he ſends them to a future judgement. Nor can our Author ſay (though he would inſinuate) that this was ſuch a ſort of appeal as diſputants are ſometimes forced to have recourſe to, when they are run aground and have nothing more to offer: For Job, after this, proceeds in the diſpute; and urges many other arguments with the utmoſt propriety. Indeed there is one way, and but one, to make the appeal pertinent: and that is, to ſuppoſe our Author miſtaken, when he ſaid that the *perſonal integrity of Job, and not the queſtion concerning an equal or unequal Providence, was the main ſubject of the book:* And we may venture to ſuppoſe ſo, without much danger of doing him wrong: for, the doctrine of a *future judgement* affords a principle whereon to determine the *queſtion of an equal or unequal Providence*; but it leaves the *perſonal integrity of Job* juſt as it found it. But the learned Author is ſo little ſolicitous for the *pertinency* of the argument, that he makes, as we ſhall now ſee, its *impertinence* to be one of the great ſupports of his ſyſtem. For thus he concludes his argument. Jam vero ſi cardo controverſiæ fuiſſet, utrum, ſalva Dei juſtitia, ſancti in hac vita, adfligi poſſent, hæc ipſa declarati litem finire debuerat. Sin autem de perſonali Jobi innocentia diſceptetur, nil mirum quod veterem canere cantilenam, Jobumque ut fecerant, condemnare pergerent ſocii, quum Dei ſolius erat, qui corda hominum explorat, pro certo ſcire; an jure merito ſibi Jobus hoc ſolamen attribueret, an falſam ſibi fiduciam vanus arrogaret. *But now if the hinge of the controverſy had turned on this, Whether or no, conſiſtently with God's juſtice, good men could be afflicted in this life, this declaration ought to have finiſhed the debate: but if the queſtion were concerning the perſonal innocence of Job, it was no wonder that they ſtill ſung their old ſong, and went on as they had begun, to condemn their*

their much-afflicted friend; ſince it was in the power of God alone to explore the hearts of men, and to know for certain whether it was Job's piety that rightly applied a conſolation, or whether it was his vanity that arrogated a falſe confidence to himſelf. This is a very pleaſant way of coming to the ſenſe of a diſputed paſſage: Not, as of old, by ſhewing it ſupports the *Writer's argument*, but by ſhewing it ſupports the *Critic's hypotheſis*. I had taken it for granted that Job reaſoned to the purpoſe, and therefore urged this argument againſt underſtanding him as ſpeaking of the *Reſurrection* in the xixth chapter. "The diſputants (ſay I) are all equally imbaraſſed in ad-"juſting the ways of Providence. Job affirms that the good man is ſome-"times unhappy; the three friends pretend that he never can be ſo; be-"cauſe ſuch a ſituation would reflect upon God's juſtice. Now the doc-"trine of a *Reſurrection* ſuppoſed to be urged by Job cleared up all this "embarras. If therefore his friends thought it true, it ended the diſpute; "if falſe, it lay upon them to confute it. Yet they do neither: They "neither call it into queſtion, nor allow it to be deciſive. But without "the leaſt notice that any ſuch thing had been urged, they go on as they "began, to inforce their former arguments, and to confute that which they "ſeem to underſtand was the only one Job had urged againſt them; viz. "the conſciouſneſs of his own innocence."—Now what ſays our learned Critic to this? Why, he ſays, that if I be miſtaken, and he be right in his account of the book of Job, the reaſon is plain why the three friends took no notice of Job's appeal to a Reſurrection; namely, becauſe it deſerved none. As to his being in the right, the reader, I ſuppoſe, will not be greatly ſolicitous, if it be one of the conſequences that the ſacred Reaſoner is in the wrong. However, before we allow him to be right, it will be expected he ſhould anſwer the following queſtions. If, as he ſays, the point in the book of Job was *only his perſonal innocence*, and this, not (as I ſay) upon the PRINCIPLE of *no innocent perſon being miſerable*; I would aſk how it was poſſible that Job's friends and intimates ſhould be ſo obſtinately bent on pronouncing him guilty, the purity of whoſe former life and converſation they were ſo well acquainted with? If he will ſay, the diſputants went upon that PRINCIPLE, I then aſk how came Job's appeal to a Reſurrection not to ſilence his oppoſers? as it accounted for the juſtice of God in the preſent unequal diſtribution of things.

P. 263. [Q]. *This is one thing* (ſays Job) *therefore I ſaid it*, HE DESTROYETH THE PERFECT WITH THE WICKED, chap. ix. 22. as much as to ſay, this is the point or general queſtion between us, and I ſtick to the affirmative, and inſiſt upon its truth. The words which follow are remarkable. It had been objected, that when the good man ſuffered it was for a trial; to this Job replies: *If the ſcourge ſlay ſuddenly, he will laugh at the trial of the innocent*, ver. 23. *ſuddenly*, or *indiſcriminately*, as Schultens rightly underſtands it; as much as to ſay, when the ſword devours the innocent and the wicked man without diſtinction, if the innocent will diſtinguiſh his ill-hap from the wicked man's, and call it a *trial*, the wicked man will mock at him; and indeed not without ſome ſhew of reaſon.

P. 263. [R]. "Suppoſing (ſays the Corniſh Anſwerer) we ſhould allow "ſuch an *equal Providence* to have been adminiſtered in *Judæa*; yet, ſince "he himſelf reckons it the utmoſt extravagance to ſuppoſe it any where "elſe; what an idea does he give us of the talents of *Ezra?* who, ac-"cording to him, has introduced perſons who were no Jews debating a "queſtion ſo palpably abſurd as that it NEVER *entered into the head of any* "*one man living to make a queſtion of it out of the land of Judæa?* conſequent-"ly could not with the leaſt probability or propriety be handled by any "but Jews. Is this like one who, he would make us to believe, was *a* "*careful obſerver of Decorum?* certainly the rule of Decorum would have "obliged him reddere perſonæ, &c. as Horace ſpeaks—either to look "out for proper perſons to debate his queſtions, or to fit his queſtion to "the perſons." I ſhould have reaſon to complain of this inſolence of Language, ſo habitual to theſe Anſwerers, did it not always carry its own puniſhment along with it. For, look, in proportion to their rudeneſs, is generally their folly, or ill faith.—*Suppoſing* (ſays this man) *we ſhould allow ſuch an equal Providence*, &c.—Now, when the Reader conſiders I am only contending for the *actual* adminiſtration of ſuch a providence as the Bible, in almoſt every page, repreſents to have been adminiſtered, will he not naturally ſuppoſe this to be ſome infidel-writer making a gracious conceſſion even at the expence of his own cauſe? But when he is told that the writer is a miniſter of the Goſpel, will he not conclude that his head is turned with the rage of *Anſwering?*

He tells his Reader that I ſay, "That the debated queſtion in the book "of Job could NEVER enter into the head of any man living out of the "land of Judea." Now, the very words from whence he pretends to deduce

duce this propoſition, convict him of impoſture.—*This* (ſay I) *could never have been made matter of diſpute*, FROM THE MOST EARLY SUPPOSED TIME OF JOB'S EXISTENCE EVEN TO OURS, *in any place out of the land of Judea.* Which ſurely implies it might have been a queſtion *then*; or why did I reſtrain the caſe to the times *ſince* Job's exiſtence? Was it for nothing? In fact I was well appriſed (and ſaw the advantages I could derive from it) that the queſtion might as reaſonably have been debated at the time when Job lived, as at the time when, I ſuppoſed, the book of Job was written. But as this was a matter reſerved for another place, I contented myſelf with the hint conveyed in this limitation, which juſt ſerved to lay in my claim to the uſe I ſhould hereafter have for it. The truth is, the ſtate of God's providence *in the moſt early ſuppoſed time of Job's exiſtence* is a ſubject I ſhall have occaſion to conſider at large in the laſt volume of this Work, where I employ it, amongſt other proofs, to illuſtrate and confirm the concluſion of my general argument by one entire view of the harmony which reigns through all the various parts of the Divine Government as adminiſtered over man. Of this my Anſwerers have no conception. Their talents are only fitted to conſider *parts*, and ſuch talents beſt ſuit their buſineſs, which is, to find fault.—They will ſay, they were not obliged to wait. But who obliged them to write? And if they ſhould wait longer, they will have no reaſon to complain: For the cloudy and imperfect conception they have of my argument as it now ſtands, is the moſt commodious ſituation for the carrying on their trade. However, whether they prefer the light of common ſenſe to this darkneſs occaſioned by the abſence of it, or the friendly twilight of Polemics to both, I ſhall not go out of my way to gratify their humour. I have ſaid enough to expoſe this ſilly cavil of our Corniſh Critic, and to vindicate the knowledge of the writer of the book of Job, and his obſervance of *decorum*, in opening a beauty in the contrivance of this work, which theſe Anſwerers were not aware of.

P. 264. [S]. *The Uſe and Intent of Propheſy, &c.* p. 208. 3d edit.—Grotius thinks the book was written for the conſolation of the deſcendants of Eſau, carried away in the Babyloniſh captivity; apparently, as the ſame writer obſerves, to avoid the abſurdity ariſing from the ſuppoſition confuted above; and yet, as he farther obſerves, Grotius, in endeavouring to avoid one difficulty, has fallen into another. For, ſuppoſe *it writ* (ſays the Author of The Uſe and Intent of Prophecy, &c.) *for the children of Eſau, they were idolaters; and yet is there no alluſion to their idolatry in all this book.*

book. And what ground is there to think they were ſo righteous as to deſerve ſuch an interpretation to be put upon their ſufferings, as the book of Job puts on them, if ſo be it was written for their ſakes? Or can it be imagined, that a book writ about the time ſuppoſed, for the uſe of an idolatrous nation, and odious to the Jews, could ever have been received into the Jewiſh canon? p. 208. Theſe are ſtrong objections, and will oblige us to place this opinion amongſt the ſingularities of the excellent Grotius.

P. 269. [T]. "Here (ſays the Corniſh Critic) take the poem in the "other light, as an *allegoric* fiction, and what could it poſſibly afford "beſides a very *odd amuſement?* for the truth of hiſtory is deſtroyed: and "we have nothing in the room of it, but a monſtrous jumble of times and "perſons brought together, that were in reality ſeparated from each other "by the diſtance of a thouſand or twelve hundred years. Had the author "been able to produce but one precedent of this ſort amongſt the writings "of the ancients, it might have afforded ſome countenance to this opinion: "but, I believe, it would be difficult to find it," p. 47. What then, I beſeech you, becomes of *Solomon's Song*, if you will not allow it to be a *precedent of this ſort?* Here, in the opinion of the Church, as appears by the inſertion of it into the Canon, or at leaſt in the opinion of ſuch Churchmen as our Critic, Solomon, under the cover of a love-tale, or amorous intrigue between him and an Egyptian lady, has repreſented Chriſt's union and marriage with the Church. Surely, the patience or impatience of Job had a nearer relation *in nature* to the patience or impatience of the Jewiſh People, than Solomon's love intrigue had, *in grace*, to the ſalvation obtained by Jeſus Chriſt. Yet this we are to deem no odd amuſement for the WISE MAN. But for a Prophet, to employ the ſtory of Job, to reprove the errors of the People committed to his care, and to inform them of an approaching change in their Diſpenſation, is by no means to be endured. What! has this great Critic never heard that, amongſt the *writings of the ancients*, there was a certain allegoric piece known by the name of *The Judgement of Hercules*, written by a Grecian SAGE, to excite the youth of his time to the purſuit of virtue, and to withſtand the allurements of pleaſure? HERCULES was as well known by hiſtory and tradition to the Greeks, as JOB was to the Jews. Did that polite people think this an *odd amuſement?* Did they think the *truth of Hiſtory deſtroyed by it; and nothing left in its room but a monſtrous jumble of times and perſons, brought together, that were in reality ſeparated from each other by the diſtance of a thouſand*

or

or twelve hundred years? for ſo many at leaſt there were between the age of Hercules and the young Men of the time of Prodicus. Or does this Corniſh Critic imagine, that the Sages of Greece took the Allegory for Hiſtory: or believed any more of a real rencontre between Virtue, Pleaſure, and young Hercules, than Maimonides did of that ſolemn meeting of the Devil and the Sons of God before the throne of the Almighty?

But that curious remark of *deſtroying the truth of Hiſtory* deſerves a little further canvaſſing. I ſuppoſe, when Jeſus transferred the ſtory of the Prodigal and his ſober Brother to the Gentiles and the Jews, and when St. John transferred Babylon to Rome, in allegory, that they *deſtroyed the truth of Hiſtory*. When ancient and modern dramatic Writers take their ſubject from Hiſtory, and make free with facts to adapt their plot to the nature of their poem, Do they *deſtroy the truth of Hiſtory?* Yet in their caſe there is only one barrier to this imaginary miſchief, namely the *Drama:* In the book of Job, there are two, both the *Drama* and the *Allegory*. But after all, ſome hurt it may do, amongſt Readers of the ſize of this Anſwerer, when they miſtake the book of Job for a piece of Biography, like the men *Ben Jonſon* laughs at, who, for greater exactneſs, choſe to read the Hiſtory of England in Shakeſpear's Tragedies.

P. 269. [U]. But the Corniſh Critic, who has no conception that even a patient man may, on ſome occaſions, break out into impatient heats, inſiſts on the *impropriety* of Job's repreſenting the Iſraelites of Ezra's time. "To repreſent the murmuring and impatient Jews (ſays he) it ſeems Ezra "takes a perſon who was exemplary for the contrary quality—and then, to "adapt him to his purpoſe, makes him break out into ſuch exceſſes of "impatience as border on blaſphemy." p. 50. I doubt there is a ſmall matter amiſs in this fine obſervation. The Author of *The Divine Legation* did not write the book of Job: therefore whatever diſcordancy there be between the Tradition of his patience and the written Hiſtory of him in this book, it is juſt the ſame, whether JOB or whether EZRA wrote it. After ſo illuſtrious a ſpecimen of his critical acumen, he may lie in bed, and cry out with the old Athlet,

Cæſtum artemque repono.

However, he meant well, and intended that this ſuppoſed abſurdity ſhould fall upon the Author of *The Divine Legation*, and not upon the Canon of Scripture. In the mean time the truth is, there is no abſurdity at all, but what lies in his own cloudy pericranium. Whether the traditionary Job

repreſented

repreſented the Iſraelites or not, it is certain, he might with much decorum repreſent them. And this the following words of *The Divine Legation* might have taught our Critic, had he had but ſo much candour as to do juſtice to a Stranger, whom he would needs make his Enemy.—" It is re-" markable, that Job, from the beginning of his misfortunes to the com-" ing of his three comforters, though greatly provoked by his wife, *ſinned* " *not with his lips*; but, perſecuted by the malice and bitterneſs of his " falſe friends, he began to lay ſo much ſtreſs on his innocence as even to " accuſe God of injuſtice. This was the very ſtate of the Jews of this " time; ſo exactly has the ſacred Writer conducted his allegory; They " bore their ſtraits and difficulties with temper till their enemies Sanballat, " Tobiah, and the Arabians, gave them ſo much diſturbance; and then " they fell into indecent murmurs againſt God." But leſt our Anſwerer ſhould again miſtake this, for a defence of the Author of the Divine Legation, and not of Ezra, let him try, if he can reconcile the traditional patience of Job with the ſeveral ſtrokes of impatience in the written book, upon any other principle than this, That the moſt patient man alive may be provoked into ſtarts of impatience, by a miſerable Caviler, who, being ſet upon *Anſwering* what he does not underſtand, repreſents falſely, interprets perverſely, and, when he is unable to make the *Doctrine* odious, endeavours to make the *Perſon* ſo, who holds it. In concluſion however, thus much is fit to be obſerved, that if the ſole or main intention of the Writer of the book of Job (be he whom he will) were to exhibit an example of Patience, he has executed his deſign very ill; certainly in ſo perverſe a manner that, from this book, the fame of Job's exemplary Patience could never have ariſen. Hence I conclude in favour of an Hypotheſis which ſolves this difficulty, by diſtinguiſhing between Job's traditional and written ſtory. But now comes a Corniſh Critic, and makes this very *circumſtance*, which I urged for the ſupport of my Hypotheſis, an objection to it. Yet he had grounds for his obſervation, ſuch as they were; He dreamt, for he could not be awake, that I had *invented* the *circumſtance*, whereas I only *found* it.

P. 278. [X]. The different ſituations in which this Folly operated in *ancient* and *modern* times, is very obſervable. In the ſimplicity of the early ages, while men were at their eaſe, that general opinion, ſo congenial to the human mind, of *a God and his moral government*, was too ſtrong ever to be brought in queſtion. It was when they found themſelves miſerable

and

and in diſtreſs, that they began to complain; to queſtion the juſtice, or to deny the exiſtence of a Deity: On the contrary, amongſt us, diſaſterous times are the ſeaſon of reflection, repentance, and reliance on Providence. It is affluence and abundance which now give birth to a wanton ſufficiency, never thoroughly gratified till it have thrown off all the reſtraints of Religion.

I imagine it may not be difficult to account for ſo ſtrange a contrariety in the manners of Men.

In the ancient World, the belief of a moral Providence was amongſt their moſt inconteſted principles. But concerning the nature and extent of this Providence they had indeed very inadequate conceptions; being miſled by the *extraordinary* manner in which the firſt exertions of it were manifeſted, to expect more inſtant and immediate protection than the nature of the *Diſpenſation* afforded. So that theſe men being, in their own opinion, the moſt worthy object of Providence's concern, whenever they became preſſed by civil or domeſtic diſtreſſes, ſuppoſed all to be loſt, and the world without a Governor.

But in theſe modern ages of vice and refinement, when every bleſſing is abuſed, and, amongſt the firſt, that greateſt of all, LIBERTY, each improvement of the mind, as well as each accommodation of the body, is perverted into a ſpecies of *luxury*; exerciſed and employed for amuſement, to gratify the Fancy or the Appetites, as each, in their turn, happens to influence the Will. Hence even the FIRST PHILOSOPHY, the ſcience of Nature itſelf, bows to this general abuſe. It is made to act againſt its own ordinances, and to ſupport thoſe impieties it was authoriſed to ſuppreſs.—But now, when calamity, diſtreſs, and all the evils of thoſe abuſed bleſſings have, by their ſevere but wholeſome diſcipline, reſtored recollection and vigour to the relaxed and diſſipated mind, the dictates of Nature are again attended to: the impious principles of falſe Science, and the falſe concluſions of the true, are ſhaken off as a hideous dream; and the abuſed Victim of his vanity and his pleaſure flies for refuge to that only Aſylum of Humanity, RELIGION.

P. 278. [Y]. Thus both *Sacro* and *Sacer* have, in Latin, contrary ſignifications. The reaſon is evident. Some things were *conſecrated* and ſome *devoted* to the Gods: thoſe were *holy*; theſe *execrable*. So God being invoked ſometimes to *bleſs*, and ſometimes to *curſe*, the invocation

was expreſſed by one word, which had contrary ſenſes. And this agreeable to the genius of language in general.

P. 281. [Z]. The Corniſh Critic ſays—" Above all, and to ſupport " the allegory in its moſt concerning circumſtances, as the Jews were ob- " liged to put away their idolatrous wives, ſo Job ſhould have put away " his, in the upſhot of the Fable. This would CERTAINLY have been " done had ſuch an allegory been intended as Mr. W. ſuppoſes." p. 66. Let this man alone for his diſtributive juſtice. I thought, when, in the concluſion of the book, we have a detailed account of Job's whole family, his ſons, his daughters, and his cattle, and that we hear nothing of his wife (and, I ween, ſhe would have been heard of had ſhe been there), the Writer plainly enough inſinuated that Job had ſomehow or other got rid of this Affliction, with the reſt. But nothing elſe will ſerve our Righter of wrongs but a formal bill of divorce.—Indeed I ſuſpect, a light expreſſion I chanced to make uſe of, gave birth to this ingenious objection. See above, p. 277.

P. 292. [AA]. Divine Wiſdom procures many *ends* by one and the ſame *mean*; ſo here, beſides this uſe, of throwing the Reader's attention entirely on the *Serpent*, it had another, *viz.* to make the *Serpent*, which was of the moſt ſacred and venerable regard in the Myſterious Religion of Egypt, the object of the Iſraelites utter abhorrence and deteſtation.

P. 300. [BB]. To this Dr. Grey ſays, that the three friends likewiſe accuſe Job of his *preſent* faults. Well, and what then? Does this acquit them of injuſtice for falſely charging him with *preceding* ones?

P. 305. [CC]. Indeed, had the book of Job the high antiquity which the common ſyſtem ſuppoſes, the contending at the ſame time for the *ſpiritual* ſenſe of this text, would be followed with inſuperable difficulties: but theſe, let the ſupporters of that Syſtem look to. The very learned Author of *the Argument of the Divine Legation fairly ſtated, &c.* hath ſet theſe difficulties in a light which, I think, ſhews them to be inſuperable: " Thoſe men (ſays this excellent writer) who maintain this ſyſtem, [of " the *high antiquity* of the book, and the *ſpiritual* ſenſe of the text] muſt " needs regard the text to be *direct and literal*, not *typical or figurative*. " But then this difficulty occurs, How came MOSES (if he was the Au- " thor) to be ſo clear in the *book of Job*, and ſo obſcure in the *Pentateuch?*

" Plain

" Plain expreſſion and typical adumbration are the contrary of one " another. They could not *both* be fit for the ſame people, at the ſame " time. If they were a ſpiritualized People, they had no need of carnal " covers, ſuch as Types; and if they were a carnal-minded people, " the light of ſpiritual things would only ſerve to dazzle, not to aid their " ſight.

" Nor is the matter mended, but made worſe, by ſuppoſing the book " to be written by JOB himſelf, or any other Patriarch earlier than Moſes: " That would be only transferring the Charge from *Moſes*, to the *God of* " *Moſes:* For while the *book of Job* was deſigned by Providence, for part " of the *Jewiſh Canon*, it is the ſame unaccountable conduct though re- " moved thither. The RESURRECTION is open and expoſed to all in the " *book of Job*; and it is hid and covered under types and figures in the " *Pentateuch*. From whence ariſes this noble truth worthy of its inventers, " *That the ſame doctrine may, at one and the ſame time, be the proper object* " *both of clear and manifeſt, and of dark and uncertain contemplation, to the* " *ſame Perſons.*" p. 134.

P. 310. [DD]. Here the Corniſh Critic obſerves, " That it does not ap- " pear that Job had any particular revelation of it, [i. e his future felicity]; " and therefore his confidence (if he had any ſuch) muſt proceed upon " ſome ſuch principle as this, That God would at length infallibly deliver " the good Man out of trouble. And again, this principle muſt be founded " on that other of an equal Providence: from whence otherwiſe could it " ariſe but from a perſuaſion that God will moſt certainly do what is equal " and exact in this life? And yet the ingenious Author, as if fond of re- " conciling contradictions, makes Job's Theſis to be this, *that Providence* " *is not equally adminiſtered*, at the ſame time, that he aſcribes to him a " confidence which could NOT POSSIBLY ariſe but from the perſuaſion *of* " *an equal Providence.*" p. 156.

I make Job hold *that Providence was not equally adminiſtered.* I make him to hold likewiſe, *that he himſelf ſhould be reſtored to his former felicity:* And this, our Critic calls a CONTRADICTION. His reaſon is, that this latter opinion could ariſe only from his *perſuaſion of an equal Providence.* This may be true, if there be no medium between an equal Providence and no Providence at all. But I ſuſpect there is ſuch a medium, from ob- ſerving that it is not uncommon, even in theſe times, for good men in

affliction, to have this very confidence of Job, without ever dreaming of an *equal Providence*.

The truth is (and ſo I have ſaid in the words which gave occaſion to this notable obſervation) that Job had through the diſtemperature of paſſion advanced ſome things which on cooler thoughts he retracted. His argument againſt an *equal Providence* was ſometimes puſhed ſo far as to have the appearance of concluding againſt any Providence at all. But he, at length, corrects himſelf for this extravagance of expreſſion; and deliberately concludes, that though the ways of God were ſomehow or other become unequal, yet that Providence had not deſerted the caſe of mankind, but would at length bring the good man out of trouble. Yet *this is the confidence, which*, this moſt confident of all Critics ſays, *could* NOT POSSIBLY *ariſe but from the perſuaſion of an equal Providence:* And for this it is that he charges me with a *fondneſs for reconciling contradictions*. Here I ſhall take my leave of this Diſcourſer on the book of Job, with declaring, that a more contemptuous, diſingenuous, and ignorant Writer never aſſumed the *honourable* name of ANSWERER; yet I would not deny him his ſtation amongſt the Learned. I think the ſame apology may be made for him, that a nameſake of his, in his hiſtory of the Carthuſians, made for their general Bruno,—"that doubtleſs he could have wrote well if he would, for he "printed a Miſſal in an exceeding fair letter, and *delicate fine writing paper*." PETREI Bib. Carth. fol. 35.

P. 321. [FF]. This wicked fancy ſome early *Chriſtian* Writers ſeem to have gone far into; particularly ORIGEN; who, becauſe Celſus had ſuppoſed, abſurdly enough, that the propagators of the Goſpel had borrowed the Doctrine of a *future ſtate* from the Pagan Philoſophers, was reſolved not to be out-done, and therefore tells his adverſary, "that where GOD ſays in the book of Moſes, which was older than all the Pagan writings, *I am come down to deliver them out of the hand of the Egyptians, and to bring them up out of that land, unto a good land and a large; unto a land flowing with milk and honey; unto the place of the Canaanites, and the Hittites, and the Amorites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebuſites* [Exod. iii. 8.] he did not mean, as ignorant men imagine, the *country of Judea*, but the *kingdom of heaven*; for that how good a land ſoever Judea might be, it was yet part of that earth which had been put under the curſe, and therefore, &c."—ἐχ ὁρῶν ὅτι Μωϋσῆς, ὁ πολλῷ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἀρχαιότερος,

χαιότερῳ, εἰσήγαγε τὸν Θεὸν ἐπαγγελλόμενον τὴν ἁγίαν γῆν, καὶ ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν, ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι, τοῖς καλὰ τὸν νόμον ἑαυτῷ βιώσασιν· διὸ ὡς οἴονταί τινες τὴν ἀγαθὴν, τὴν κάτω νομιζομένην Ἰουδαίαν, κειμένην καὶ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῆθεν κληραμένῃ ἐν τοῖς ἔρεσι τῆς παραβάσεως τῷ Ἀδὰμ γῇ. Cont. Celſ. p. 350. He that can rave at this ſtrange rate muſt needs conſider the whole ſanction of *temporal* reward and puniſhment as a mere figurative repreſentation of *future*. But is not the hearkening to ſuch Interpreters expoſing divine Revelation to the contempt and ſcorn of Infidels and Free-thinkers? And yet perhaps we muſt be obliged to hearken to them, if the endeavours of theſe Anſwerers become ſucceſsful in proving the NON-EXISTENCE of the *extraordinary Providence* (as promiſed by Moſes) againſt the reaſoning of the D. L. that it was ACTUALLY adminiſtered, in purſuance of that promiſe. For, by Origen's Commentaries (publiſhed by Huetius) it appears, that he was led into this ſtrange opinion by taking it for granted, as Sykes, Rutherforth, Stebbing, and ſuch like writers have ſince done, that under the Law, the beſt and moſt pious men were frequently miſerable, and the wicked proſperous and happy.

P. 342. [GG]. One of theſe Anſwerers of this Work employs much pains to prove that theſe words could not mean, *That it was to be well with them that fear God* IN THE PRESENT LIFE. Rutherforth, p. 363. i. e. he will prove, the words could not bear a ſenſe to which they are limited and tied down by the words immediately following,—*But it ſhall not be well with the wicked*, NEITHER SHALL HE PROLONG HIS DAYS.— What is to be done with ſuch a man?

P. 346. [HH]. Which (to obſerve it by the way) unanſwerably confutes that Semipagan Dream of the *ſoul's ſleeping till the reſurrection of the body*. And yet, what is ſtrange to tell, this very text, in the courſe of diſputation, which, like the courſe of time, *brings things*, as the Poet ſays,

—*to their confounding contraries*,

hath been urged to prove *that ſleep*, or *no ſeparate life*; and this, by no leſs conſiderable a man than Mr. HALES of Eaton. *Chriſt* (ſaith he) *proveth the future reſurrection of the dead from thence, that God is the God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob, but is not the God of the dead, but of the living*. Whence he concludeth, that *they live to God, that is*, SHALL BE *recalled to life by God*,

God, that he may manifeſt himſelf to be their God or Benefactor. This argument would be altogether fallacious, if before the Reſurrection they felt heavenly joy: For then God would be their God or Benefactor, namely according to their ſouls, although their bodies ſhould never riſe again *. All which is a mere complication of miſtakes: as is, indeed, his whole reaſoning from Scripture, throughout that chapter.—But they who hold the ſoul to be only a quality, and yet talk of its *ſleep* between death and the reſurrection, uſe a jargon which confounds all languages as well as all reaſon. For ſuch a *ſleep* is an annihilation; and the *waking* again, a new creation.

P. 347. [II]. "Though this argument was a *new one*, (ſays Dr. Rutherforth) though the Phariſees had never made this inference, and "that therefore it does not appear from hence, that Moſes *inculcated* "the Doctrine of a future ſtate; yet as it was a concluſive argument, as "it was an inference which *might have been made*, it will prove to us that "Moſes was not *ſtudious to conceal* this doctrine, nor purpoſely omitted "every thing that might bring his Reader acquainted with thoſe notices "of Redemption and of another life, which the Patriarchs were favoured "with." p. 318. This is a coup de la Maître, indeed: as wittily urged as it was wiſely meditated.—*If Moſes bring a concluſive argument for a doctrine, it is plain he could not be ſtudious to conceal that doctrine*, ſays our ingenious Profeſſor.—If Roger Bacon, ſay I, have given, in his writings, a true receipt to make Gun-powder, he *could not be ſtudious* to conceal the compoſition. And yet we know he was ſtudious to conceal it. What reaſons he had for ſo doing, and how conſiſtent it was with his giving the receipt, I leave to this profound Philoſopher; and ſhall content myſelf with ſhewing how conſiſtent Moſes was in the conduct I have aſcribed to him.—If both Moſes's pretenſions and thoſe of Jeſus likewiſe were true, the former muſt needs obſerve this conduct, in his Inſtitute; that is to ſay, he would *omit* the doctrine of another life, and, at the ſame time, interweave into the Law ſuch a ſecret mark of its truth, that, when the other Inſtitution came, it might be clear to all, that he both knew and believed the Doctrine.—If Moſes had not *omitted* it, he had intruded on the province of Jeſus: If he had not *laid the grounds* on which it riſes, he had neglected to provide for the proof of that connexion between the two Diſpenſations, neceſſary to ſhew the harmony between their

* A brief Inquiry, chap. viii.

reſpective

reſpective Authors. Moſes had done both: And from both I gather that he was *ſtudious to conceal the doctrine*. The *omiſſion* will be allowed to be one proof of it; and I ſhould think, this uſe of a term, *The God of Abraham*, &c. is another proof. For, the Jews, who, from the ceaſing of the extraordinary Providence, continued for many ages with inceſſant labour to ranſack their Bibles for a proof of a future ſtate, could never draw the inference from this text till Jeſus had taught them the way. No, ſays the Doctor, *How ſhould an argument uſed by Moſes, for a future ſtate, be a proof that Moſes was ſtudious to conceal it?* This Argument going, as we now ſee, upon our Profeſſor's utter ignorance of the nature and genius of the Moſaic Diſpenſation, (which required as much that the grounds of a *future ſtate* ſhould be laid, as that the Structure itſelf ſhould be kept out of ſight) I ſhall leave it in poſſeſſion of that admiration which it ſo well deſerves.

P. 350. [KK]. Here, the groundleſs conceit of the learned Moſheim [de reb. Chriſt. ante Conſt. p. 49.] is ſufficiently refuted. He ſuppoſes a *Sadducee* to be repreſented under the perſon of the *rich Man*. But the authority of the PROPHETS, to which Abraham refers his houſhold, was not acknowledged by the Sadducees, as of weight to decide, in this point. And yet the very words of Abraham ſuppoſe that their not *hearing the Prophets* did not proceed from their not *believing*, but from their not *regarding*.

P. 368. [LL]. But all are not *Arnaulds*, in the Gallican Church. Mr. *Freret*, ſpeaking of the hiſtory of Saul and a paſſage in Iſaiah, concerning the invocation of the dead, ſays—*Ce qui augmente ma ſurpriſe, c'eſt de voir, que la plus part de ces Commentateurs ſe plaignent, de ne trouver dans l'Ecriture aucune preuve claire que les Juifs, au temps de Moyſe, euſſent l'immortalité de l'ame.*—La pratique, interdite aux Juifs, ſuppoſe que l'exiſtence des ames, ſeparées du corps, par la mort, etoit alors un opinion générale & populaire. Memoires de l'Acad. Royale des Inſcript. &c. v. 23. p. 185.—The Gentleman's *ſurpriſe* ariſes from his being unable to diſtinguiſh between *the ſeparate exiſtence of the Soul* conſidered phyſically, and its *immortality* conſidered in a religious ſenſe: It is under this latter conſideration that *a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment* is included. Had he not confounded theſe two things ſo different in themſelves, he had never ventured to condemn the *Commentators*; who do indeed ſay, they cannot find this latter doctrine

doctrine in the Pentateuch. But then, they do not *lament or complain* of this want; becauſe they ſaw, though this Academician does not, that the abſence of the doctrine of *a future State of reward and puniſhment* in the Mosaic Law evinces its imperfection, and verifies the enunciation of the *Goſpel*, that LIFE AND IMMORTALITY *were brought to light by* JESUS CHRIST.

P. 375. [MM]. Dr. Stebbing, in what he calls *Conſiderations on the command to offer up Iſaac*, hath attempted to diſcredit the account here given of the *Command:* And previouſly aſſures his reader, that *if any thing can hinder the ill effects which my interpretation muſt have upon Religion, it muſt be his expoſing the abſurdity of the conceit.* This is confidently ſaid. But what then? He can prove it. So it is to be hoped. If not——However let us give him a fair hearing.—— He criticiſes this obſervation on the word DAY, in the following manner. Really, "Sir, I ſee no manner of conſequence in this reaſoning. That Chriſt's "day had reference to his office, as *Redeemer*, I grant. The day of "Chriſt denotes the *time* when Chriſt ſhould come, i. e. when *He* ſhould "come, who was to be ſuch by office and employment. But why it muſt "import alſo that when Chriſt came he ſhould be offered up a Sacri-"fice, I do not in the leaſt apprehend: Becauſe I can very eaſily under-"ſtand that Abraham might have been informed that Chriſt was to come "without being informed that he was to lay down his life as a Sacri-"fice. If Abraham ſaw that a time would come when one of his ſons "ſhould take away the curſe, he ſaw Chriſt's day." [Conſid. p. 139.] At firſt ſetting out, (for I reckon for nothing this blundering, before he knew where he was, into a *Socinian* comment, the thing he moſt abhors) the Reader ſees he grants the point I contend for———*That Chriſt's* DAY (ſays he) *has reference to his office as Redeemer, I grant.* Yet the very next words, employed to explain his meaning, contradict it;—*The Day of Chriſt denotes the* TIME *when Chriſt ſhould come.* All the ſenſe therefore, I can make of his conceſſion, when joined to his explanation of it, amounts to this—*Chriſt's Day has reference to his* OFFICE:—*No, not to his Office, but to his* TIME. He ſets off well: but he improves as he goes along—*But why it muſt import* ALSO *that when Chriſt came he ſhould be offered up as a Sacrifice, I do not in the leaſt apprehend.* Nor I, neither, I aſſure him. Had I ſaid, that the word *Day*, in the text, imported the *time*, I could as little apprehend as he does, how that which imports

imports *time*, imports ALSO the *thing done in time*. Let him take this nonſenſe therefore to himſelf. I argued in a plain manner thus,—When the word *Day* is uſed to expreſs, in general, the period of any one's exiſtence, then it denotes *time*; when, to expreſs his peculiar office and employment, then it denotes, *not the time*, but that circumſtance of life characteriſtic of ſuch office and employment; or the *things done in time*. DAY, in the text, is uſed to expreſs Chriſt's peculiar office and employment. Therefore—But what follows is ſtill better. His want of apprehenſion, it ſeems, is founded in this, *that he can eaſily underſtand, that Abraham might have been informed that Chriſt was to come; without being informed that he was to lay down his life as a Sacrifice.* Yes, and ſo could I likewiſe; or I had never been at the pains of making the criticiſm on the word *Day:* which takes its force from this very truth, that Abraham might have been informed of one without the other. And, therefore, to prove he was informed of that *other*, I produced the text in queſtion, which afforded the occaſion of the criticiſm. He goes on,—*If Abraham ſaw, that a time would come when one of his ſeed ſhould take away the curſe, he ſaw Chriſt's* DAY. Without doubt he did. Becauſe it is agreed, that *Day* may ſignify either time, or circumſtance of action. But what is this to the purpoſe? The queſtion is not whether the word may not, when uſed indefinitely, ſignify *time*; but whether it ſignifies *time* in this text. I have ſhewn it does not. And what has been ſaid to prove it does? Why that it may do ſo in another place. In a word, all he here ſays, proceeds on a total inapprehenſion of the drift and purpoſe of the argument.

P. 376. [NN] *Daubuz* on the *Revelations*, p. 251; printed in the year 1720. To this reaſoning, Dr. Stebbing replies as follows: "You are "not more ſucceſsful in your next point, *Abraham rejoiced to ſee my Day,* "*and he ſaw it, and was glad,* ἵνα ΙΔΗ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ ΕΙΔΕ—*This* (ſay "you) *evidently ſhews it* [the revelation] *to have been made by relation in* "*words, but by repreſentation in actions.*" How ſo? The reaſon follows. "*The verb εἶδω is frequently uſed in the New Teſtament in its proper ſignifi-* "*cation to ſee ſenſibly.*——In the New Teſtament, do you ſay? Yes, Sir, "and in every Greek book you ever read in your life. What you SHOULD "have ſaid is, that it is ſo uſed here; and I ſuppoſe you would have ſaid "ſo, if you had known how to have proved it." [Conſid. p. 139, 140.]

The reaſon follows (ſays he.) Where? In my book indeed, but not in his imperfect quotation from it; which breaks off before he comes to my reaſon. One who knew him not ſo well as I do, would ſuſpect this was done to ſerve a purpoſe. No ſuch matter; 'twas pure hap-hazard. He miſtook the introduction of my argument for the argument itſelf. The argument itſelf, which he omits in the quotation, (and which was all I wanted, for the proof of my point,) was, *That the verb εἶδω, whether uſed literally or figuratively, always denotes a full intuition.* And this argument, I introduced in the following manner, *The verb εἶδω is frequently uſed in the New Teſtament in its proper ſignification, to ſee ſenſibly.* Unluckily, as I ſay, he took this for the Argument itſelf, and thus corrects me for it: "What "you SHOULD have ſaid, is, that it is ſo uſed here; and I ſuppoſe you "would have ſaid ſo, if you had known how to have proved it:" See, here, the true origin both of dogmatizing and divining! His *ignorance* of what I did ſay, leads him to tell me what I ſhould have ſaid, and to divine what I would have ſaid. But, what I have ſaid, I think I may ſtand to, *That the verb εἶδω always denotes a full intuition.* This was all I wanted from the text; and on this foundation, I proceeded in the ſequel of the diſcourſe, to prove that Abraham *ſaw ſenſibly.* Therefore, when my Examiner takes it (as he does) for granted, that becauſe, in this place, I had not proved that the Word implied to *ſee ſenſibly*, I had not proved it at all; he is a ſecond time miſtaken.

"But, *he owns*, that, if this was all, perhaps *I ſhould* tell *him*, that it "was a very ſtrange anſwer of the *Jews*, *thou art not yet fifty years old, and* "*haſt thou ſeen Abraham?*" [Conſid. p. 140:] He is very right. He might be ſure I would. In anſwer therefore to this difficulty, he goes on and ſays, "No doubt, Sir, the *Jews* anſwer our Saviour, as if he had "ſaid, that *Abraham* and *he* were *cotemporaries*; in which, they anſwered "very fooliſhly, as they did on many other occaſions; and the anſwer will "as little agree with your interpretation as it does with mine. For does "your interpretation ſuppoſe that *Abraham* ſaw *Chriſt* in perſon? No; you "ſay it was by repreſentation only." [Conſid. p. 140—1.]

The Jews anſwered our Saviour as if he had ſaid that Abraham and he were cotemporaries.—Do they ſo? Why then, 'tis plain, *the expreſſion was as ſtrong in the Syrian language, uſed by Jeſus, as in the Greek of his Hiſtorian*, which was all I aimed to prove by it. But *in this* (ſays he) *they anſwered very fooliſhly.* What then? Did I quote them for their wiſdom? A little common

common ſenſe is all I want of thoſe with whom I have to deal: and rarely as my fortune hath been to meet with it, yet it is plain theſe Jews did not want it. For the *folly* of their anſwer ariſes therefrom. They heard Jeſus uſe a word in their vulgar idiom, which ſignified to ſee *corporeally*; and common ſenſe led them to conclude that he uſed it in the vulgar meaning: in this they were not miſtaken. But, from thence, they inferred, that he meant it in the ſenſe of *ſeeing perſonally*; and in this, they were. And now let the Reader judge whether the *folly* of their anſwer ſhews the *folly* of my Argument, or of my Examiner's.—Nay further, he tells us, they anſwered *as fooliſhly on many other occaſions*. They did ſo; and I will remind him of one. Jeſus ſays to Nicodemus, *Except a man be born again, he cannot ſee the kingdom of God*, &c.*. Suppoſe now, from theſe words, I ſhould attempt to prove that *Regeneration* and divine *Grace* were realities, and not mere metaphors: for that Jeſus, in declaring the neceſſity of them, uſed ſuch ſtrong expreſſions that Nicodemus underſtood him to mean the being phyſically *born again, and entering the ſecond time into the womb:* would it be ſufficient, let me aſk my Examiner, to reply in this manner: "No "doubt, Sir, Nicodemus anſwered our Saviour as if he had ſaid, that a "follower of the Goſpel muſt *enter a ſecond time into his mother's womb* "*and be born:* in which he anſwered very fooliſhly; and the anſwer will as "little agree with your interpretation as it does with mine. For does your "interpretation ſuppoſe he ſhould ſo enter? No; but that he *ſhould be* "*born of water and of the ſpirit.*"—Would this, I ſay, be deemed, even by our Examiner himſelf, a ſufficient anſwer? When he has reſolved me this, I ſhall, perhaps, have ſomething farther to ſay to him. In the mean time I go on. And, in returning him his laſt words reſtored to their ſubject, help him forward in the ſolution of what I expect from him.—*The anſwer* (ſays he) *will as little agree with your interpretation as it does with mine. For does your interpretation ſuppoſe that Abraham ſaw Chriſt in perſon? No; you ſay, it was by repreſentation only.* Very well. Let me aſk then, in the firſt place, Whether he ſuppoſes that what I ſaid on this occaſion was to prove that Abraham ſaw Chriſt from the reverend authority of his Jewiſh Adverſaries: or to prove that the verb εἶδω ſignified to *ſee literally*, from their miſtaken anſwer? He thought me here, it ſeems, in the way of thoſe writers, who are quoting *Authorities*, when they ſhould be giving *Reaſons*. Hence, he calls the anſwer the Jews here gave, a *fooliſh one:* as

* St. John iii. 3.

if I had undertaken for its orthodoxy. But our Examiner is ſtill farther miſtaken. The point I was upon, in ſupport of which I urged the anſwer of the Jews, was not the ſeeing *this*, or *that perſon:* but the ſeeing *corporeally*, and not *mentally*. Now, if the Jews underſtood Jeſus, as ſaying that Abraham ſaw *corporeally*, I concluded, that the expreſſion, uſed by Jeſus, had that import: and this was all I was concerned to prove. Difference, therefore, between their anſwer as I quoted it, and my interpretation, there was none. Their anſwer implied that Abraham was ſaid to ſee *corporeally*; and my interpretation ſuppoſes that the words employed had that import. But to make a diſtinction where there was no difference, *ſeeing in perſon, and ſeeing by repreſentation*, are brought in, to a queſtion where they have nothing to do.

P. 380. [OO]. Ver. 10. et ſeq. By the account here given, of God's Diſpenſations to Abraham, may be ſeen the folly of that objection, brought with ſuch inſinuations of importance, againſt the divine appointment of *Circumciſion*, from the *time* of its inſtitution. Sir John Marſham obſerves, that *Abraham, when he went into Egypt, was not circumciſed, nor for twenty years after his return.* Abramus, quando Ægyptum ingreſſus eſt, nondum circumciſus erat, neque per annos amplius viginti poſt reditum, p. 73. Franeq. ed. 4to. And further, *that Circumciſion was a moſt ancient rite amongſt the Egyptians, that they had it from the beginning, and that it was a principle with them not to make uſe of the cuſtoms of other people.* Apud Ægyptios circumcidendi ritus vetuſtiſſimus fuit, et ἀπ' ἀρχῆς inſtitutis. Illi nullorum aliorum hominum inſtitutis uti volunt, p. 74.—The noble Author of the Characteristics, who never loſes an opportunity of expreſſing his good-will to a *Prophet* or a *Patriarch*, takes up this pitiful ſuſpicion after Marſham: "Before the time that Iſrael was conſtrained to go down to "Egypt, and *ſue for maintenance*,—the *Holy Patriarch Abraham* himſelf "had been neceſſitated to this compliance on the ſame account.—'Tis "certain that if this *Holy Patriarch*, who firſt inſtituted the ſacred rite "of Circumciſion within his own family or tribe, had no regard to any "Policy or Religion of the *Egyptians*, yet he had formerly been a Gueſt "and Inhabitant of *Egypt* (where hiſtorians mention this to have been a "national rite) long ere he had received any divine notice or Revelation "concerning this affair." Vol. iii. p. 52, 53. Theſe great men, we ſee, appeal to *Scripture*, for the ſupport of their inſinuation; which *Scripture* had they but conſidered with common attention, they might have found, that

that it gives us a chronological account of GOD's gradual Revelations to the *Holy Patriarch*; and therefore that, according to the order GOD was pleaſed to obſerve in his ſeveral Diſpenſations towards him, the Rite of Circumciſion could not have been enjoined *before* the time Abraham happened to go into *Egypt*; nor indeed, at any other time than that in which we find it to be given; conſequently that his journey into *Egypt* had not the leaſt concern or connection with this affair: nay, had theſe learned Critics but attended to their own obſervation, that the Rite of Circumciſion was inſtituted twenty years after Abraham's return from *Egypt*, they muſt have ſeen the weakneſs of ſo partial a ſuſpicion. For had this been after the model of an *Egyptian* rite, Abraham, in all likelihood, had been circumciſed in *Egypt*, or at leaſt very ſoon after his return: for in *Egypt*, it was a *perſonal*, not a *family* Rite. And we learn from prophane hiſtory, that thoſe who went from other Countries to *Egypt*, with a deſign to copy their manners, or to be initiated into their Wiſdom, were, as a previous ceremony, commonly circumciſed by the Egyptian Prieſts themſelves.

P. 383. [PP]. To this Dr. Stebbing anſwers, "You lay it down here "as the common interpretation, that the command to Abraham to offer up "his ſon was given as a *trial only*; WHICH IS NOT TRUE." Why not? becauſe "the common opinion is, that God's intention in this command "was not only to TRY Abraham, but alſo to PREFIGURE the ſacrifice of "Chriſt." [Conſid. p. 150.] Excellent! I ſpeak of the Command's being given: but to whom? To all the Faithful, for whoſe ſake it was recorded? or to Abraham only, for whoſe ſake it was revealed? Does not the very ſubject confine my meaning to this latter ſenſe? Now, to Abraham, I ſay, (according to the common opinion) it was given as a Trial only. To the faithful, if you will, as a prefiguration.—If, to extricate himſelf from this blunder or ſophiſm, call it which you will, he will ſay it prefigured to Abraham likewiſe; he then gives up all he has been contending for; and eſtabliſhes my interpretation, which is, that Abraham knew this to be a repreſentation of the great ſacrifice of Chriſt: I leave it undetermined whether he miſtakes or cavils: See now, if he be not obliged to me. Where I ſpeak of the common opinion, I ſay, *the command is ſuppoſed to be* GIVEN *as a Trial only*. He thinks fit to tell me, *I ſay not true*. But when he comes to prove it, he changes the terms of the queſtion thus, "For the common opinion is, that GOD'S INTENTION "in this command was," &c. Now God's intention of *giving* a command to Abraham, for Abraham's ſake, might be one thing; and God's general intention

intention of *giving* that Command, as it concerned the whole of his Diſpenſation, another. But to prove further that I *ſaid not true*, when I ſaid that, according to the common interpretation, the Command was given for a Trial only; he obſerves, that I myſelf had owned that the reſemblance to Chriſt's ſacrifice was ſo ſtrong, that Interpreters could never overlook it. What then? If the Interpreters, who lived *after* Chriſt, could not overlook it, does it follow that Abraham, who lived *before*, could not overlook it neither? But the impertinence of this has been ſhewn already. Nor does the learned *Conſiderer* appear to be unconſcious of it. Therefore, inſtead of attempting to inforce it to the purpoſe for which *he quotes it*, he turns, all on a ſudden, to ſhew that it makes nothing to the purpoſe for which *I employed it*. But let us follow this Protean Sophiſter through all his windings.—"The reſemblance (ſays he) no doubt, is very "ſtrong; but how this corroborates your ſenſe of the command, I do not "ſee. Your ſenſe is, that it was an actual information given to Abra-"ham, of the ſacrifice of Chriſt. But to *prefigure*, and to *inform*, are dif-"ferent things. This tranſaction might prefigure, and does prefigure the "ſacrifice of Chriſt; whether Abraham knew any thing of the ſacrifice "of Chriſt or no. For it does not follow, that, becauſe a thing is pre-"figured, therefore it muſt be ſeen and underſtood, at the time when it "is prefigured." [*Conſid.* p. 150, 151.] Could it be believed that theſe words ſhould immediately follow an argument, whoſe force (the little it has) is founded on the principle, *That to* PREFIGURE *and to* INFORM *are* NOT *different things?*

P. 384. [QQ] To this reaſoning, Dr. Stebbing replies, "But how can "you prove that, according to the common interpretation, there was no "reward ſubſequent to the trial?" [*Conſid.* p. 151.] How ſhall I be able to pleaſe him?—Before, he was offended that I thought the Author of the book of Geneſis might omit relating the *mode* of a fact, when he had good reaſon ſo to do. Here, where I ſuppoſe *no fact*, becauſe there was none recorded when no reaſon hindered, he is as captious on this ſide likewiſe. "How will you prove it?" (ſays he). From the ſilence of the Hiſtorian (ſay I) when nothing hindered him from ſpeaking. Well, but he will ſhew it to be fairly recorded in Scripture, that there were rewards ſubſequent to the trial. This, indeed, is to the purpoſe: "Abraham (ſays he) "lived a great many years after that tranſaction happened. He lived to "diſpoſe of his ſon Iſaac in marriage, and to ſee his ſeed. He lived to be "mar-

" married himſelf to another Wife, and to have ſeveral children by her: " He had not THEN received all God's mercies, nor were all God's diſpen- " ſations towards him at an end; and it is to be remembered that it is ex- " preſsly ſaid of Abraham, Gen. xxiv. 1. (a long time after the tranſaction " in queſtion), *that God had bleſſed him in all things.*" [*Conſid.* p. 151, 2.] The queſtion here is of the extraordinary and peculiar rewards beſtowed by God on Abraham; and he decides upon it, by an enumeration of the ordinary and common. And, to fill up the meaſure of theſe bleſſings, he makes the burying of his firſt wife and the marrying of a ſecond to be one. Though unluckily, this ſecond proves at laſt to be a Concubine; as appears plainly from the place where ſhe is mentioned. But let me aſk him ſeriouſly; Could he, indeed, ſuppoſe me to mean (though he attended not to the drift of the argument) that God immediately withdrew all the common bleſſings of his Providence from the Father of the Faithful, after the laſt extraordinary reward beſtowed upon him, when he lived many years after? I can hardly, I own, account for this perverſity, any otherwiſe than from a certain temper of mind which I am not at preſent diſpoſed to give a name to: but which, the habit of *Anſwering* has made ſo common, that nobody either miſtakes it, or is now indeed, much ſcandalized at it. Though for my part, I ſhould eſteem a total ignorance of letters a much happier lot than ſuch a learned depravity.—" But this is not all," (ſays he)—No, is it not? I am ſorry for it!—" What ſurprizes me moſt is, " that you ſhould argue ſo WEAKLY, as if the reward of good men had " reſpect to this life only. Be it, that Abraham had received all God's " mercies; and that all God's diſpenſations towards him, in this world, " were at an end; was there not a life yet to come, with reſpect to which " the whole period of our exiſtence here is to be conſidered as a ſtate of " trial; and where we are all of us to look for that reward of our virtues " which we very often fail of in this?" [*Conſid.* p. 152.] Well, if it was *not all*, we find, at leaſt, it is all of a piece. For, as before, he would ſophiſtically obtrude upon us *common* for *extraordinary* REWARDS; ſo here (true to the miſtery of his trade) he puts *common* for *extraordinary* TRIALS. *Our preſent exiſtence* (ſays he) *is to be conſidered as a ſtate of Trial.* The caſe, to which I applied my argument, was this;—" God, determining to ſelect a choſen People from the loins of Abraham, would manifeſt to the world that this Patriarch was worthy of the diſtinction ſhewn unto him, by having his faith found ſuperior to the hardeſt trials." Now, in ſpeaking

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ing of theſe trials, I ſaid, that the command to offer Iſaac was the laſt. *No* (ſays the Examiner) *that cannot be; for, with reſpect to a life to come, the whole period of our exiſtence here, is to be conſidered as a ſtate of* TRIAL." And ſo again (ſays he) with regard to the REWARD; which you pretend, in the order of God's Diſpenſation, ſhould follow the trial: Why, we are to *look for it in another world*.—Holy Scripture records the hiſtory of one, to whom God only promiſed (in the clear and obvious ſenſe) *temporal* bleſſings It tells us that theſe temporal bleſſings were diſpenſed. One ſpecies of which were extraordinary Rewards after extraordinary Trials. In the moſt extraordinary of all, no Reward followed: This was my difficulty. See here, how he has cleared it up. Hardly indeed to his own ſatisfaction: for he tries to ſave all by another fetch; the weakeſt men being ever moſt fruitful in expedients, as the ſloweſt animals have commonly the moſt feet. "And what (ſays he) if after all this, the wiſdom of God "ſhould have thought fit, that this very man, whom he had fingled out "to be an eminent example of piety to all generations; ſhould, at the "very cloſe of his life, give evidence of it, by an inſtance that exceeded "all that had gone before; that he might be a pattern of patient ſuffering "even unto the end? Would there not be SENSE in ſuch a ſuppoſition?" [*Conſid.* p. 153.] In truth, I doubt not, as he hath put it: And I will tell him, Why. Abraham was not a mere inſtrument to ſtand for an Example only; but a moral Agent likewiſe; and to be dealt with as ſuch. Now, though, as he ſtands for an *Example*, we may admit of as many *Trials of patient ſuffering* as this good-natured Divine thinks fitting to impoſe; yet, as a *moral Agent*, it is required (if we can conclude any thing from the method of God's dealing with his Servants, recorded in ſacred hiſtory) that each Trial be attended with ſome work done, or ſome reward conferred. But theſe two parts in Abraham's character, our *Conſiderer* perpetually confounds. He ſuppoſes nothing to be done for Abraham's own ſake; but every thing for the Example's ſake. Yet, did the good old cauſe of *Anſwering* require, he could as eaſily ſuppoſe the contrary. And to ſhew I do him no wrong, I will here give the Reader an inſtance of his dexterity, in the counter-exerciſe of his arms. In p. 150. of theſe *Conſiderations* (he ſays) "IT DOES NOT FOLLOW, that, becauſe a thing is pre-"figured, therefore it muſt be ſeen and underſtood AT THE TIME when it is "prefigured." Yet in the body of the Pamphlet, at p. 112, 113, having another point to puzzle; he ſays (on my obſerving that a future State and Refur-

Reſurrection were not national Doctrines till the time of the Maccabees) "he knows I will ſay they had theſe doctrines from the Prophets--yet "the Prophets were dead two hundred years before."—But if the Prophets were dead, their Writings were extant—"And what then? is it LIKELY that "the ſons ſhould have learnt from the dead Prophets what the Fathers "could not learn from the living?—Why could not the Jews learn this "Doctrine from THE VERY FIRST, as well as their Poſterity at the diſtance "of ages afterwards?" In the firſt caſe we find he expreſsly ſays, it *does not* follow; in the ſecond, he as plainly ſuppoſes, that it *does*.

P. 386. [RR]. And yet an ingenious man, one M. Bouiller, in a late Latin Diſſertation, accuſes me of concealing, that Chryſoſtom, Eraſmus, and others, were of *my opinion*, viz. that Abraham in the Command to ſacrifice his Son was informed, of what he earneſtly deſired to know, that the redemption of Mankind was to be obtained by the ſacrifice of the Son of God. The Reader now ſees, whether the Author of the Divine Legation was guilty of a concealed theft, or his Accuſer of an open blunder, under which he covers his orthodoxal malignity. Yet he thinks he atones for all, by calling *The Divine Legation egregium opus: ubi ingenium acerrimum cum eximia eruditione certat.*—Diſſertationum Sacrum Sylloge, p. 194.

P. 387. [SS]. To this, the great Profeſſor replies, That "there are "but few geſtures of the body more apt *of themſelves* to ſignify the ſenti-"ment of the mind than articulate ſound: The force of which ariſes not "from the nature of things; but from the arbitrary will of man: and "common uſe and cuſtom impoſes this ſignification on articulate ſounds, "not on motions and geſtures—Pauci ſunt motus corporis, qui ipſi per ſe "aptiores eſſe videntur ad motus animi ſignificandos, quam ſonus, qui ore "et lingua in vocem formatur. Vis ipſa non eſt in natura rerum poſita, "ſed arbitrio hominum conſtituta; eamque mos et uſus communis non "geſtibus corporis tribuit, ſed verbis et voci." RUTHERFORTH, *Determ.*

The purpoſe of this fine obſervation, though ſo cloudily expreſſed, is to ſhew that *motion and geſture* can have no ſignification at all: Not from *nature*, ſince few geſtures of the body are more apt of themſelves to expreſs the mind than articulate ſound; and yet articulate ſound is of arbitrary ſignification: Not from *inſtitution*, ſince it is not to geſture, but to articulate ſound, that men have agreed to affix a meaning. The conſequence is, that *geſture can have no meaning at all*; and ſo there is an end

of all Abraham's SIGNIFICATIVE ACTION. The Divine would make a great figure, were it not for his Bible; but the Bible is perpetually diſorienting the Philoſopher. His general Theſis is, "That *actions* can never become ſignificative but by the aid of *words*." Now I deſire to know what he thinks of all the TYPICAL Rites of the *Law*, ſignificative of the Sacrifice of Chriſt? Were not theſe *Actions?* Had they no meaning which extended to the *Goſpel?* or were there any *Words* to accompany them, which explained that meaning? Yet has this man aſſerted, in what he calls a *Determination*, that in the inſtances of expreſſive geſture, recorded in Scripture, *words were always uſed in conjunction with them.* But to come a little cloſer to him. As a Philoſopher he ſhould have given his Reaſons for thoſe two aſſertions; or as an Hiſtorian he ſhould have verified his Facts. He hath attempted neither; and I commend his prudence; for both are againſt him: His Fact, that geſtures have no meaning by *nature*, is falſe: and his Reaſoning, that they have none by *inſtitution*, is miſtaken. The Spartans might inſtruct him that *geſtures alone have a natural meaning.* That ſage People (as we are told by Herodotus) were ſo perſuaded of this truth, that they preferred converſe by *action*, to converſe by *ſpeech*; as action had all the clearneſs of ſpeech, and was free from the abuſes of it. This Hiſtorian, in his Thalia, informs us, that when the Samians ſent to Lacedemon for ſuccours in diſtreſs, their Orators made a long and laboured ſpeech. When it was ended, the Spartans told them, that *the firſt part of it they had forgotten, and could not comprehend the latter.* Whereupon the Samian Orators produced their empty Bread-baſkets, and *ſaid*, they wanted bread. *What need of words*, replied the Spartans, *do not your empty Bread-baſkets ſufficiently declare your meaning?* Thus we ſee the Spartans thought not only that *geſtures were apt of themſelves* (or by nature) *to ſignify the ſentiment of the mind*, but even *more apt than articulate ſounds.* Their relations, the Jews, were in the ſame ſentiments and practice; and full as ſparing of their words; and (the two languages conſidered) for ſomething a better reaſon. The ſacred Hiſtorian, ſpeaking of public days of humiliation, tells his ſtory in this manner—*And they gathered together to Mizpeh*, AND DREW WATER AND POURED IT OUT BEFORE THE LORD, *and faſted on that day*, 1 Sam. chap. vii. ver. 6. The Hiſtorian does not explain in *words* the meaning of this *drawing of water*, &c. nor needed he. It ſufficiently expreſſed, that *a deluge of tears was due for their offences.* The Profeſſor, perhaps, will ſay that words accompanied the action,

action, at leaſt preceded it. But what will he ſay to the action of Tarquin, when he ſtruck off the heads of the higher poppies which overtopped their fellows? Here we are expreſsly told, that all was done in profound ſilence, and yet the action was well underſtood. But further, I will tell our Profeſſor what he leaſt ſuſpected, that Geſtures, beſides their *natural*, have often an *arbitrary* ſignification. "A certain Aſiatic Prince, entertained at Rome by Auguſtus, was, amongſt other Shews and Feſtivities, amuſed with a famous Pantomime; whoſe actions were ſo expreſſive, that the Barbarian begged him of the Emperor for his Interpreter between him and ſeveral neighbouring Nations, whoſe languages were unknown to one another." Pantomimic geſture was amongſt the Romans one way of exhibiting a Dramatic Story. But before ſuch geſtures could be formed into a continued ſeries of Information, we cannot but ſuppoſe much previous pains and habit of invention to be exerted by the Actors. Amongſt which, one expedient muſt needs be (in order to make the expreſſion of the Actors convey an entire connected ſenſe) to intermix with the geſtures *naturally* ſignificative, geſtures made ſignificative by *inſtitution*; that is, brought, by *arbitrary* uſe, to have as determined a meaning as the others.

To illuſtrate this by that more laſting information, the *Hieroglyphics* of the Egyptians, and the *real Characters* of the Chineſe; which, as we have ſhewn, run parallel with the more fleeting conveyance of expreſſive geſture, juſt as alphabetic writing does with ſpeech. Now, though the earlier Hieroglyphics were compoſed almoſt altogether of marks *naturally* ſignificative, yet when the Egyptians came to convey continued and more preciſe diſcourſes by this mode of writing, they found a neceſſity of inventing arbitrary ſignifications, to intermix and connect with the other marks which had a *natural*. [See vol. ii. p. 397, *&c. ſeq.*]

Now, to ſhew that theſe arbitrary Hieroglyphic marks were real Characters like the other, let us turn to the Characters of the Chineſe, which though (in their preſent way of uſe) moſt of them be of *arbitrary* ſignification, yet the Miſſionaries aſſure us that they are underſtood by all the neighbouring nations of different languages. This ſhews that the Auguſtan Pantomime, ſo coveted by the Barbarian for his interpreter, might be very able to diſcharge his function, though ſeveral of his geſtures had an arbitrary ſignification. And we eaſily conceive how it might come to paſs, ſince the geſture of *arbitrary* ſignification only ſerved to connect the active diſcourſe, by ſtanding between others of a *natural* ſignification, directing to their ſenſe.

Thus (to conclude with our Determiner) it appears that GESTURES ALONE are ſo far from having no meaing at all, as he has ventured to affirm, that they have all the meaning which human expreſſion can poſſibly convey: all which is properly their own, namely *natural* information; and even much of that which is more peculiar to ſpeech, namely *arbitrary*.

To illuſtrate the whole by a domeſtic inſtance; the ſolemn geſture of a Profeſſor in his Chair; which ſometimes may *naturally* happen, to ſignify Folly; though, by *inſtitution*, it always ſignifies Wiſdom; and yet again, it muſt be owned, in juſtice to our Profeſſor's ſcheme, that ſometimes it means nothing at all.

P. 391. [TT]. Would the reader now believe it poſſible, when theſe words lay before Dr. Stebbing, while he was anſwering my Book, that he ſhould venture to aſk me, or be capable of aſking theſe inſulting queſtions—*Was there any good uſe that Abraham could make of this knowledge which the reſt of the People of God might not have made of it as well as He? Or if it was not unfit for every body elſe, was it not unfit for Abraham too?*

P. 392. [UU]. But all I can ſay, or all an Apoſtle can ſay, if I chance to ſay it after him, will not ſatisfy Dr. Stebbing. He yet ſticks to his point, "That if any information of the death and ſacrifice of Chriſt had been "intended, it is NATURAL TO THINK that the explanation would have "been Recorded with the tranſaction, as it is in all other SUCH LIKE "CASES." Now if this orthodox Gentleman will ſhew me *a ſuch like caſe*, i. e. a caſe where a Revelation of the Goſpel Diſpenſation is made by an expreſſive action, and the explanation is recorded along with it, I ſhall be ready to confeſs, he has made a pertinent objection. In the mean time, I have ſomething more to ſay to him. He ſuppoſes, that this commanded Sacrifice of Iſaac was a TYPE of the Sacrifice of Chriſt. To this a Deiſt replies, in the Doctor's own words, "If any type had been here intended, "it is natural to think that the explanation would have been recorded with "the tranſaction." Now when the Doctor has ſatisfied the objection, which he has lent the Deiſts, againſt a TYPE, I ſuppoſe it may ſerve to ſatisfy himſelf, when he urges it againſt my idea of the Command, as an INFORMATION BY ACTION. Again, our Anſwerer himſelf affirms that the doctrine of Redemption was delivered under *Types* in the Law; and that the doctrine thus delivered was deſignedly ſecreted and concealed from the ancient Jews. Now is it *natural to think* (to uſe his own words) that Moſes would openly and plainly record a Doctrine in one book which he had

had determined to ſecrete in another, when both were for the uſe of the ſame People and the ſame Age?

P. 392. [XX]. "You muſt give me leave to obſerve (ſays Dr. Steb-"bing) that the tranſaction in queſtion will have the ſame efficacy to ſhew "*the dependency between the two diſpenſations*, whether Abraham had "thereby any information of the Sacrifice of Chriſt or not." [Conſid. p. 156.] This, indeed, is ſaying ſomething. And, could he prove what he ſays, it would be depriving my interpretation of one of its principal advantages. Let us ſee then how he goes about it,—"for this does not "ariſe from Abraham's KNOWLEDGE, or any body's KNOWLEDGE, at the "time when the tranſaction happened, but from the ſimilitude and cor-"reſpondency between the event and the tranſaction, by which it was "prefigured; which is exactly the ſame upon either ſuppoſition." [Ibid. p. 156-7.] To this I reply, 1. That I never ſuppoſed that the dependency between the two Diſpenſations did *ariſe from Abraham's knowledge, or any body's knowledge*, at that, or at any other time; but from God's INTENTION that this commanded action ſhould import or repreſent the Sacrifice of Chriſt: and then indeed comes in the queſtion, Whether that *Intention* be beſt diſcovered from God's *declaration* of it to Abraham, or from a *ſimilitude and correſpondency* between this commanded action and the Sacrifice of Chriſt. Therefore, 2. I make bold to tell him, that a *ſimilitude and correſpondency between the event and the tranſaction which prefigured it*, IS NOT ENOUGH to ſhew this *dependency*, to the ſatisfaction of Unbelievers; who ſay, that a likeneſs between two things of the ſame nature, ſuch as offering up two men to death, in different ways, and tranſacted in two diſtant periods, is not ſufficient alone to ſhew that they had any relation to one another. With the ſame reaſon, they will ſay, we might pretend that Jephtha's daughter, or the king of Moab's ſon whom the father ſacrificed on the wall, 2 Kings iii. 27. were the types of Chriſt's ſacrifice. Give us, they exult, a proof from Scripture that God declared or revealed his INTENTION of prefiguring the death of Jeſus; or ſome better authority at leaſt than a modern Typifier, who deals only in *ſimilitudes* and *correſpondences*, and has all the wildneſs, without the wit, of a Poet, and all the weakneſs, without the ingenuity, of an Analogiſt! Now whether it be our Examiner, or the Author of the *Divine Legation*, who has given them this ſatisfaction, or whether they have any reaſon to require it of either of us, is left to the impartial Reader to conſider.

P. 394.

P. 394. [YY]. Let us ſee now what Dr. Stebbing has to ſay to this reaſoning.—"By your leave, Sir," ſays he, (which, by the way, he never aſks, but to abuſe me; nor ever takes, but to miſrepreſent me) "if the "Apoſtle had meant by this expreſſion, to ſignify that Iſaac ſtood as the "Repreſentative of Chriſt, and that his being taken from the mount "alive, was the figure of Chriſt's Reſurrection; it SHOULD have been ſaid, "that Abraham received CHRIST from the dead in a figure." *Should* it ſo? What? where the diſcourſe was not concerning *Chriſt*, but *Iſaac?* Had, indeed, the ſacred Writer been ſpeaking of Abraham's *knowledge of Chriſt*, ſomething might have been ſaid; but he is ſpeaking of a very different thing, his *faith in God*; and only intimates, by a ſtrong expreſſion, what he underſtood that action to be, which he gives, as an inſtance of the moſt illuſtrious act of *faith*. I ſay, had this been the caſe, ſomething might have been ſaid; ſomething, I mean, juſt to keep him in countenance; yet ſtill, nothing to the purpoſe, as I ſhall now ſhew. The tranſaction of the Sacrifice of Chriſt related to GOD. The *figure* of that tranſaction, in the command to offer Iſaac, related (according to my interpretation) to ABRAHAM. Now, it was God who received Chriſt; as it was Abraham who received the type or figure of Chriſt, in Iſaac. To tell us then, that (according to my interpretation) it SHOULD *have been ſaid, that Abraham received* CHRIST *from the dead in a figure*, is, in effect, telling us that he knows no more of logical expreſſion than of theological reaſoning. It is true, could he ſhew the expreſſion improper, in the ſenſe which I give to the tranſaction, he would then ſpeak a little to the purpoſe; and this, to do him juſtice, is what he would fain be at.——"For, Chriſt "it was, according to your interpretation, (ſays he) that was received "from the dead in a figure, by Iſaac his Repreſentative, who really came "alive from the mount. If the reading had been, not ἐν παραβολῇ, but "εἰς παραβολήν, it would have ſuited your notion; for it might properly "have been ſaid, that Iſaac came alive from the mount *as* a figure, or *that he might be* a figure, of the Reſurrection of Chriſt." [Conſid. p. 147.] Miſerable chicane! As, on the one hand, I might ſay with propriety, that CHRIST *was received from the dead in a figure*, i. e. BY a repreſentative: ſo on the other, I might ſay that ISAAC *was received from the dead in a figure*, i. e. AS a repreſentative? For Iſaac ſuſtaining the perſon of Chriſt, who was raiſed from the dead, might *in a figure*, i. e. as that perſon, be ſaid to be received: yet this our Examiner denies, and tells us, the Apoſtle

SHOULD

SHOULD *have ſaid that Abraham received* CHRIST, and not ISAAC.—" But " (adds he) if the reading had been not ἐν Παραβολῇ, but εἰς Παραβολὴν, it " would have ſuited your notion." And the reaſon he gives, is this: " For it might properly have been ſaid that Iſaac came alive from the " mount AS a figure, or THAT HE MIGHT BE a figure of the reſurrection of " Chriſt." Strange! He ſays, this would have ſuited *my* notion; and the reaſon he gives, ſhews it ſuits only *his own*; which is that the exactneſs of the reſemblance between the two actions, not the declaration of the Giver of the Command, made it a figure. This is the more extraordinary, as I myſelf have here ſhewn that the old Latin tranſlator had turned the words into IN PARABOLAM inſtead of IN PARABOLA for this very reaſon, becauſe he underſtood the command in the ſenſe our Examiner contends for; viz. That Iſaac, by the *reſemblance* of the actions, MIGHT BE, or might become a figure.

However, he owns at laſt that " a reaſon will ſtill be wanting, why, " inſtead of ſpeaking the fact as it really was, that Iſaac came alive from " the mount; the Apoſtle choſe rather to ſay (what was not really the caſe) " that Abraham received him *from the dead*." [Conſid. p. 147, 8.] Well; and have not I given a reaſon? No matter for that: Dr. Stebbing is turned *Examiner*, and has engroſſed the market. His reaſon follows thus, " If " Iſaac did not die (as it is certain he did not) Abraham could not receive " him from the dead. And yet the Apoſtle ſays, he received him *from* " *the dead*. The clearing up this difficulty will ſhew the true ſenſe of the " paſſage." [Conſid. p. 147, 148.] What, will the clearing up a difficulty of his own making diſcover the true ſenſe of another man's writing? This is one of his new improvements in Logic; in which, as in Arithmetic, he has invented a *rule of falſe*, to diſcover an unknown truth. For there is none of this difficulty in the ſacred Text; it is not there (as in our Examiner) ſaid ſimply, that *Abraham received Iſaac from the dead*, but that he *received him from the dead* IN A FIGURE, or under the aſſumed perſonage of *Chriſt*. Now if *Chriſt* died, then he, who aſſumed his perſonage, in order to repreſent his paſſion and reſurrection, might ſurely be ſaid to be *received from the dead in a figure*. A wonderful *difficulty* truly! and we ſhall ſee, as wonderfully ſolved;—by a conundrum! But with propriety enough. For as a real difficulty requires ſenſe and criticiſm to reſolve it, an imaginary one may be well enough managed by a quibble.——Becauſe the tranſlators of St. Mark's Goſpel have rendered ἐν τοίᾳ παραβολῇ by, *with*

what

what compariſon ſhall we compare it, therefore, ἐν παραβολῇ, in the text in queſtion, ſignifies COMPARATIVELY SPEAKING. But no words can ſhew him like his own——" The Apoſtle does not ſay *ſimply and abſolutely*, that " Abraham received Iſaac from the dead; but that he received him from the " dead ἐν παραβολῇ, *in a parable*." See here now! Did not I tell you ſo? There was no difficulty all this while: The ſentence only opened to the right and left to let in a bluſtering objection, which is no ſooner evaporated than it cloſes again as before. *It was not ſimply ſaid*—No. " But that he " received him—ἐν παραβολῇ, *in a parable*, i. e. *in a compariſon*, or *by com-* " *pariſon*. Thus the word is uſed, Mark iv. 30. *Whereunto ſhall we liken* " *the kingdom of God, or with what* COMPARISON [ἐν ποίᾳ παραβολῇ] *ſhall* " *we compare it*. The meaning then may be, that Abraham's receiving Iſaac " alive (after his death was denounced) by the revocation of the com- " mand; was AS IF HE HAD received him from the dead. Thus ſeveral " Interpreters underſtand the place. Or it may be, as others will have it, " that the Apoſtle here refers to the birth of Iſaac; which was [ἐν παρα- " βολῇ] COMPARATIVELY SPEAKING, a receiving him from the dead; his " father being old, and his mother paſt the age of child-bearing, on which " account the Apoſtle ſtyles them both *dead*. Which interpretation, I the " rather approve, becauſe it ſuggeſts the proper grounds of Abraham's " faith." [Conſid. p. 148, 149.]

He ſays, ἐν παραβολῇ ſignifies *in or by compariſon*; and that the word is ſo uſed in St. Mark; to prove which, he quotes the Engliſh tranſlation. Now I muſt take the liberty to tell him, that the tranſlators were miſtaken; and he with them. Παραβολῇ, in St. Mark, is not uſed in the ſenſe of a *ſimilitude* or *compariſon*, but of a *parable*. The ancients had two ways of illuſtrating the things they inforced; the one was by a *parable*, the other by a ſimple *compariſon* or *ſimile*: how the latter of theſe aroſe out of the former I have ſhewn in the third Volume. Here, both theſe modes of illuſtration are referred to; which ſhould have been tranſlated thus, *To what ſhall we* COMPARE *the kingdom of God, or with what* PARABLE *ſhall we illuſtrate or parabolize it*.—ὁμοιώσωμεν — παραβάλωμεν— which words expreſs two different and well-known modes of illuſtration.

But now ſuppoſe ἐν ποίᾳ παραβολῇ had ſignified *with what compariſon*: How comes it to paſs that ἐν παραβολῇ ſhould ſignify *by compariſon*, or *as it were*, or COMPARATIVELY SPEAKING? In plain truth, his critical analogy has ended in a pleaſant blunder. How ſo? you will aſk. Nay, 'tis true there's

there's no denying, but that *ſpeaking by compariſon* is *comparatively ſpeaking*; and, if men will put another ſenſe upon it, who can help that? they ſay, *comparatively ſpeaking* ſignifies the ſpeaking looſely, inaccurately, and incorrectly. But was it for our Doctor to put his reader in mind of ſuch kind of ſpeakers? But the charge of a blunder, an innocent miſhap, I am ready to retract; for I obſerve him to go into it with much artful preparation; a circumſtance which by no means marks that genuine turn of mind, which is quick and ſudden, and over head and ears, in an inſtant: He begins with explaining,—*in a compariſon*, by—*by compariſon*: where you juſt get the firſt glimpſe, as it were, of an enaſcent equivocation; and his *by compariſon* is preſently afterwards turned into as *it were*, or *as if he had*; and then, *comparatively ſpeaking* brings up the rear, and cloſes the criticiſm three deep.

P. 396. [ZZ]. Dr. Stebbing goes on as uſual——"In ſhort, Sir, I do "not underſtand this Doctrine (with which your whole work much "abounds) of revealing things clearly to Patriarchs, and Prophets, and "Leaders, as a ſpecial favour to themſelves; but to be kept as a ſecret "from the reſt of Mankind."———It is but too plain *he does not underſtand it*: for which I can give no better reaſon than that it is the Scripture-doctrine, and not the doctrine of Summs and Syſtems. "I have been "*uſed* (ſays he) to conſider perſons under this character, as appointed, "not for themſelves, but for others; and therefore to conclude that "WHATEVER was clearly revealed to them, concerning God's Diſpenſa-"tions, was ſo revealed in order to be communicated to others *." This is the old ſophiſm; "That, becauſe Perſons act and are employed for others; therefore, they do nothing, and have nothing done for themſelves." When God ſaid, *Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do?* was not this ſaid to, and for himſelf?—But he has another to match it, "That whatever was clearly revealed *to the Prophets*, was ſo revealed, in order to be communicated to others." Here then, a little Scripture-doctrine will do him no harm. Did Moſes communicate all he knew to the Jews, concerning the *Chriſtian Diſpenſation*; which the Author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews tells us was clearly revealed to him in the mount?—*Prieſts* (ſays he) *that offer gifts according to the Law, who ſerve unto the example and ſhadow of heavenly things, as Moſes was admoniſhed of God when*

* Conſid. p. 155, 156.

he was about to make the Tabernacle *. Again, We find that Ezekiel, on his being called out, upon his miſſion, ſaw (what the author of Eccleſiaſticus calls) *the glorious viſion*; and had (as appears from the allegory of the roll of a book) a full interpretation thereof. Yet, notwithſtanding all his illumination, he was directed by God to ſpeak ſo obſcurely to the People, that he found cauſe to complain,—*Ah Lord, they ſay of me! Doth he not ſpeak parables* †*?* And now let him aſk the Prophets in the ſame magiſterial language he is accuſtomed to examine me, *Was there any good uſe you could make of your knowledge, that the People of God might not have made of it as well as you?*—But this very Diſpenſation is alluded to, and continued, under the kingdom of Chriſt. *And his Diſciples aſked him ſaying, What might this parable be?* And he ſaid, *Unto you it is given to know the myſteries of the kingdom of God: But to others, in parables; that ſeeing they might not ſee, and hearing they might not underſtand* ‡. Again, St. John in his viſions tells us,—*And when the ſeven thunders had uttered their voices, I was about to write. And I heard a voice from heaven ſaying unto me,* SEAL UP *thoſe things which the ſeven thunders uttered, and* WRITE THEM NOT. Rev. x. 4. And now, reader, I ſhall try his gratitude!—"If you can ſhew, *(ſays he)* that I am miſtaken in this, pray do it, and "I ſhall be obliged to you §." You ſee, I have taken him at his word. And it was well I did; for it was no ſooner out of his mouth, than, as if he had repented, not of his candour, but his confidence, he immediately cries, Hold——and tells me, "I might have ſpared myſelf in aſking "another queſtion, *Why, if Revelations cannot be clearly recorded, are "they recorded at all* ‖*?*" But, great *Defender of the Faith!*—of the ancient Jewiſh Church, I mean, I aſked that queſtion, becauſe the anſwer to it ſhews how much you are miſtaken; as the intelligent Reader, by this time, eaſily perceives. But why does he ſay I might have *ſpared that queſtion?*—Becauſe "if a Revelation is not clearly given, it cannot "be clearly recorded **." Did I ſay it could? Or will he ſay, that there are no reaſons why a Revelation, that is clearly given, ſhould be obſcurely recorded? To what purpoſe then, was the obſervation made? Made? why to introduce another: for, with our equivocal Examiner, the corruption of argument is the generation of cavil.—"And yet *(ſays he)*

* Heb. viii 4, 5. † Ezek. xx. 49. ‡ Luke viii. 9, 10.
§ Conſid. p. 156. ‖ Ibid. p. 156. ** Ibid. p. 156.

" *he)* as YOU INTIMATE, there may be reaſons why an OBSCURE REVELA-" TION ſhould be recorded, to wit, for the inſtruction of future ages, " when, the obſcurity being cleared up by the event, it ſhall appear, that " it was foreſeen and fore-ordained in the knowledge and appointment of " God *." If thou wilt believe me, Reader, I never *intimated* any thing ſo abſurd.

What I *intimated* was not concerning an *obſcure Revelation*, but a *Revelation obſcurely recorded*. Theſe are very different things, as appears from hence, that the latter may be a *clear Revelation*; the word being relative to him to whom the Revelation was made. But this is a peccadillo only. However he approves the reaſon of *recording:* for that, thereby, " it ſhall appear, that IT was foreſeen and foreordained by God." IT,—What? The *obſcure Revelation*, according to grammatical conſtruction: but, in his Engliſh, I ſuppoſe, IT ſtands for the *fact revealed*. Well then; from the recording of an obſcure revelation, he ſays it will appear, when the foretold fact happens, that it was foreſeen and pre-ordained by God. This too he tells the reader I *intimated*; but ſure, the Reader can never think me ſo ſilly: For every fact, whether prefigured and foretold, or not prefigured and foretold, muſt needs have been foreſeen and pre-ordained by God. Now, whether we are to aſcribe this to exactneſs, or to inaccuracy, of expreſſion, is hard to ſay. For I find him a great maſter in that ſpecies of compoſition which a celebrated French-Writer, in his encomium on the *Revelation*, calls, *en clarté noire*. However, think what we will of his head, his heart lies too open to be misjudged of.

P. 397. [AAA]. This infidel objection, the Reader ſees, conſiſts of two parts: the one, that Abraham muſt needs doubt of the Author of the Command: the other, that he would be miſled, by conceiving amiſs of his Attributes, to believe *human ſacrifices* were grateful to him. Dr. Stebbing, who will leave nothing *unanſwered*, will needs anſwer this; [Conſid. p. 158, 160.] To the firſt part he replies, partly by the aſſiſtance I myſelf had given him, (where I took notice of what might be urged by Believers, as of *great weight and validity*) and partly from what he had picked up elſewhere. But here I ſhall avoid imitating his example, who, in ſpite to the Author of arguments profeſſedly brought in ſupport of Religion, ſtrives, with all his might, to ſhew their invalidity;

* Conſid. p. 156.

an employment, one would think, little becoming a Chriſtian Divine. If the common arguments againſt the objection, here urged by him with great pomp, have any weak parts, I ſhall leave them to Unbelievers to find out—I have the more reaſon likewiſe to truſt them to their own *weight*, both becauſe they are none of his, and becauſe I have acknowledged their validity. For which acknowledgment, all I get is this—*Whether you had owned this or not* (ſays he) *I ſhould have taken upon myſelf the proof.* Whereas, all that he has *taken* is the property of other Writers; made his own, indeed, by a weak and an imperfect repreſentation.—But his anſwer to the ſecond part of the infidel objection muſt not be paſſed over ſo ſlightly. "As to the latter part of the objection (ſays he) that "*from this command, Abraham and his family muſt needs have thought human* "*ſacrifices acceptable to God*; the revoking the command at laſt was a ſuf- "ficient guard againſt any ſuch conſtruction. To this you make the Un- "believer anſwer; *No, becauſe the action having been commanded ought to* "*have been condemned*; *and a ſimple revocation was no condemnation.* But "why was not the revocation of the Command, in this caſe, a condemna- "tion of the action? If I ſhould tempt you to go and kill your next neigh- "bour, and afterwards come and deſire you not to do it; would not this "after-declaration be as good an evidence of my diſlike to the action, as "the firſt was of my approbation of it? Yes, and a much better, as it "may be preſumed to have been the reſult of maturer deliberation. "Now, though deliberation and after-thought are not incident to God; "yet as God in this caſe condeſcended (as you ſay, and very truly) to "act after the manner of men; the ſame conſtruction ſhould be put upon "his actions, as are uſually put upon the actions of men in like caſes." [Conſid. p. 160, 161.] Now, though, as was ſaid above, I would pay all decent regard becoming a friend of Revelation, to the common arguments of others in its defence, yet I muſt not betray my own. I confeſſed they had great *weight and validity*; yet, at the ſame time, I aſſerted, they were attended with *inſuperable difficulties*. And while I ſo think, I muſt beg leave to inforce my reaſons for this opinion; and, I hope without offence; as the arguments, I am now about to examine, are purely this Writer's own. And the Reader, by this time, has ſeen too much of him to be apprehenſive, that the leſſening his Authority will be attended with any great diſſervice to Religion.

I had

I had obſerved, that the reaſonings of Unbelievers on this caſe, as it is commonly explained, were not devoid of all plauſibility, when they proceeded thus,—"That as Abraham lived amongſt Heathens, whoſe higheſt act of divine worſhip was *human ſacrifices*; if God had commanded that Act, and, on the point of performance, only remitted it as a favour, (and ſo it is repreſented;) without declaring the iniquity of the practice, when addreſſed to Idols; or his abhorrence of it, when directed to himſelf; the Family muſt have been miſled in their ideas concerning the moral rectitude of that ſpecies of religious worſhip: Therefore, God, in theſe circumſtances, had he commanded the action as a *trial only*, would have explicitly condemned that mode of worſhip, as immoral. But he is not repreſented as condemning, but as remitting it for a *favour*: Conſequently, ſay the Unbelievers, God did not command the action at all."—To this our Examiner replies, —*But why? Was not the revocation of the command, a condemnation of the action? If I ſhould tempt you to go and kill your next neighbour, and afterwards come and* DESIRE *you not to do it, would not this after-declaration be as good an evidence of my diſlike to the action, as the firſt was of my approbation of it?* To this I reply; That the caſes are by no means parallel, either in themſelves, or in their circumſtances: Not *in themſelves*; the murder of our next neighbour was, amongſt all the Gentiles of that time, eſteemed a high immorality; while, on the contrary, human ſacrifice was a very holy and acceptable part of divine Worſhip: Not in *their circumſtances:* the *deſire* to forbear the murder tempted to, is (in the caſe he puts) repreſented as *repentance*; whereas the ſtop put to the ſacrifice of Iſaac (in the caſe Moſes puts) is repreſented as *favour*.

But what follows, I could wiſh (for the honour of modern Theology) that the method I have obſerved would permit me to paſs over in ſilence.—*Now though deliberation and after-thought* (ſays he) *are not incident to God, yet, as God, in this caſe, condeſcended (as you ſay, and very truly) to act after the manner of men; the ſame conſtruction ſhould be put upon his actions, as is uſually put upon the actions of men in like caſes.* [Conſid. p. 155, 156.] That is, though *deliberation* and *after-thought* are not incident to God; yet you are to underſtand his actions, as if they were incident. A horrid interpretation! And yet his repreſentation of the Command, and his decent illuſtration of it, by a *murderer in intention*, will not ſuffer us to underſtand it in any other manner: For God, as if in haſte, and before due deliberation,

deliberation, is repreſented as commanding an immoral action; yet again, as it were by an *after-thought*, ordering it to be foreborn, by reaſon of its immorality. And in what is all this impious jargon founded? If you will believe him, in the principle I lay down, *That God condeſcends to act after the manner of men.* I have all along had occaſion to complain of his miſrepreſenting my Principles: but then they were Principles he diſliked: and this, the modern management of controverſy has ſanctified. But here, though the Principle be approved, yet he cannot for his life forbear to miſrepreſent it: So bad a thing is an evil habit. Let me tell him then, that by the principle of *God's condeſcending to act after the manner of men*, is not meant, that he ever acts in compliance to thoſe vices and ſuperſtitions, which ariſe from the depravity of human Will; but in conformity only to men's indifferent manners and cuſtoms; and to thoſe Uſages which reſult only from the finite imperfections of their nature. Thus though, as in the caſe before us, God was pleaſed, in conformity to their mode of information, to uſe their cuſtom of revoking a Command; yet he never condeſcended to imitate (as our Examiner ſuppoſes) the irreſolution, the repentance, and horrors of conſcience of a *murderer in intention.* Which (horrible to think!) is the parallel this orthodox Divine brings to illuſtrate the Command to Abraham. But he had read that God is ſometimes ſaid to *repent*; and he thought, I ſuppoſe, it anſwered to that repentance which the ſtings of conſcience ſometimes produce in bad men. Whereas it is ſaid, in conformity to a good magiſtrate's or parent's correption of vice; firſt, to threaten puniſhment; and then, on the offender's amendment, to remit it.

But he goes on without any ſigns of remorſe.—" *Nor will the Pagan* " *fable of Diana's ſubſtituting a Hind in the place of Iphigenia* at all help your " Unbeliever. *This did not*, ſay they, OR YOU FOR THEM, *make idolaters* " *believe that ſhe therefore abhorred human ſacrifices.* But do not they " themſelves, or have not you aſſigned a very proper and ſufficient reaſon " why it did not, viz. that they had been *before perſuaded of the contrary?* " Where human ſacrifices make a part of the ſettled ſtanding Religion; " the refuſal to accept a human ſacrifice in one inſtance may, indeed, be " rather looked upon as a particular indulgence, than as a declaration " againſt the thing in groſs. But where the thing was commanded but " in one ſingle inſtance, and the command revoked in that very inſtance,

" which

"(which is our preſent caſe) ſuch revocation, in all reaſonable conſtruc-
"tion, is as effectual a condemnation of the thing, as if God had told
"Abraham, in ſo many words, that he delighted not in human ſacrifices."
[Conſid. p. 161.] To come to our Examiner's half-buried ſenſe, we are often obliged to remove, or, what is ſtill a more diſagreeable labour, to ſift well, the rubbiſh of his words. He ſays, the *revocation* was an *effectual condemnation*. This may either ſignify, That men, now free from the prejudices of Pagan ſuperſtition, may ſee that human ſacrifices were condemned by the revocation of the Command: or, That Abraham's family could ſee this. In the firſt ſenſe, I have nothing to do with his propoſition; and in the ſecond, I ſhall take the liberty to ſay it is not true. I deny that the *revocation* was an *effectual condemnation*. With how good reaſon let the Reader now judge.

Abraham, for the great ends of God's Providence, was called out of an idolatrous city, infected, as all ſuch cities then were, with this horrid ſuperſtition. He was himſelf an Idolater, as appears from the words of Joſhua. *—Your Fathers dwelt on the other ſide of the flood in old time, even Terah the father of Abraham, and the father of Nachor: and* THEY *ſerved other Gods. And I took your father Abraham* *, *&c.* God, in the act of calling him, inſtructed him in the Unity of his Nature, and the error of Polytheiſm; as the great principle, for the ſake of which (and to preſerve it in one Family amidſt an univerſal overflow of idolatry) he was called out.—That he muſt be prejudiced in favour of his Country ſuperſtitions, is not to be doubted; becauſe it is of human nature to be ſo: and yet we find no particular inſtruction given him, concerning the ſuperſtition in queſtion. The noble Author of the *Characteriſtics* obſerves, that "it appears that he was under
"no extreme ſurpriſe on this trying Revelation; nor did he think of ex-
"poſtulating in the leaſt on this occaſion; when at another time he could
"be ſo importunate for the pardon of an inhoſpitable, murderous, im-
"pious, and inceſtuous city:" Inſinuating, that this kind of ſacrifice was a thing he had been accuſtomed to. Now the noble Author obſerves this, upon the Examiner's, that is, the common, interpretation. And I believe, on that footing, he, or a better writer, would find it difficult to take out the malicious ſting of the obſervation. But I have ſhewn that it falls together with the common Interpretation.

* Joſh. xxiv. 2, 3.

Well

Well; Abraham is now in the land of Canaan; and again ſurrounded with the ſame idolatrous and inhuman Sacrificers. Here he receives the *Command:* And, on the point of execution, has the performance remitted to him as a FAVOUR; a circumſtance, in the revocation of the *Command*, which I muſt beg the Examiner's leave to remind him of, eſpecially when I ſee him, at every turn, much diſpoſed to forget it, that is, to paſs it over in ſilence, without either owning or denying. And, indeed, the little ſupport his reaſoning has on any occaſion, is only by keeping Truth out of ſight. But further, the *favour* was unaccompanied with any inſtruction concerning the moral nature of this kind of Sacrifice; a practice never poſitively forbidden but by the Law of Moſes. Now, in this caſe, I would aſk any candid Reader, the leaſt acquainted with human nature, whether Abraham and his Family, prejudiced as they were in favour of Human Sacrifices (the one, by his education in his country-Religion; the other, by their communication with their Pagan-neighbours, and, as appears by Scripture, but too apt of themſelves, to fall into idolatry) would not be eaſily tempted to think as favourably of Human Sacrifices as thoſe Pagans were, who underſtood that Diana required Iphigenia, though ſhe accepted a Hind in her ſtead. And with ſuch Readers, I finally leave it.

P. 398. [BBB]. "Where are your Authorities for all this? (ſays Dr. "Stebbing.) You produce none. Wherever you had your Greek, I am "very ſure you had it not from the *New Teſtament*, where theſe words are "uſed indiſcriminately." [Conſid. p. 142, 143.] *Where are your Authorities? you produce none.* This is to inſinuate, I had none to produce. He dares not, indeed, ſay ſo; and in this I commend his prudence. However, thus far he is poſitive, that *wherever I had my Greek, I had it not from the New Teſtament.* The Gentleman is hard to pleaſe: Here he is offended that I *had it not*; and, before, that I *had it* from the New Teſtament. Here I impoſe upon him; there I trifled with him. But, in all this diverſity of acceptance, it is ſtill the ſame ſpirit: The ſpirit of *Anſwering*.

I had ſaid, the two Greek words, *in their exact uſe*, ſignify ſo and ſo. Which ſurely implied an acknowledgement, that this exactneſs was not always obſerved; eſpecially by the Writers of the New Teſtament; who, whatever ſome may have dreamed, did not pique themſelves upon what we call, claſſical elegance. Now, this implication, our Examiner fairly confirms, though, by way of confutation. *In the New Teſtament* (ſays he) *theſe words are uſed indiſcriminately.* I had plainly inſinuated as much; and he had

had better have let it reſt on my acknowledgement; for the inſtances he brings, to prove the words uſed indiſcriminately in the New Teſtament, are full enough to perſuade the Reader that they are not ſo uſed. His firſt inſtance is, 1 *Pet.* iv. 13. "*Rejoice* [χαίρετε] *inaſmuch as ye are par-* "*takers of Chriſt's ſufferings; that when his glory ſhall be revealed* [χαρῆτε "ἀγαλλιώμενοι] *ye may be glad with exceeding joy.* See you not here (ſays "he) the direct reverſe of what you ſay; that χαίρω ſignifies the joy which "ariſes upon proſpect, and ἀγαλλιάομαι that which ariſes from poſſeſſion." [Conſid. p. 143.] No indeed; I ſee nothing like it. The followers of Chriſt are bid to *rejoice*, χαίρετε. For what? *For being partakers of Chriſt's ſufferings.* And was not this a bleſſing in poſſeſſion? But it ſeems our Doctor has but ſmall conception how ſuffering for a good conſcience can be a bleſſing. Yet at other times he muſt have thought highly of it, when, in exceſs of charity, he beſpoke the Magiſtrate's application of it on his Neighbours, under the name of WHOLESOM-SEVERITIES. He is juſt as wide of truth when he tells us, that ἀγαλλιάομαι *ſignifies the joy which ariſes on poſſeſſion.* They are bid to *rejoice* now in ſufferings, that they might *be glad with exceeding joy* at Chriſt's ſecond coming. And is this the being glad for a good in poſſeſſion? Is it not for a good in proſpect? The reward they were then going to receive. For I ſuppoſe the appearance of *Chriſt's glory* will precede the reward of his followers. So that the Reader now ſees, he has himſelf fairly proved for me, the truth of my obſervation, *That in the exact uſe of the words,* ἀγαλλιάομαι *ſignifies that tumultuous pleaſure which the certain expectation of an approaching bleſſing occaſions; and* χαίρω *that calm and ſettled Joy that ariſes from our knowledge, in the poſſeſſion of it.*

He goes on. "Rev. xix. 7. *Let us be glad and rejoice* [χαίρωμεν καὶ ἀγαλ- "λιώμεθα—*for the marriage of the Lamb is come.* Where both words (ſays "he) refer to bleſſings in poſſeſſion. Again, Matt. v. 12. *Rejoice and be* "*exceeding glad* [χαίρετε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε] *for great is your reward in Heaven*; "where both refer to bleſſings in proſpect." [Conſid. p. 143, 144.] His old fortune ſtill purſues him. The firſt text from the Revelations, *Be glad and rejoice,* FOR *the marriage of the Lamb is come*; bids the followers of Chriſt now do that, which they were bid to prepare for, in the words of St. Peter, *that when his glory ſhall be revealed, ye may be glad with exceeding joy.* If, therefore, where they are bid to prepare for their rejoicing, the joy is for a good in proſpect (as we have ſhewn it was) then, certainly,

where they are told that this time of rejoicing *is come*, the joy muſt ſtill be for a good in proſpect. And yet he ſays, *the words refer to bleſſings in poſſeſſion.* Again, the text from St. Matthew—*Rejoice and be exceeding glad,* FOR *great is your reward in heaven*, has the ſame relation to the former part of St. Peter's words [*Rejoice inaſmuch as ye are partakers of Chriſt's ſufferings*] as the text in Revelations has to the latter. *Bleſſed are ye* (ſays Jeſus in this goſpel) *when men ſhall revile you and perſecute you, and ſhall ſay all manner of evil againſt you falſly for my ſake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad,* FOR *great is your reward in heaven.* Rejoice! for what? Is it not for the perſecutions they ſuffer for his ſake? A *preſent bleſſing* ſure; though not perhaps to our Author's taſte. The reaſon why they ſhould rejoice, follows, *for great is your reward in heaven.* And yet here, he ſays, the words *refer to bleſſings in proſpect.* In truth, what led him into all this inverted reaſoning, was a pleaſant miſtake. The one text ſays—*Be glad and rejoice,* FOR, ὅτι—The other, *Rejoice and be exceeding glad,* FOR, ὅτι—Now he took the particle, in both places, to ſignify *propter, for the ſake of*; whereas it ſignifies *quoniam, quia*, and is in proof of ſomething going before. So that he read the text—*Rejoice, for the marriage of the Lamb is come*;—As if it had been—"Rejoice for the marriage of the Lamb, WHICH is "come:" And—*rejoice, for great is your reward in heaven*; as if it had been,—"Rejoice for your great reward in heaven."

But now let us conſider theſe texts in another view, in order to do juſtice to his delicacy of judgement. I had ſaid that, in the *exact uſe* of the two Greek words, they ſignify ſo and ſo; and applied that obſervation to a FACT; where a perſon was ſaid to have rejoiced, *&c.* In order to diſprove this criticiſm, he brings three paſſages, in which thoſe Greek words are uſed, where NO FACT is related; but where men are, in a rhetorical manner, called upon, and bid to rejoice, *&c.* In which latter caſe, the uſe of one word for another, is an elegant converſion. Thoſe, in poſſeſſion of a bleſſing, are bid to rejoice with that exceeding joy, which men generally have in the certain expectation of one approaching; and thoſe in expectation, with that calm and ſettled joy, which attends full poſſeſſion. And who but our Examiner could not ſee, that the uſe of words is one thing, in an hiſtorical aſſertion; and quite another, in a rhetorical invocation?

Having thus ably acquitted himſelf in one criticiſm, he falls upon another. "What ſhall we do with ἵνα?"——What indeed! But no ſooner

ſaid

ſaid than done. "Ἵνα *(ſays he)* is often put for ὅτε or ὅτι, poſitive as you "are, that it always refers to a future time." [Conſid. p. 144.] Now, ſo far from being *poſitive* of this, I am poſitive of the contrary, that there is not one word of truth in all he ſays. I obſerved indeed, that ἵνα ἴδῃ, in the text, *refers only to a future time.* And this I ſay ſtill, though our Tranſlators have rendered it, equivocally, *to ſee.* Yet he affirms, that I ſay, "ἵνα [ſtanding alone] always refers to a future time." That I am poſitive of it, nay very poſitive, "poſitive as you are," ſays he. And to ſhame me of this evil habit, he proceeds to ſhew, from ſeveral texts, that ἵνα is often put for ὅτε or ὅτι. "Thus John xvi. 2. *The time cometh* THAT [ἵνα] "*whoſoever killeth you will think he doth God ſervice.* Again: 1 Cor. iv. 3. "*With me it is a ſmall thing* THAT [ἵνα] *I ſhould be judged of you.* And "nearer to the point yet, 3 John 4. *I have no greater joy* [ἵνα ἀκούω] than "THAT I hear, or, than TO *hear that my children walk in the truth.* And "why not here, Sir; *Abraham rejoiced* [ἵνα ἴδῃ] WHEN he ſaw, or THAT "he ſaw, or (which is equivalent) TO SEE my Day." [Conſid. p. 144.] For all this kindneſs, the beſt acknowledgment I can make, is to return him back his own criticiſm; only the *Greek* words put into *Latin.* The *Vulgate* has rendered ἵνα ἴδῃ by *ut videret*, which words I will ſuppoſe the Tranſlator to ſay (as without doubt he would) *refer only to a future time.* On which, I will be very learned and critical:—"Poſitive as you are, Sir, "that *ut* always refers to a *future time*, I will ſhew you that it is ſometimes "put for *poſtquam* the *paſt*,

"*Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abſtulit Error!*

"and ſometimes (which is yet nearer to the point) for *quanto*——*Ut quiſ-* "*que optimè Græcè ſciret, ita eſſe nequiſſimum.* And why not here, Sir, "*Abraham* rejoiced [*ut videret*] WHEN HE ſaw, or THAT he ſaw, or which "is equivalent, TO SEE my day?"—And now he ſays, *there is but one difficulty that ſtands in his way.* And what is this, I pray you? Why, that according to his (Dr. Stebbing's) interpretation, "the latter part of the "ſentence is a repetition of the former. *Abraham rejoiced to ſee my day, and* "*he ſaw it and was glad*; i. e. *Abraham rejoiced to ſee, and then ſaw and re-* "*joiced.* But ſuch kind of repetitions are frequent in the ſacred Dialect; "and, in my humble opinion, it has an elegance here. *Abraham rejoiced* "*to ſee*, καὶ εἶδε, καὶ ἐχάρη. HE BOTH SAW AND WAS GLAD." [*Conſid.* p. 144, 145.] Before he talked of *repetitions in the ſacred Dialect*, and pronounced upon their qualities, he ſhould have known how to diſtinguiſh between a

pleonaſm and a *tautology*; the firſt of which, indeed, is often an *elegance*; the latter, always a blemiſh in expreſſion: and, in the number of the latter, is this *elegant repetition* of the Doctor's own making. Where a repetition of the ſame thing is given in different words, it is called a *pleonaſm*; when in the ſame words (as in the Doctor's tranſlation of the text in queſtion) it is a *tautology*, which, being without reaſon, has neither grace nor *elegance*. Nay the very pretence it has to common ſenſe ariſes from our being able to underſtand the equivocal phraſe, *to ſee*, in my meaning, of, *that he might ſee*. Confine it to the Doctor's, of—*Abraham rejoiced when he had ſeen my day; and he ſaw it and was glad*, and the *abſurdity* becomes apparent. For the latter part of the ſentence beginning with the conjunction completive καὶ, it implies a further predication. Yet in his tranſlation there is none; though he makes an effort towards it, in dropping the ſenſe of καὶ in the ſound of BOTH.

P. 399. [CCC]. Dr. Stebbing tells me, "there is not one word, in the "hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, to juſtify this threefold diſtinction:" and that I myſelf CONFESS as much. It is true, I confeſs that what is not in the Old Teſtament is not to be found there. And had he been as modeſt, he would have been content to find a *future ſtate* in the New Teſtament only. ——But where is it, I would aſk, that "I confeſs there is not one word, "in the hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, to juſtify this three-fold diſtinction?" I was ſo far from any ſuch thought, that I gave a large epitome * of Abraham's whole hiſtory, to ſhew that it juſtified this *three-fold diſtinction*, in every part of it. His manner of proving my confeſſion will clearly detect the fraud and falſhood of his charge. For, inſtead of doing it from my own words, he would argue me into it, from his own inferences. "You "confeſs it (ſays he); FOR you ſay, that Moſes's hiſtory begins with the "ſecond period, and that the firſt was wiſely omitted by the hiſtorian." Let us apply this reaſoning to a parallel caſe. I will ſuppoſe him to tell me (for, after this, he may tell me any thing) "that I myſelf confeſs there "is not one word in the Iliad of Homer, to juſtify me in ſaying that there "were three periods in the deſtruction of Troy; the firſt, the robbery of "Helen; the ſecond, the combats before the Walls; and the third, the "ſtorming of the Town by the Greeks; FOR that I ſay, that Homer's "poem begins at the ſecond period; wiſely omitting the firſt and the

* From p. 378 to 381, of this volume.

"laſt."

"laſt." Now will any one conclude, from this reaſoning, that I had made any ſuch confeſſion?

P. 400. [DDD]. This ſhews why GOD might ſay to *Hoſea, Go take unto thee a wife of whoredoms, &c.* chap. i. ver. 2.—Though all actions which have no *moral import* are indifferent; yet ſome of this kind (which would even be indifferent, had they a moral import) may, on the very account of their having no *moral import*, be the object of pleaſure or diſpleaſure. Thus, in the adventure between Eliſha and Joaſh, we are told, that the Prophet ſaid unto the King, "Take bow and arrows; and he took unto "him bow and arrows. And he ſaid to the king of Iſrael, Put thine hand "upon the bow; and he put his hand upon it; and Eliſha put his hands "upon the king's hands. And he ſaid, Open the window eaſtward; and "he opened it. Then Eliſha ſaid, Shoot; and he ſhot. And he ſaid, The "arrow of the Lord's deliverance from Syria: for thou ſhalt ſmite the "Syrians in Aphek, till thou have conſumed them. And he ſaid, Take "the arrows; and he took them. And he ſaid unto the king of Iſrael, "Smite upon the ground; and he ſmote thrice and ſtayed. And the man "of God *was wrath with him*, and ſaid, Thou ſhouldeſt have ſmitten five "or ſix times, then hadſt thou ſmitten Syria, till thou hadſt conſumed "them, whereas now thou ſhalt ſmite Syria but thrice." 2 Kings xiii. 15—18. Here it is not difficult to apprehend, that the Prophet, by God's command, directed the King to perform a ſignificative action, whoſe meaning GOD had beforehand explained to his Meſſenger: and, amongſt the particulars of it, had told him this, that the Syrians ſhould be ſmitten as often as the King ſmote upon the ground, when the Prophet ſhould order him (only in general words) *to ſmite* it. Hence the Prophet's anger, occaſioned by his love to his country, on the King's ſtopping when he had *ſmote thrice.*

P. 400. [EEE]. To this Dr. Stebbing anſwers, "I can eaſily underſtand, "Sir, how the matter ſtood with Abraham; and that HE was in no danger "of being miſled, as to the nature of human Sacrifices, who knew the "ſecret of the whole affair; and that it was nothing elſe but Scenery. But "how this anſwer will ſerve for *his Family*, who are to be preſumed to "have known nothing of this ſcenical repreſentation, is utterly paſt my "comprehenſion;—becauſe you have told us from the very firſt, that the "information to be conveyed by it was intended for Abraham's SOLE USE; "and I do not ſee how Abraham could open to his family the ſcenery of "the

" the tranſaction, without explaining the *myſtery*.——But is not your putting " the *Family* of Abraham, in poſſeſſion of this conſequence, a very plain " declaration, that they knew the myſtery of Chriſt's ſacrifice? Now there- " fore, Sir, take your choice, and give up one part of your hypotheſis, or " the other, as beſt pleaſes you; for to hold both is impoſſible. If you " ſay that the family of Abraham were acquainted with the myſtery of " Chriſt's ſacrifice; it will overturn all you have ſaid concerning their ig- " norance of a future ſtate: It likewiſe overturns the ſingle reaſon you have " given why the explanation (uſual in all ſuch caſes) to ſhew the import " of the tranſaction was not added, *viz.* that it was a point *not fit for com-* " *mon knowledge*. But if you ſhall chuſe to ſay, that the revelation of this " myſtery was for the SOLE information of Abraham, and that his family " knew nothing of it, the objection will lie full againſt you, unanſwered." [Conſid. p. 166.]

I had ſaid, that the command was for *Abraham's ſole uſe*; and " there- " fore (ſays the Doctor) the Family of Abraham muſt be preſumed to " know nothing of this ſcenical repreſentation:" Notwithſtanding this, *I preſume* (he ſays) *that they did know it*. Here he takes me in a flagrant contradiction. But did he indeed not apprehend that where I ſpoke of its being given for *Abraham's ſole uſe*, I was oppoſing it (as the courſe of my argument required) not to the ſingle family which THEN lived under his tents, but to the Jewiſh People, WHEN the hiſtory of the tranſaction was recorded?—And now having ſhewn his wrong concluſion from MY words, let us conſider next the wrong concluſion he draws from HIS OWN.—*I do not ſee* (ſays he) *how Abraham could open to his family the ſcenery of the tranſaction without explaining the myſtery?* What does he mean by, *opening the ſcenery of the tranſaction?* There are two ſenſes of this ambiguous expreſſion; it may ſignify, either, *explaining the moral of the ſcenery*; or ſimply, *telling his family that the tranſaction was a ſcenical repreſentation*. He could not uſe the phraſe in the firſt ſenſe, becauſe he makes *explaining the myſtery* a thing different from *opening the ſcenery*. He muſt mean it then in the latter. But could not Abraham tell his Family, that this was a *ſcenical repreſentation* without *explaining the myſtery?* I do not know what ſhould hinder him, unleſs it was the ſudden loſs of ſpeech. If he had the free uſe of his tongue, I think, he might, in the tranſports of his joy, on his return home, tell his Wife, " That God had ordered him to ſacrifice his Son, and that he had carried this Son to mount Moriah, in obedience to the

divine

divine Command, where a ram was accepted in his ſtead; but that the whole was a mere ſcenical repreſentation, to figure out a myſterious tranſaction which God had ordained to come to paſs in the latter ages of the world." And I ſuppoſe when he had once told his wife, the Family would ſoon hear of it. Now could they not underſtand, what was meant by a *ſcenical repreſentation*, as well when he told them it was to prefigure a myſtery, as if he had told them it was to prefigure the *crucifixion of Jeſus?* Had I no other way of avoiding his dilemma (for if I eſcape his *Contradiction*, he has ſet his *Dilemma-trap*, which, he ſays, it is impoſſible I ſhould eſcape) had I nothing elſe, I ſay, it is very likely I ſhould have inſiſted upon this explanation: But there are more ſafe ways than one of taking him by his Horns. "Now therefore (ſays he) take your choice, and give up one "part of your hypotheſis or the other, as beſt pleaſes you; FOR TO HOLD "BOTH IS IMPOSSIBLE. If you ſay that the family of Abraham were ac- "quainted with the Myſtery, it will overturn all you ſaid concerning their "ignorance of a Future State—But if you ſhall chuſe to ſay that the reve- "lation of the Myſtery was for the ſole information of Abraham, and that "his Family knew nothing of it, then—the conſtruction in favour of hu- "man Sacrifices muſt have been the very ſame as if no ſuch repreſenta- "tion, as you ſpeak of, had been intended." I deſire to know where it is that I have ſpoken ANY THING *of the ignorance of Abraham's Family, concerning a Future State.* But I am afraid, ſomething is wrong here again: and that, by *Abraham's Family*, he means the *Iſraelites under Moſes's policy:* for, with regard to them, I did indeed ſay that the groſs body of the People were ignorant of a Future State. But then I ſuppoſed them equally ignorant of the true import of the Command to Abraham. But, if, by *Abraham's Family*, he means, as every man does, who means honeſtly, thoſe few of his houſhold, I ſuppoſe them indeed acquainted with the true import of the Command; but then, at the ſame time, not ignorant of a Future State. Thus it appears that what our Examiner had pronounced IMPOSSIBLE, was all the while very poſſible. And in ſpite of this terrible Dilemma, both parts of the hypotheſis are at peace. I can hardly think him ſo immoral as to have put a deſigned trick upon his Reader: I rather ſuppoſe it to be ſome confuſed notion concerning the Popiſh virtue of TRADITION (that truſty Guardian of Truth) which led him into all this abſurdity: and made him conclude, that what Abraham's houſhold once knew, the Poſterity of Abraham could never forget. Though the WRITTEN WORD tells us, that

when

when Moſes was ſent to redeem this Poſterity from bondage, they remembered ſo little of God's Revelations to their Fore-fathers, that they knew nothing even of his NATURE, and therefore did, as men commonly do in the like caſe, enquire after his NAME.

P. 404. [FFF]. " To me (ſays the noble writer) it plainly appears, that " in the early times of *all* Religions, when nations were yet barbarous and " ſavage, there was ever an aptneſs or tendency towards the dark part of " Superſtition, which, amongſt many other horrors, produced that of " *human Sacrifice*. Something of this nature might poſſibly be deduced " even from Holy Writ."—To this a note refers in the following words—Gen. xxii. 1. and Judg. xi. 30. *Theſe places relating to* Abraham *and* Jephthah *are cited only with reſpect to the notion which theſe primitive warriors may be ſaid to have entertained concerning this horrid enormity, ſo common amongſt the inhabitants of the* Paleſtine *and other neighbouring nations. It appears that even the elder of theſe* Hebrew *princes was under no extreme ſurpriſe on this trying revelation. Nor did he think of expoſtulating, in the leaſt, on this occaſion; when at another time he could be ſo importunate for the pardon of an inhoſpitable, murderous, impious, and inceſtuous city*, Gen. xviii. 23, *&c.* Charact. vol. iii. p. 124.

Dr. Stebbing will needs try his ſtrength with the noble Author of the *Characteriſtics*. For, whether I quote for approbation or condemnation, it is all one; this active Watchman of the Church militant will let nothing eſcape him, that he finds in my ſervice; nor leave any thing unpurified that has once paſſed through my hands. To this paſſage of the noble Lord he replies, " The caſes widely differ. God did not open *preciſely* what he " intended to do with theſe wicked cities; only ſaid, Judgement was " paſſed. But what has this do with Iſaac, who did not ſtand as a ſinner " before God; but as a Sacrifice, acknowledging God's ſovereign domi- " nion. For Abraham to intercede here would have inferred a reluctancy " to do homage, which would have deſtroyed the perfection of his reſig- " nation." [Hiſt. of Abr. p. 41, 42.] So, Iſaac's innocence and his *not ſtanding a ſinner before God* when he was doomed to death, makes him a leſs proper object of Abraham's interceſſion and compaſſion, than a devoted City, *inhoſpitable, murderous, impious, and inceſtuous*. This is our Doctor's HUMANITY: and a modeſt petition of the Father of the faithful, like that of the Saviour of the world, *If it be poſſible, let this cup paſs from me, nevertheleſs not as I will but as thou wilt*, would have *deſtroyed all the perfection of his*

his reſignation. And this is our Doctor's DIVINITY! Strange! that this Father of Orthodoxy could not ſee, that what might be done by the divine *Antitype* himſelf, without *deſtroying his perfection of reſignation*, might likewiſe be done, without that loſs, in behalf of the *Type*. After ſo fine a ſpecimen of what great things he is able to do againſt this formidable Enemy of Revelation; what pity is it, he was never ſet on work by his Superiors, *in a more avowed and open manner!*

P. 409. [GGG]. This man, not long ſince, wrote againſt the D. L. under the name of a *Society of Free thinkers:* by the ſame kind of figure, I ſuppoſe, that He in the Goſpel called himſelf *Legion*, who was only the forwardeſt Devil of the Crew.

P. 410. [HHH]. But I miſtake. Unbelievers, I think, are not yet quite ſo ſhameleſs. The objection, in form, comes from another quarter. It is Dr. Stebbing, who, for the honour of the Church, makes it for them. He will not allow that the words of Jeſus are of any validity to ſupport my interpretation of the *Command* to Abraham, becauſe Unbelievers will not admit the inſpiration of the New Teſtament. But what then? they have not yet diſputed with me my interpretation of the *Command*. Nobody hath done this but Dr. Stebbing. And I hope the Authority of Jeſus will ſtand good againſt him. He was in haſte to do their buſineſs for them: and, it muſt be confeſſed, by an argument that does equal credit to his logic and his piety.

Fair reaſoners of all parties will ſee, though Dr. Stebbing will not, that the queſtion is not *particular*, concerning the *inſpiration* of the Old and New Teſtament; but *general*, of the *connexion* between them; and thoſe will not be ſo unreaſonable to expect I ſhould prove this connexion, of which they aſk a proof, any otherwiſe than by applying each reciprocally to explain and to ſupport the other. If the two Teſtaments be ſhewn to do this; while on the other hand, when ſingly conſidered, and without each other's mutual aſſiſtance, they are inexplicable, the connexion between them is fairly made out. The objection of Unbelievers ſtands thus. "You pretend (ſay they) that theſe two Diſpenſations are two conſtituent *parts* of God's great moral œconomy: If this be true, they muſt needs have a ſtrong connexion and real relation to one another. Shew us this connexion and relation: and amuſe us no longer with proving the divinity of this or that

Diſpenſation ſeparately, as if each were independent on the other." I comply with their demand: And now Dr. Stebbing tells me, I take this or that Revelation for granted which I ſhould have proved. Whereas in truth I take nothing for granted but what Unbelievers are ready to prove againſt me, if I did not: namely, that between two Diſpenſations, the one pretended to be preparatory to the other, there muſt needs be a ſtrong and near connexion and relation. And if, in the courſe of evincing this connexion, I urge ſome circumſtances in the Jewiſh to ſuport the Chriſtian, and others in the Chriſtian to ſupport the Jewiſh, this, I ſuppoſe, is not *taking for granted* the truth either of one or the other, but *proving* the divinity of both.

P. 415. [III.] Hence we ſee the vanity of Mr. Whiſton's diſtinction, who is for retaining *Types* (neceſſitated thereunto by the expreſs declarations of Holy Writ) and for rejecting *double ſenſes*. "Mr. Whiſton (ſays "the author of *the Grounds, &c.)* juſtifies *typical* arguing *from the ritual* "*laws of* Moſes, *and from paſſages of Hiſtory in the Old Teſtament*.—Indeed "he pretends *this* laſt to be *quite another thing from the odd* (typical) *appli-* "*cation of prophecies*. For (ſays he) the ancient ceremonial inſtitutions "were, as to *their principal branches, at leaſt in their own nature*, Types "and ſhadows of future good things—*But the caſe of the ancient prophe-* "*cies to be alledged from the old Scriptures for the confirmation of Chriſtia-* "*nity is quite of another nature, and of a more nice and exact conſideration*." p. 227, 228. It appears, indeed, they are *of a more nice and exact conſideration*, even from Mr. Whiſton's ſo much miſtaking them, as to ſuppoſe they are of *a nature quite different from Types*. But inſtead of telling us honeſtly that he knew not what to make of them, he plays the courtier and diſmiſſes them, for *a more nice and exact conſideration*.

P. 417. [KKK]. The Biſhop of London, in his *Diſcourſes on the Uſe and Intent of Propheſy*, ſeemed to have but a ſlender idea of this *uſe* when he wrote as follows—"There was no occaſion (ſays he) to lay in ſo long "beforehand the evidence of prophecy, to convince men of things that "were to happen in their own times: *and it gives us a low idea of the admi-* "*niſtration of Providence* in ſending Prophets one after another in every "age from Adam to Chriſt, to imagine that all this apparatus was for "their ſakes who lived IN OR AFTER the times of Chriſt." p. 37. But ſuch is the way of theſe Writers who have a favourite doctrine to inforce.

The

The truth of that doctrine (if it happen to be a truth) is supported at the expence of all others. Thus his Lordship, setting himself to prove that *Prophecy was given principally to support the Faith and Religion of the World*, thought he could not sufficiently secure his point without weakening and discrediting another of, at least, equal importance,—*That it was given to afford testimony to the mission of Jesus.*

P. 421. [LLL]. This account of Types and secondary senses, which supposes they were intended to conceal the doctrines delivered under them, is so very natural, and, as would seem, reasonable, that Dr. Stebbing himself subscribes to it. And hence occasion has been taken by a most acute and able Writer to expose his prevarication, in maintaining that the Jews had the revealed Doctrine of a Future State: For the Doctor not only confesses that the Doctrine was revealed under Types, but that Doctrines, thus conveyed, were purposely secreted from the knowledge of the ancient Jews. See *the Argument of the Divine Legation fairly stated*, p. 125. And *the free and candid Examination of Bishop Sherlock's Sermons*, &c. chap. ii. where the controversy on this point is fairly determined, as far as truth and reason can determine any thing.

P. 435. [MMM]. Hear what a very judicious Critic observes of the line in question. "The comment of SERVIUS on this line is remarkable. "*Hunc versum notant Critici*, quasi superflue et inutiliter *additum*, *nec* "*convenientem gravitati ejus*, *namque est magis neotericus*. Mr. ADDISON "conceived of it in the same manner when he said, *this was the only witty* "*line in the Æneis*; meaning such a line as *Ovid* would have written. "We see they esteemed it a wanton play of fancy, unbecoming the dig- "nity of the Writer's work, and the gravity of his character. They "took it, in short, for a mere *modern* flourish, totally different from the "pure unaffected manner of genuine antiquity. And thus far they un- "questionably judged right. Their defect was in not seeing that the *use* "of it, as here employed by the Poet, was an exception to the *general* "*rule*. But to have seen this was not, perhaps, to be expected even "from these Critics. However from this want of penetration arose a "difficulty in determining whether to read *facta* or *fata* nepotum. And "as we now understand that *Servius* and his Critics were utter strangers "to Virgil's noble idea, it is no wonder they could not resolve it. But "the *latter* is the Poet's own word. He considered this shield of celestial

" make as a kind of *Palladium*, like the ANCILE which fell from Hea-
" ven, and uſed to be carried in proceſſion on the *ſhoulders* of the SALII,
" *Quid de ſcutis* (ſays Lactantius) *jam vetuſtate putridis dicam? Quæ cum*
" *portant*, DEOS IPSOS SE GESTARE HUMERIS SUIS arbitrantur. [Div. Inſt.
" lib. i. c. 21.] Virgil, in a fine flight of imagination, alludes to this
" venerable ceremony, comparing, as it were, the ſhield of his hero to the
" ſacred ANCILE; and, in conformity to the practice in that ſacred pro-
" ceſſion, repreſents his hero in the prieſtly office of religion,

" *Attollens* HUMERO *famamque et* FATA *Nepotum.*

" This idea then, of the ſacred ſhield, the guard and glory of Rome, and
" on which, in this *advanced* ſituation, depended the fame and fortune of
" his country, the Poet with extreme elegance and ſublimity transfers to
" the ſhield which guarded their great Progenitor, while he was laying
" the firſt foundations of the Roman Empire." *Mr.* HURD—*Notes on the Epiſtle to Auguſtus*, p. 68, 69, 3d ed.

P. 441. [NNN]. The Reader ſees however, by this, that he at length takes ALLEGORIES *and* SECONDARY SENSES *not to be the ſame:* In which, I muſt crave leave to tell him, he is miſtaken; *Religious allegories* (the only allegories in queſtion) being no other than a ſpecies of *ſecondary ſenſes*. This may be news to our Critic, though he has written and printed ſo much about ALLEGORIES, that is, about *ſecondary ſenſes*; as Monſieur Jordan was ſurprized to find he had talked proſe all his life-time, without knowing it.

P. 442. [OOO]. Dr. Stebbing, of this SOME (by one of his arts of controverſy) has made ALL. And charges me * with giving this as the character of *double prophecies* in general, that *without Miracles in their conformation they could hardly have the ſenſe contended for well aſcertained.* On the contrary, he aſſures his reader that no Prophecy can have its ſenſe ſupported by Miracles.—That part which relates to the Morality of the Doctor's conduct in this matter, I ſhall leave to himſelf: with his Logic I have ſomething more to ſay. The *Miracles*, which the Reader plainly ſees I meant, were thoſe worked by Jeſus; and the Propheſies, ſome of thoſe which Jeſus quoted, as relating to himſelf. But the Doctor tells us,

* See Hiſt. of Abr. p. 61, 62, 63, &c.

" That

" That Miracles are not to be taken for granted in our diſputes with Unbe-
" lievers." In ſome of our diſputes with Unbelievers they are not to be taken for granted; in ſome they are. When the diſpute is, whether the truth of Jeſus' *Miſſion* appear from Miracles, it would be abſurd to take Miracles for granted: but when the diſpute is, whether the truth of his *Meſſiah-character* appear from Propheſies, there is no abſurdity in taking his Miracles for granted; becauſe an unbeliever may deny his *Meſſiah-character*, which ariſes from Propheſies, and yet acknowledge this *Miſſion* which is proved by Miracles; but he cannot deny the truth of his *miſſion*, which is proved by Miracles, and yet acknowledge his Miracles. But more than this—An Unbeliever not only *may allow* us to ſuppoſe the truth of Miracles when the queſtion is about the proof of the *Meſſiah character* from Propheſies; but the Unbeliever, with whom I had here to do, Mr. Collins, does *actually allow* us, in our diſpute with him, to ſuppoſe the truth of Miracles: For thus he argues, " Jeſus, you ſay, has proved his Miſſion by Miracles. In good time. But he had another Character to ſupport, that of a *promiſed Meſſiah*, for which he appeals to the Propheſies: Now, 1ſt, theſe Propheſies relate not to him, but to another. And 2dly, Miracles never can make that relate to him which relate to another." In anſwer to this, I propoſed to ſhew, that the firſt propoſition was abſolutely falſe, and that the ſecond very much wanted to be qualified. In the courſe of this diſpute, I had occaſion to urge the evidence of Miracles; and Mr. Collins, while denying the *Miſſiah-character*, had permitted me to ſuppoſe their truth. Unluckily, the Doctor, who ſaw nothing of all this, takes what Logicians call the *point aſſumed*, and the *point to be proved*, for one and the ſame thing. That Jeſus was a *divine Meſſenger*, and worked Miracles is the point *aſſumed* by me; and Mr. Collins, over-confident of his cauſe, permitted me to aſſume it. That Jeſus was the *Meſſiah* foretold, is the point *to be proved*; and I did not expect that any other than a follower of Mr. Collins would deny I had proved it. But I will be fair even with ſo unfair an Adverſary as Dr. Stebbing, and urge *his cauſe* with an advantage with which I will ſuppoſe he would have urged it himſelf had he known how. It may be queſtioned whether it be ſtrictly logical to employ this topic (which Mr. Collins allows us to aſſume) of Jeſus's *divine miſſion* in order to prove his *Meſſiahſhip?* Now all that can be here objected is, that we *aſſume* one Character, in order

to

to *prove* another, in the ſame divine Perſon. And what is there illogical in this? Who ever objected to the force of that reaſoning againſt Lord Bolingbroke, which, from the Attributes of God's *power and wiſdom* which his Lordſhip allowed the Author of the *View of his Philoſophy* to aſſume, inferred and proved God's *juſtice and goodneſs*, which his Lordſhip denied?

But to ſatisfy, not the Doctor, but any more reaſonable man, I will ſuppoſe, it may be aſked, "Of what uſe are Prophecies thus circumſtanced, that is to ſay, ſuch as require the evidence of Miracles to aſcertain their ſenſe?" I reply, of very important uſe; as they open and reveal more clearly the mutual dependency and connexion of the two Diſpenſations on one another, in many particulars which would otherwiſe have eſcaped our notice: And, by this means, ſtrengthen ſeveral additional proofs of the *Meſſiahſhip* of Jeſus, on which the Goſpel doctrine of *Redemption* depends. But was there no more in it than this, The reſcuing *ſome* prophecies quoted in the New Teſtament as relating to Jeſus, out of the hands of Unbelievers, who have taken an occaſion, from their generality or obſcurity, to perſuade the people that they relate entirely to another matter; this, I ſay, would be no leſs than clearing the truth of the *Meſſiahſhip* from inextricable difficulties.—— I will now take a final leave of this *Anſwerer by profeſſion*; an Anſwerer of ſuch eminence, that he may indeed be called,

Knight of the Shire who repreſents them all.

But as he diſplays at parting all the effrontery of his miſerable trade, I will juſt ſtop to new burniſh his complexion.

I had called my Argument a *Demonſtration*, which one would think no one who could diſtinguiſh *Morals* from *Phyſics* could miſtake, or would venture to miſrepreſent. Yet hear Doctor Stebbing's laſt words,—"That "Moſes was the Legiſlator of the Jews, and that the Jews were ignorant "of a Future State; theſe facts muſt be known by hiſtory, which ſpoils "you for a Demonſtrator at once: For hiſtorical evidence goes no further "than *probability*; and if this muſt concur to make up the evidence, it "cannot be a *Demonſtration:* For Demonſtration cannot ſtand upon pro-"bability. The evidence may be good and ſufficient, but *Demonſtration* "it cannot be; *which is always founded upon ſelf-evident truths, and is car-*"*ried on by a chain or ſeries of the moſt ſimple ideas hanging upon each other*

"*by*

"*by a neceſſary connexion.*" Letter to the Dean of Briſtol, p. 9, 10. And was it for this, that this wonderful man hath written half a ſcore Pamphlets againſt the *Divine Legation*, that he could not find in it the ſame ſort of *Demonſtration* which he hath been told may be ſeen in Euclid?

P. 452. [PPP]. Nothing can be more ſimple than the principle here inforced, or more agreeable to the rules of juſt interpretation, than to ſuppoſe, that the *Language of the Law*, in the terms ALTAR, SACRIFICE, &c. is employed to convey theſe prophetic intimations of the Goſpel. The ancient fathers of the Church very improvidently continued the uſe of theſe terms, when ſpeaking of the Chriſtian Rites: For though they uſed them, and profeſſed to uſe them metaphorically, yet it gave countenance to ſtrange extravagance of Scripture-interpretation amongſt the Romaniſts. The ingenious Author of the *Principes de la foi Chretienne*, Tom. i. p. 273. brings this prophecy of Malachi for a proof of the divine inſtitution of the Sacrifice of the Maſs.

P. 460. [QQQ.] It is wonderful to conſider how little the Writers, on either ſide the queſtion, have underſtood of the *logical propriety and moral fitneſs* of Types, and ſecondary ſenſes of Prophecy.

Dr. Middleton and Dr. Sykes, who agreed with Mr. Collins in laughing at theſe modes of information, agreed with him likewiſe, in laying down ſuch principles and inculcating ſuch ideas of the Moſaic Religion, as moſt effectually tended to evince this *logical propriety and moral fitneſs*.

On the other hand, Biſhop Sherlock, Dr. Stebbing, and other advocates for Types and ſecondary ſenſes of Prophecy, lay down ſuch principles, and inculcate ſuch ideas of the Moſaic Religion, as would totally ſuperſede the uſe of theſe modes of information, and conſequently deſtroy both their *logical propriety and moral fitneſs*.——See the *Free and candid Examination of Biſhop Sherlock's Principles*, &c. chap. ii.

P. 467. [RRR]. M. BOUILLER, the ingenious Author of the *Court Examen de la Théſe de Mr. L'Abbé de* PRADES *et Obſervations ſur ſon Apologie*, having charged *de Prades* with taking his idea of the Moſaic œconomy from this Work, without owning it, goes on, in his own way, to ſhew that the ARGUMENT of *the Divine Legation*, as delivered in theſe two Volumes, is CONCLUSIVE.—"La Loi Moſaïque, conſiderée comme fondement d'un eſtabliſſement national et temporel, n'avoit que des promeſſes et des menaces, ne propoſoit que des peines des recompenſes temporelles:

aulieu

aulieu qu'à conſiderer *les grandes vues de cet établiſſement, par rapport à l'Egliſe même*, la Loi étoit une eſpece de tableau emblématique, qui ſous l'enveloppe des objets charnals *figuroit les ſpirituels*; enſorte que, en raiſonnant ſelon les principes d'une juſte analogie, la foi des *Iſraélites éclairés* et pieux, trouvoit dans les promeſſes de la Loi, *qui portoient uniquement ſur les biens preſens*, un nouveau garand de la certitude des biens avenir. Mais comme on doit bien ſe ſouvenir, que dans cette Nation, les Fideles ne faiſoient QUE LE PETIT NOMBRE, *l'argument de* WARBURTON, *tiré du ſilence de la Loi ſur une Oeconomie avenir, en faveur de la divinité de cette Loi même, conſerve toute ſa force*; car il demeure toujours vrai qu'il n'a pas fallu moins que la vertu des MIRACLES et l'efficace d'une impreſſion ſurnaturelle, pour faire ployer *le groſs de la Nation*, c'eſt à-dire les Juifs charnels, qui ne pénétroient point ces vues Myſtérieuſes, ſous le joug peſant de la Diſpenſation Moſaïque." [p. 94, 95.] And again, " Ce double Caractere de la Diſpenſation Moſaïque met ſa divinité hors d'atteinte à tous les traits les plus envenimés du Déiſme qui l'attaque par deux batteries oppoſées. Quoi? diſent nos Libertins, une Religion qui promet uniquement les biens de la Terre, peut-elle être digne de Dieu! Et lorſque, pour leur répondre, ayant recours au ſens myſtique, on dit que les promeſſes Légales qui, priſes à la lettre, n'offrent qu'un bonheur temporel, doivent s'entendre ſpirituellement; ces Meſſieurs ſe retournent auſſi-tot avec une merveilleuſe adreſſe pour vous demander comment un Oracle, qui trompe les hommes, et qui n'a point d'accompliſſement dans le ſens le plus clair, le plus propre, et le plus littéral de ce qu'il promet, peut être regardé comme un Oracle divin? Queſtion, qui dans l'hypotheſe commune, me paroit plus difficile à réſoudre d'une façon ſatisfaiſante. Mais l'une et l'autre objection tombe, dès qu'on enviſage l'ancienne œconomie telle qu'elle eſt; c'eſt-à-dire, tout à la fois comme Alliance nationale et comme œconomie religieuſe. En qualité d'Alliance nationale, ſes promeſſes ſont toutes Charnelles, et *s'accompliſſent à la terre* à l'egard des *Juifs*. Mais en qualité d'œconomie religieuſe, *eſſentiellement liée au plan de l'Evangile*, elle eſt pour les *Fidéles*, la figure et le gage des biens ſpirituels. Doublement digne du Dieu de vérité, et par *l'accompliſſement litteral de ſes promeſſes*, et par leur uſage typique, la réunion de ces deux rapports y annonce l'ouvrage de ſon infinie ſageſſe." [*Addition à l'Article* IV. p, 104.]

Thus far this ingenious Writer. But now a difficulty will occur. He owns the Author of *the Divine Legation* hath made out his point, that the Law

Law of Moſes is from God: He contends that the Author's ſyſtem is the *only one* that can ſupport this Revelation againſt the objections of Deiſts and Libertines: Yet when he has done this, he has thought fit to call this very ſyſtem, a *Paradox*; though it goes upon his own principle, *That the Moſaic Diſpenſation had a double character; that it was a national Alliance, and was at the ſame time eſſentially united to the Goſpel plan; that this double Character though not apprehended by the body of the Jewiſh People, yet was well underſtood by thoſe peculiarly favoured of God, their Prophets, and Leaders.* This cenſure, if it be intended for one, I ſay, appears to me a little myſterious. However, the learned Writer's words are theſe—"Quand *Mr. de Prades* a dit que l'œconomie Moſaïque n'étoit fondée que ſur les peines et les recompenſes temporelles, et qu'il a ſoutenu que cela même fournit une bonne preuve de la divinité de cette œconomie, il n'a fait autre choſe que ſuivre la trace du ſavant *Warburton*, qui avança ce PARADOXE, il y a déja quelques années, dans ſon fameux Ouvrage *de la Divine Legation de Moiſe*, et employa tour à tour pour le defendre, le raiſonnement et l'erudition. Notre Bachelier, auſſibien que *M. Hooke*, qu'il cite pour ſon garand, auroient bien dû faire honneur à l'illuſtre Docteur Anglois, d'une penſée que perſonne ne doutera qu'ils n'ayent puiſée chez lui." [p. 88.] Now, I have ſo good opinion of this learned Writer's candour as to believe that either he uſed the word *paradox* in an indifferent ſenſe, or that he was miſled in his Judgment of *the Divine Legation* by Mr. de Prades and Mr. Hooke: Who although they borrowed what they have delivered concerning the nature of the Moſaic œconomy from that book, which they did not think fit to confeſs, yet it is as certain that what they borrowed they either did not underſtand, or at leaſt have miſrepreſented. The learned Sorboniſt has ſince publiſhed his courſe of Theology, intituled *Religionis naturalis et revelatæ Principia.* In which, though he has conſulted his eaſe and perhaps his reputation, in tranſcribing the reaſonings of *the Divine Legation* on various points of Theology, and generally without reference to the Book or the Author; yet his affairs with his Body have taught him caution, and obliged him to declare againſt the PROPOSITION, in ſupport of which, thoſe reaſonings were employed by their original Author. For when he comes to the queſtion concerning *the ſanction of the Jewiſh Law*, he introduces it in the following manner—Quæſtionem inchoamus difficilem, in qua explicanda adhibenda eſt ſumma verbo-

rum proprietas, ne Pelagianis ex una parte non ſatis fœdus Moſaicum & Evangelicum diſcriminantibus, aut contrariis RECENTIORUM QUORUMDAM erroribus favere videamur. And ſo, fortifies himſelf with Suarez and St. Thomas. The conſequence of which is, that the two large Chapters in his ſecond Volume (the firſt, To prove that a future ſtate was always a popular Doctrine amongſt the Jews; and the ſecond, That temporal rewards and puniſhments were really and equally diſtributed amongſt them under the Theocracy) juſt ſerve to confute one another: Or more properly, the ſecond Chapter, by aid of the Arguments taken from *the Divine Legation*, effectually overturns all that he has advanced in the firſt.—See M. Hooke's ſecond volume of his Courſe, intituled, *Religionis naturalis et revelatæ Principia*, from p. 208 to 236. For the reſt, this juſtice is due to the learned and ingenious Writer, that theſe *Principles of natural and revealed Religion* compoſe the beſt reaſoned Work in defence of Revelation which we have yet ſeen come from that quarter.

THE

THE NINTH BOOK

OF THE

DIVINE LEGATION

OF

MOSES:

BEING AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN

THE TRUE NATURE AND GENIUS

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

Printed, ſo far as it goes, by the AUTHOR; but never before publiſhed, and left unfiniſhed.

INTRODUCTION*.

TRUTH, the great Object of all honeſt as well as rational Inquiries, had been long ſought for in vain. When, the Search now become deſperate, after the fruitleſs toil of the beſt qualified Sages, and of the moſt improved times, She ſuddenly appeared in PERSON to put theſe benighted Wanderers in their Way. I AM THE TRUTH, ſays the Saviour of the World. This was his Moral Nature; of more concern for us to know, than his Phyſical; and, on that account, explained more at large in his *eternal Goſpel.*

This laſt book, therefore, being an attempt to explain the true NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION; I ſhall,

1. Firſt of all, previouſly examine thoſe ſceptical Objections, which, in the long abſence of Truth, the World had begun to entertain of her very Being and exiſtence; or at leaſt, of our capacity to diſcover, and get hold of her. And theſe being removed,

2. I ſhall, in the ſecond place, lay down, under what laws, and with what diſpoſition of mind, I have ventured to uſe the aids of REASON to explain the TRUTHS OF REVELATION.

3. And, laſtly, I ſhall attempt to remove the Prejudices which may ariſe againſt any new diſcoveries in ſupport of REVELATION, which the method here employed to analyze that capital *truth* of all, THE FAITH, may poſſibly enable us to make.

* See Sermon, concerning *The Nature and Condition of Truth.*

I. That

I.

That ancient Remedy againſt Error, a *Pyrrhonian*, or, if you like it better, an *Academic* Scepticism, only added one more diſorder to the human Mind; but being the laſt of it's miſbegotten iſſue, it became, as is uſual, the favorite of its Parent.

Our bleſſed Master himſelf was the firſt to encounter its attacks, and the inſolence of that School has kept the Church in breath ever ſince.

When Jeſus was carried before Pilate as a Criminal of State, for calling himſelf *King of the Jews*, he tried to ſhorten the intended proceſs by pleading that *his Kingdom was not of this World.* But Pilate, alarmed at the names of *King* and *Kingdom*, aſked, *art thou a King then?* The other replied,—*For this cauſe came I into the World, that I ſhould bear Witneſs unto the* Truth. *Pilate ſaith unto him*, what is Truth? *And when he had ſaid this, he went out again**. For when he found that the *Kingdom* claimed by the ſuppoſed Criminal, was a *Kingdom* merely *Spiritual*, or, in the Roman Governor's conceit, a *Kingdom* only in idea, he conſidered the Claim as no proper ſubject of the civil tribunal. So far he acted well, and ſuitably to his public Character. But when he diſcovered his indifference to, or rather contempt of, Truth, when offered to be laid before him as a private Man, by one who, he knew, had the repute of exerciſing every ſuperior Power proper to enforce it, he appears, to me, in a light much leſs excuſable.

The negligent air of his inſulting queſtion will hardly admit of an Apology. — "You tell me (ſays he) of Truth, a word in the "mouth of every Leader and Follower of a Sect; who all agree "(though in nothing elſe) to give that name to their own Opi-"nions: While Truth, if, indeed, we allow of its Exiſtence, "ſtill wanders at large, and in diſguiſe. Nor does the Detection "ſeem worth the Pains of the Search, ſince thoſe things which

* John chap. xviii. ver. 38.

"Nature

" Nature intended for general uſe ſhe made plain and obvious, and " within the reach of all men."

Sentiments like theſe beſpoke the Ruler of an Aſiatic Province, who had heard ſo much of TRUTH in the Schools of Philoſophy; and had heard of it to ſo little purpoſe. This corrupt Governor, therefore, finding a Jewiſh Sage talk of *bearing Witneſs to the Truth*, (the affected Office of the Grecian Sophiſts), made him conclude that Jeſus was one of their mimic Followers. For it was now become faſhionable amongſt the learned Rabbins to inliſt themſelves into one or other of thoſe celebrated Schools. Thus the famous Philo was an outrageous PLATONIST: And Jeſus calling himſelf a KING, together with the known Purity and Severity of his Morals, probably made Pilate conſider him as one of the STOICAL *wiſe men*, who alone was free, and happy, and a *King*.

" Liber, honoratus, pulcher, REX denique Regum."

Now, as on the one hand, the Character of the Greek Philoſophy, which was of an abſtract nature, and ſequeſtered from civil buſineſs, made Pilate conclude, that theſe Claims of Jeſus had nothing in them dangerous or alarming; ſo, on the other hand, its endleſs diſputes and quarrels about TRUTH, and which of the Sects had her in keeping, made Men of the World, and eſpecially thoſe in public Stations, whoſe practice declined the teſt of any moral Syſtem whatſoever, willing to be perſuaded, and ready to conclude, that this boaſted TRUTH, which pretended to be the ſole Directreſs of human conduct, was indeed no better than a ſhifting and fantaſtic Viſion.

This, I preſume, was the light in which Pilate conſidered the SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD. Had he ſuſpected Jeſus of being the Founder of a public and a popular Religion, which aimed to be erected on the ruins of the eſtabliſhed Worſhip, the jealouſies of the Roman Court, ſince the loſs of public liberty, had, doubtleſs, made this ſervile Miniſter of Power very attentive, and even officious, to ſuppreſs it in its birth.

But

But if the ill uſage of Truth by the Philoſophers could ſo diſguſt the Politician of old, as to indiſpoſe him to an acquaintance of this importance, what muſt we think will be her reception amongſt modern Stateſmen, whoſe views are neither more pure nor more generous; and whoſe penetration, perhaps, does not go much beyond the buſy Men of Antiquity; when they ſee her ſo freely handled by thoſe, amongſt us, who call themſelves her Miniſters, and profeſs to conſecrate her to the Service of Religion? Amongſt ſuch, I mean of the active no leſs than of the idle part of the faſhionable World, Pilate's ſcornful queſtion is become proverbial, when they would inſinuate, that Truth, like *Virtue*, is nothing but a *name*.

What is this Truth, ſay they, of which the world has heard ſo much, and has received ſo little ſatisfaction? But above all, what is that Gospel Truth, the pretended Guide of life, which its Miniſters are wont ſo much to diſcredit in their very attempts to recommend? For while *objections* to Religion lie level to the capacities of the Vulgar, the *ſolution* of them requires the utmoſt ſtretch of parts and learning in the Teacher to excogitate, and equal application and attention in the Learner to comprehend. From which (ſay they) we are naturally led to conclude, that the *Goſpel doctrines* are no Truths, or at leaſt, Truths of no general concern; ſince they are neither uniformly held by thoſe who are employed to teach them, nor ſubject to the examination of ſuch as are enjoined to receive them.

Something like this, I apprehend, may be the way of thinking, and talking too, amongſt thoſe who have more decently diſcarded all care and concern about the Things of Religion.

And as our acquired paſſions and appetites have concurred with the conſtitutional weakneſs of our nature to form theſe concluſions againſt Truth, and eſpecially againſt that beſt part of it, religious Truth, Charity ſeems to call upon us to detect and lay open the general cauſes which have given birth to Men's prejudices againſt it.

I. And

I. And firſt, with regard to TRUTH in general;—of the various hindrances to its diſcovery of Men's backwardneſs to acquieſce in it, when luckily found.

The firſt and ſureſt Means of acquiring the good we ſeek, is our love and affection for the object. This quickens our induſtry, and ſharpens our attention. On this account the LOVE OF TRUTH hath always been recommended by the Maſters of Wiſdom as the beſt means of ſucceeding in the purſuit of it. Hardly any one ſuſpects that he wants this Love: yet there are few whom their confidence does not deceive. We miſtake the love of our *Opinions* for the *love of Truth*; becauſe we ſuppoſe our own Opinions, *true*: Yet, for the moſt part, we received them upon truſt; and conſequently, they are much more likely to be falſe: So that our affections being now miſplaced, they are a greater hindrance in the purſuit of TRUTH, than if we had no affections at all concerning it.

How then ſhall we know when we have this love? for ſtill it is neceſſary we ſhould have it, if we would ſearch after TRUTH to any good purpoſe. It is difficult to deſcribe what every man muſt feel for himſelf; and yet it is as dangerous to truſt our own feelings, when the Object is ſo eaſily miſtaken. However, when we ſet out in purſuit of TRUTH as of a Stranger; and not in Search of Arguments to ſupport our Acquaintance with preconceived Opinions: When we poſſeſs ourſelves in a perfect indifference for every thing but known and well-atteſted TRUTH; regardleſs of the place from whence it comes, or of that to which it ſeems to be going: When the Mind, I ſay, is in this State, no one, I think, can fairly ſuſpect the reality of its attachment.

1. But our APPETITES rarely ſuffer us to obſerve this ſtrict and rigid conduct. We ſeek the gratification of our humour even in the Laws which ſhould correct it. Hence ſo many various SYSTEMS OF MORALITY to ſuit every man's bent of Mind and frame of Conſtitution. The Indolent, the Active, the Sanguine, the Flegmatic, and the Saturnine, have all their correſpondent Theories. And from thenceforth, the concern of each is not the *trial*, but the

ſupport of his Opinions; which can be no otherwiſe provided for than by keeping the arguments in favour of them always in view, and by contriving to have thoſe of a leſs benign aſpect overlooked or forgotten.

2. Prejudices miſlead the Enquirer no leſs than his *paſſions*. He venerates the notions he received from his Forefathers: He reſts in them on the authority of thoſe whoſe judgement he eſteems; or, at leaſt, wiſhes well to them for the ſake of the honours or profits he ſees attached to the profeſſion of them. Nay, he can perſuade himſelf to patronize what he hath once choſen, for reaſons with which Truth has no manner of concern. He likes them becauſe they are *old*; becauſe they are *new*; for being *plain and ſimple*; for being *ſublime and myſterious*; for being followed by the *Few*; for being followed by the *Many*: in a word, on a thouſand other accounts ſtill more remote from the concluſions of common ſenſe.

But then, bad as this is, ſince it is, at the ſame time, apparent, that the impediments in purſuit of Truth are not *eſſential*, but only *accidental* to the Inquiry, we may well account for our miſtakes in ſetting out; for the ſlowneſs of our progreſs; and the rubs and oppoſitions we meet in our paſſage, without having recourſe to any *ſceptical* concluſions in favour of the incomprehenſible *nature* of Truth, or the inacceſſible *ſituation* in which the Author of all things hath been pleaſed to place her. For, is it any reaſon, that becauſe ſome Truths are ſo deep that our haſte and impatience will not allow us time to ſound them; others ſo diſguiſed that our diſſipation will not enable us to unmaſk their pretences; and others again, ſo unfriendly to our prejudices as to indiſpoſe us to examine them: That, becauſe ſome errors wear ſo plauſible a face as to look like Truth; others, ſo commodious an appearance as to be readily received for Truth; and others again, ſo faſhionable as to claim all the privileges due to Truth; is, I ſay, all, or any thing of this, a reaſon for ſober men to conclude, that either there is no difference between *Truth* and *Falſehood*; or that the *difference* is ſo inſenſible that

that it will not ſerve us for a *diſtinction?* Our Senſes, in many caſes; our Reaſon, in more; and our very Hearts in almoſt all, will tell us the contrary.

II. Secondly, with regard to RELIGIOUS TRUTH. 1. Miſtaken conſtancy, or more tenacious ZEAL, make ſome men prejudiced in favour of *leſs allowed* Opinions: And the obliquer affections of avarice or ambition make others declare for ſuch as are *eſtabliſhed.* OPPOSITION likewiſe will too much diſpoſe Both, to ſupport what they may even ſuſpect to be falſe, and to ſecrete what they know to be true. This draws them ſtill further from the road of TRUTH; while all they ſeek is to be at diſtance from one another's Parties and Opinions.

2. Inveterate errors, long ſince ſanctified by Time and Authority, concerning the nature and end of SCRIPTURE, are another occaſion of the diſgraces to which *Revelation* is become ſubject.

GOD'S WRITTEN WORD is ſo commonly and ſo juſtly honoured with the name of THE TRUTH; and holy Writ in general ſo frequently recommended for its virtue in *leading us into all Truth*, that ſimple, well-meaning men have been apt to regard it as a Treaſury of Science; and to apply to it for all the principles of human knowledge. How wretchedly, for inſtance, hath the Moſaic account of the Creation been diſhonoured, by the wild and fanciful expoſitions of men beſotted by this or that Sect of heathen PHILOSOPHY, or of Chriſtian MYSTICISM! Platoniſts, Materialiſts, Carteſians, Chimiſts, Cabaliſts, and all the impure Fry of Phyſical, Philological, and Spiritual Enthuſiaſts, have found each his own whimſies realiſed in the firſt and ſecond chapters of the Book of Geneſis.

Again, how impiouſly have the JEWISH LAW and the GOSPEL OF JESUS been abuſed by Slaves and Sycophants, to find, in one, the DIVINE RIGHT of KINGS; and, in the other, the SUPREME DOMINION OF THE CHURCH.

But amidſt all this folly and miſchief, ariſing from a perverſion of the BIBLE, to ſupport human Syſtems of Philoſophy and Politics,

had men only reflected, that though the Bible tells us, it was *written to make men wise*—it addeth—*unto salvation* *, they would have ſought for the Principles of *natural* and *civil* knowledge amongſt their proper Profeſſors; and have ſtudied Scripture only to inveſtigate that Wisdom *which is from above, and is firſt* pure, then peaceable †. A *wiſdom* which, at the ſame time that it rectifies the underſtanding, purifies the heart; and ſo removes all ground of contention raiſed by a perplexed head or a heated temper.

The firſt Propagators of our holy Faith, under the immediate Commiſſion of their Maſter, were, in this, as in all other parts of their conduct, truly admirable. What they chiefly propoſed to the People at large, was the Belief of a few clear and ſimple propoſitions, as *neceſſary to Salvation:* When they addreſſed themſelves to thoſe choſen Particulars, who were fitly qualified and rightly diſpoſed, they as warmly recommend examination:—to *Search the Scriptures* ‡, and *to try all things.*

Yet the only uſe a late Writer § could find in ſo ſage and generous a conduct, was to abuſe it, in a prophane piece of drollery, under the form of a ſerious queſtion, *Whether Chriſtianity was founded in Argument or in Faith?* which, however deſigned for Wit, was juſt as wiſe as, *Whether* St. Paul's Clock was conſtructed on mechaniſm or on motion? Since, if the Clock was ſeen to have *motion*, we could not but conclude that the *motion* aroſe from *mechaniſm.* So, if the vital principle of Chriſtianity be Faith, it can be no other than ſuch a *Faith* as ſtands upon *Reaſon*, and is ſupported by *Argument.* A wild Indian, perhaps, might fancy that St. Paul's Clock was animated, and put in motion by a Spirit: And an Enthuſiaſt, ſtill wilder than the Savage, may ſay that *Faith is but the Seal of a ſupernatural impreſſion.* Yet ſurely, none but a Fool of the *old* ſtamp, or a Fanatic of the *new*, would be willing to diſcard Reason, in purſuit of his *future* happineſs, when he has already

* 2 Tim. iii. 15.
† James iii. 17.
‡ John v. 39.
§ Dodwell,

found

found IT ſo uſeful in procuring his *preſent*. For both preſent and future Good are, alike, acquired by the proper adaption of *means* to *ends*. An operation which, all muſt confeſs, the Aid of REASON only can effectually perform. Nor hath this faithful Guide of life ever afforded cauſe of complaint or jealouſy. When men, who profeſs to be under HER guidance, find themſelves bewildered, they ſhould ſuſpect, not HER, but themſelves. And, on a fair examination, I ſuppoſe, they will always find, that they have been *directing* REASON when they ſhould have been *directed* by HER. But the wayward Affections which occaſion her diſcredit, go on in their illuſions to excite our diſtruſt.

II.

Thus much for SCEPTICISM, that bane of human Science, which, while it boaſts to be the NERVES OF THE MIND *, deprives it of all its force and vigor. I now proceed to conſider the temper and diſpoſition neceſſary to be acquired by us, before we can ſafely and profitably employ the AIDS OF REASON to explain the TRUTHS OF REVELATION.

The greateſt impediment to Men's advancement in the knowledge of the nature and genius of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION hath ever been their adopting or eſpouſing ſome favorite HYPOTHESIS, whereon to erect the *Goſpel Syſtem*. For every diſpenſation of true Religion, conſiſting of *means and end*, the well-adapting theſe to each other, produceth what we call a SYSTEM.

Now this may be built either on an HYPOTHESIS, which is a *ſuppoſed* truth, or on a FACT, which is a *real* one. And the Syſtems of Theology have, for the moſt part, been unwarily framed on the former model; which, as we ſay, have much entangled and perplexed our ſearches after Truth.

Into this miſtake men eaſily fell by injudiciouſly applying, to the SYSTEM OF GRACE, the method which Philoſophers invented, when they ſet upon explaining the SYSTEM OF NATURE.

* —— ἄξθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν. Epicharmus.

They

They did not conſider that any plauſible Hypotheſis in Phyſics hath its uſe, as it ſerves to ſhew from what Laws the Natural Phænomena *may* ariſe. Nor is it deſtitute of more particular uſes; thus the *Ptolemaic Hypotheſis* enables Aſtronomers to predict Eclipſes as well as the *Copernican Theory*.

But a mere Hypotheſis, to explain *the Diſpenſation of Grace*, is not only uſeleſs, but often, hurtful.

The reaſon is apparent. It is agreed by all ſober and intelligent Naturaliſts, that God is the Author of the *Material Syſtem:* But it is the great queſtion in debate between Religioniſts and Unbelievers, Whether God be indeed the Author of the *Syſtem of Grace*.

At worſt, therefore, a falſe Hypotheſis in Phyſics only keeps hid, or leaves unexplained, the chief beauties of the *Material Creation:* And the diſgrace, to which this Method is ſubject, falls only upon the ſucceſsleſs Inquirer; becauſe every ſuch falſe or fanciful Hypotheſis carries along with it, even in the very arguments for its ſupport, the Conviction of its falſehood. But a groundleſs Hypotheſis, in *religious* matters, by affording (and it can afford no other) an unfavourable repreſentation of the moral Attributes of God (his *Goodneſs* and his *Juſtice*) becomes a fatal diſcredit to the Doctrine of *Redemption*.

Yet, at the ſame time, it is but *juſt* to obſerve, that ſuch is the fate and condition of ſublunary things, that theſe ſometimes exchange their proper qualities, and produce effects not correſpondent to their reſpective natures.

Thus in the caſe as thus conſidered, we have ſhewn how harmleſs a mere hypotheſis in Phyſics generally is, and, on the contrary, how one in Religion is as generally pernicious. Yet ſometimes we ſhall find the *Phyſical* Hypotheſis to be hurtful, and the *Religious* uſeful.

The *Ptolemaic* Syſtem, by deſtroying all that ſimplicity of *motion* to be expected in theſe Works of God, hath, along with its civil and practical uſe, occaſioned a ſpeculative miſchief; and inclined men to Atheiſm; as appears in the caſe of Alphonſus, who impiouſly

piouſly boaſted, that, had he been conſulted about the Solar Syſtem, he could have adviſed how it might have been better conſtructed. I call it an *impious* boaſt, becauſe it plainly inſinuated, that he (who had diſcovered the imperfections of the Ptolemaic Conſtruction, and was ignorant of the true) aſcribed the whole to a *blind and unintelligent Cauſe*. Again, the *Carteſian*, with his Corpuſcularian Hypotheſis, attempts to explain all the Phænomena of Nature by *matter and motion*; requiring only that God ſhould at firſt create a ſufficient quantity of each, juſt enough to ſet him on work, and then pretends to do the buſineſs without his further aid; that is, without the concourſe of any VITAL PRINCIPLE to help him forward, in an immaterial way; this *Hypotheſis*, I ſay, which, on the one hand, ſo much contributed to free Philoſophy from the nonſenſe and tyranny of the SCHOOLS, yet, on the other, produced (while it was in vogue) many rank and irreligious *Materialiſts*.

But once more turn the tables, and then, ſo ſhifting is this ſtate of things, we ſhall ſee, although we have ſhewn that, in the heights and purer regions of Theology, a *mere hypotheſis* is likely to diſturb and perplex our views, yet there is an inferior Station in that ſervice, where the Divine may employ this counterfeit of a true Theory to very good purpoſe; in diſcrediting ſuch objections to Revelation as have gained credit by our imperfect ideas of the true Syſtem of the *intellectual World*. Here a probable hypotheſis is of uſe, as it may ſerve to convince objectors, that what we find recorded in Sacred Scripture of the Origin and Progreſs of God's extraordinary Diſpenſation to Man, may be very conſiſtent with what human Reaſon teacheth of the divine Eſſence and Attributes. And the more we can frame of thoſe probable Solutions, the more ſupport we give to *Revelation*, though it be only by arguments *ad ignorantiam*.

Notwithſtanding all this, it appears, upon the whole, that a ſucceſsful Search after Religious Truths can be then only expected, when we erect our Syſtem upon FACT; acknowledged *Facts*, as they are recorded in Sacred Scripture.

For

For if the Diſpenſation, to which ſuch Facts belong, be indeed from God, all the Parts of it will be ſeen to be the correſpondent Members of one entire WHOLE; which orderly diſpoſition of things, eſſential to a religious SYSTEM, will aſſure us of the TRUE THEORY of the Chriſtian Faith.

But the *abuſe of Words*, confounding thoſe of HYPOTHESIS and SYSTEM with one another (the word *Syſtem* being a common term, which may be applied equally to an *Hypotheſis* or a *true Theory*) have thrown a diſcredit on the latter, with which the former only is chargeable. Examples of this the attentive Reader may find among the numberleſs Cavils to the Work of *The Divine Legation*.

Hitherto we have endeavoured to ſhew in what way HUMAN REASON ſhould be employed on religious matters.

But then, how far, when thus employed, She is to be *indulged*, is the next thing to be conſidered.

The three moral Attributes of the Godhead, diſcoverable by natural Light, on which men are accuſtomed to examine the pretenſions of *Revelation*, are his JUSTICE, his GOODNESS, and his WISDOM. But the Reaſoner on Religion will tranſgreſs his bounds, unleſs he confine himſelf within the *two firſt*. The evidence of this aſſertion is convincing.

To form a right judgement of the divine Attributes of JUSTICE and GOODNESS, the only *relations*, to be taken into conſideration, are thoſe of GOD and MAN. But to judge truly of the WISDOM of the Godhead, other *relations* beſides thoſe of God and Man, namely, the whole order of intellectual Beings, diſperſed throughout the univerſe, are to be added to the account: Of whom, further than of their mere exiſtence, we know nothing.

From hence it is ſeen, that we may ſafely determine, whether any thing in REVELATION contradict God's JUSTICE and GOODNESS. If it doth, ſuch Revelation is to be rejected. Not ſo, with regard to his WISDOM, therein manifeſted in any particular inſtance; although our natural knowledge of the Being and Attributes of God

God assures us, that the GREAT ALL is conducted with the most consummate *Wisdom.*

REVELATION therefore is not to be rejected on account of difficulties arising from our ignorance of *all the relations* necessary to be taken in, when we would attempt to form a complete judgment of the exertion of the *Attribute of Wisdom.*

Why this precise mode of REDEMPTION *by the death and sufferings of Christ* was preferred to all other, in the eternal purpose of the Godhead, exceeds the powers of human reason to discover; because his Attribute of WISDOM, which is out of the reach of man to apply to this inquiry, is here concerned. But when it hath been proved by *Fact*, that a Religion was revealed in which *this mode of Redemption* is employed, then Reason may lend her modest aid to shew (what a *rational Religion* seems to expect should be shewn) that *this precise mode* is conformable to all our ideas of divine *goodness* and *justice:* Nay, that it best quadrates with, as it is seen to be the propereſt means of, a RESTORATION TO A FREE GIFT, WHEN BECOME FORFEITED.

This difference, in the Application of Reason to religious matters, MOSES hath not obscurely intimated to his People; where, in his last direction for their conduct, he says, *The* SECRET THINGS *belong unto the* LORD *our* GOD; *but those things which are* REVEALED *belong to* US *and to* OUR CHILDREN, *for ever* *; and had I not observed this sage direction, but vainly endeavoured to explain Mysteries which the Gospel hath left unexplained, I should justly have incurred the Censure of Jerom to his Adversaries. *Why* (says this *Father*) *do you pretend, after so many ages are elapsed, to teach us what was never taught before! Why, attempt to* EXPLAIN *what neither* PETER *nor* PAUL *thought it necessary to be known* †?

1. The Principles, here laid down, may be of use, First, to direct future Enquirers in the RIGHT WAY; where, if, on other

* Deut. xxix. 29.

† —*Ad Pammachium & Oceanum de erroribus Origenis.*

accounts, they make but ſlow advances, they are, at leaſt, kept from wandering in the dark. For while the bounds of *Reaſon* continue unſettled, and the uſe and abuſe of this noble inſtrument of Truth remain confounded with one another, the very ableſt Seeker will be embarraſſed and miſled *. Hence it hath come to paſs, that this firſt and neceſſary ſtep in ſupport of our holy Faith, AN INQUIRY INTO THE TRUE NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE GOSPEL-DISPENSATIONS, hath been ſo generally overlooked: inſtead of which a thouſand metaphyſical ſubtilties on the *terms* and *phraſes* under which the doctrine of SAVING GRACE is conveyed, have engaged men's principal attention; while the thing itſelf, a matter of the utmoſt importance, hath been ſuffered to lie in all the Obſcurity in which old Polemics had involved it. So true hath our perverſe nature ever been to itſelf. "Hoc habet in-"genium humanum," (ſays the great Philoſopher) "ut cum ad "SOLIDA non ſufficiat, in SUPERVACANEIS ſe atterat †."

2. Another uſe of theſe Principles is to convince Unbelievers, that REVEALED RELIGION affords, and is productive of, all the evidence which the nature of the thing requires; and conſequently, all which right reaſon can expect: And that the ſtrongeſt of their objections to it ariſe from the abuſive exerciſe of our Faculties, employed on objects which thoſe Faculties can neither apprehend nor reach.

III.

But now, all PARTIES, in ſupport of their oblique intereſts, have concurred to decry *this method of Inquiry*; whereby, from the various genius, the comparative excellence, the mutual dependence, the reciprocal illuſtration of the ſeveral parts of God's moral Diſpenſation to Mankind, and the gradual progreſs of the Whole towards perfection, great diſcoveries have been made in theſe latter

* Limborch's *Amica collatio cum erudito Judæo.* † Bacon.

times,

times, by men who dared to break the barrier, which Bigotry and Superſtition had been ſo long forming, to obſtruct our views both of NATURE and of GRACE.

Theſe PARTIES aſk, How it happened that *Diſcoveries* ſo ſublime and uſeful, as is pretended, were *now* to make; when the *light of the ſpirit* was ſent ſo early, and had illuminated the Church ſo long?—How it happened, that theſe Truths were denied to the beſt times, and, after lying hid for many ages, were reſerved for the reward of the very worſt? And then, in their real or pretended reverence for *Eſtabliſhments*, concur in comdemning all EXPERIMENTS IN RELIGION.

To theſe, under their ſad ſuſpicions of the iſſue, in forſaking the OLD POSTURE OF DEFENCE, it will be ſufficient to reply,

1. That the promiſe and gift of the *Holy Spirit* may be conſidered, either as they referred to the firſt Propagators of the Faith, or as they concerned the Teachers of it, ever ſince.

As to the firſt Propagators, there is no doubt of their being abundantly enlightened for the work of their Miniſtry; whether it was in making Converts, in founding Churches, or in compoſing thoſe occaſional inſtructions, by which the Faithful, in all ages, may improve the current benefits of the ſame Spirit. As to the ſucceeding Teachers of the word, the aſſiſtance they receive from the HOLY SPIRIT, is the ſecond point we are more particularly to conſider.

Now the endowment of GRACE is, in this reſpect, pretty much the ſame with the endowment of NATURE; of little advantage to the receiver without his co-operation. God hath beſtowed upon us hands and feet, to procure good, and to avert evil; but it is to the careful and habitual application of theſe members to their proper uſes, that we owe all the benefits they are capable of producing. So it is with the free gift of the *Spirit*. It is beſtowed upon us, to enlighten the underſtanding, and to redreſs the diſ-

orders of the Will. But it does not work like a *Charm*: for if either we *neglect to employ* theſe given powers, or *will divert* them to improper ſubjects, the uſe and efficacy of *Grace* muſt certainly be defeated.

This Ordinance, in the œconomy of Grace, may receive credit from what is ſeen to have happened in the œconomy of Nature. The power, wiſdom, and goodneſs of the Almighty is ſo evident and convincing, from every obvious configuration of matter ſurrounding us, that theſe Attributes cannot eſcape the moſt inattentive, or lie concealed from the moſt ſhort-ſighted. Hence a God, the Maker, the Preſerver, and Governor of the World, is the univerſal voice of Nature.

Now Creation and Government, from whence the *morality* of human Actions is deduced, are the foundation of Natural Religion: ſo that God cannot be ſaid to have been wanting in the diſcovery of himſelf to the loweſt of his rational Creatures: Yet, though the general and obvious marks of his *power*, *wiſdom*, and *goodneſs*, obtrude themſelves upon all men, it is nevertheleſs certain that a well-directed ſtudy of the Book of Nature opens to us ſuch ſtupendous wonders of his *Power*, ſuch awful Scenes of his *Wiſdom*, and ſuch enchanting proſpects of his *Goodneſs*, as far exceed all conception of the unlearned and uninſtructed Beholder. Some faint taſte of theſe delights the more inquiſitive enjoyed very early: But thoſe who came after, by indulging too much to abſtract speculation, and truſting too little to experiment, inſtead of diſcovering a *real world*, the Archetype of its Maker, invented a variety of *imaginary* ones, all as diſhonourable, as they were unrelated to him. At length, two of our own countrymen of ſuperior genius chalked out a different road to the ſtudy of Nature, in which vague conjecture was excluded; and *facts*, verified on *experiments*, were allowed to be the only inlet to phyſical knowledge. Henceforth, Nature was ſet before us, unveiled; and her Sacred

cred Myſteries held out to the knowledge and admiration of all men.

This was the progreſs in the ways of NATURE: The ways of GRACE ran the very ſame fortune.

The great Principles of *revealed Religion* are FAITH and OBEDIENCE. Theſe, which are alone ſufficient *to make men wiſe unto Salvation*, are clearly and fully taught in the *Goſpel*. But we ſhould greatly derogate from God's *moral Government*, did we not allow it to abound in the like ſublime Wonders with the *Natural*. And to the ſtudy of the firſt, there are more important Calls, and much greater Advantages. The knowledge of God's *moral Government*, as far as concerns his religious Diſpenſations, is the duty of every man: and, indeed, the whole buſineſs of the Miniſters of his *revealed word*. So that partly, for the uſe and importance of the ſubject, partly, for the neceſſity of making head againſt the Enemies of Revelation, but chiefly in obedience to the Command, TO STUDY THE SCRIPTURES, it hath, from the firſt ages of the Church to the preſent times, been one of the principal occupations of the Learned. Yet what, from unfavourable circumſtances in the *civil* and *literary* world; what, from the varying bias of occaſional prejudices; but, above all, from the ſordid intereſts and blind paſſions of men occupied in theſe Inquiries; the various Schemes of Religion, pretended to be found in *Scripture*, but indeed, the workmanſhip of *Divines*, had diſhonoured the Doctrine of REDEMPTION near as much as the hypotheſes of *Philoſophers* had diſhonoured the Hiſtory of the CREATION. Till here again, as in the former caſe, the ſame caution and ſobriety which directed men to the true method of treating *things material*, by a careful ſtudy of the volume of NATURE, led them into the right way of explaining *things ſpiritual*, by a careful ſtudy of the volume of GRACE. So that if, in theſe times, the advances in the knowledge of God's WILL ſhould haply prove as conſiderable as

thoſe

thoſe in the diſcovery of his WORKS, it will not be beſide a reaſonable expectation; as ſimilar cauſes are wont to produce ſimilar effects.

I have placed theſe correſpondent accounts of the progreſs of the human faculties, in NATURE and in GRACE, in this neighbourly poſition, that the Reader, by ſetting them together, and comparing them with one another, may ſee, whether there be any Objections to NEW DISCOVERIES in *Religion*, which do not equally hold againſt NEW DISCOVERIES in *Nature*; of which, for their *newneſs* alone, no one ever yet entertained the leaſt doubt or ſuſpicion of their TRUTH.

For let us compare the Almighty's *diſplay of his nature* in the great Volume of his WORKS, with *the declaration of his Will* in the leſſer Volume of his WORD, and we ſhall find the ſame marks of GOODNESS to be alike conſpicuous in both caſes.

In his *Works*, a man need but open his Eyes to ſee in every Object, the God which claims his adoration: In his *Word*, the Man, who *runs*, *may read*, the Means and Method of his own Salvation. In neither caſe, is any thing wanting to inſtruct the moſt ſimple in their dependence and their duty; in which, conſiſts their *happineſs*.—For further information in the works and ways of Providence, God wiſely reſerved it for the reward of the manly and virtuous improvement of the human faculties.

It is true in fact, as hath been already intimated, that throughout a long ſeries of Ages, neither of theſe Inquirers made any very conſiderable Advances in REAL KNOWLEDGE. But it is as true, that what hindered Both, proceeded not ſo much from difficulties in the things ſought after, as from the wrong Methods employed in the ſearch. For, inſtead of addreſſing themſelves to diſcover the *true Conſtitution* of Things from the Frame of God's works, as objected to their Senſes; or the *true End* of Revelation from Sacred Scripture, as it there lies open to their Contemplation, they framed fanciful hypotheſes, out of their own ſlender ſtock of ideas;

ideas; and then, by diſtorting Nature, and wreſting the Bible awry, they forced both one and the other, to Father their own blind and ſpurious Iſſue.

But when once DIVINES and PHILOSOPHERS were become ſenſible of their wrong Courſes; and, in conſequence of that conviction, had meaſured back their ſteps; and with more modeſty and better ſenſe had renounced their fancies, and erected Theories on the real conſtitution of things; it is wonderful to conceive what diſcoveries were ſoon made in *Natural* and *Religious* Truths.

THESE TWO IMPORTANT STUDIES, therefore, being alike circumſtanced, and having run the ſame fortune, demand, in all reaſonable allowance, the ſame judgment to be paſſed on their pretences.

But Men are not accuſtomed to be thus equitable. One of the readieſt, as well as moſt impudent exploits of Prejudice, is to draw *unlike* concluſions from *ſimilar* Premiſſes.

It is confeſſed, that the book of Nature is ſo plain and clear, that every Sentence reveals and proclaims its Almighty Author: that if its more ſublime or more profound truths have lain concealed, or been kept out of ſight, for Ages, it was the fault of the inquirers, who adhered ſo long to a perverſe method of ſtudying Nature: for that, as ſoon as ever they began to ſeek a better, and to proſecute it with care and ſobriety, KNOWLEDGE ſuddenly opened and enlarged its Empire; while the blaze of light which accompanied its progreſs, was ſo far from making Truth ſuſpected for the newneſs of its Splendour, that it diſſipated all thoſe doubts which had been entertained of its obſcure nature, and equivocal Claims and Prerogatives.

But now, if we turn from the *Phyſical* to the *Moral* ſtate of things, we ſhall find, Men have drawn different inferences from ſimilar caſes.—Becauſe, in their ſearch after the higher Truths of Religion, they had been long unſucceſsful, they not only took umbrage at theſe now found, and, like ſome jewels, found too by

their

their own ſurrounding light, but conceived freſh doubts even of the moſt obvious principles which led to theſe late diſcoveries.

2. There is, yet, another ſort of Believers (and this brings me to the ſecond part of the Objection) who, from too great a reverence for things eſtabliſhed, join with ſuch as have too little, in decrying all NOVELTIES in religious Matters. Theſe men, in abhorrence of the Vanity of being wiſer than their Fathers, have, in expreſs terms, denounced their diſpleaſure againſt MAKING, what they call, EXPERIMENTS IN RELIGION.

This is ſtrange language in a Country of Liberty; and ſtranger ſtill, in an Age of Reaſon. DIVINES, it is true, have long diſputed *how experiments in Religion ſhould be made!* Some would depend on *Scripture* alone; others were for taking in, *Fathers and Councils*; a third ſort, for adding *Tradition* to the proceſs; and a fourth, for applying *raillery and ridicule* to quicken the operation. So that, ever ſince the fall of Monkery, all were for *making ſome Experiment or other*. For what is *making* ſober *experiments*, but (as hath been ſhewn) ſupporting and illuſtrating REVELATION by new Arguments, furniſhed by new *Diſcoveries* made in the Order, Fitneſs, and Harmony of God's various Diſpenſations of Religion amongſt themſelves, and with one another; juſt as PHILOSOPHERS (from whom the Word is borrowed, and we ſee how unluckily) unfold Nature by new diſcoveries, made from repeated trials on the obvious qualities and hidden Contents of Material Subſtances.

No experiments in Religion is indeed the civil cant of POLITICIANS; for *Bigotry* and *State-craft* often meet; as extremes eaſily run into one another by the very attempt to keep them at a diſtance. This, as I ſay, is one of the fundamental Articles of the Stateſman's Creed. For Religion being uſeful to Society; and yet, in his Opinion, only a well-invented Fiction, all *experiments*, that is, all ſtrict inquiries into its Nature, cannot but tend to weaken, rather than ſupport, this uſeful Ally of Civil Government. But for a Man, who believes Religion to have come, and in an extraordinary manner, from God, to be alarmed with the danger

danger of *experiments*, as if Truth would not bear to be ſeen on all Sides, is the moſt ridiculous of all panic terrors. Might we not reaſonably aſk ſuch a one, How it comes to paſs, that *Experiments*, which are of ſo ſovereign uſe in the Knowledge of *Nature*, ſhould be calculated to make ſuch havoc in the Study of *Religion?* Are not Nature and Religion both the Offspring of God? Were not both given for human Contemplation? Have not both (as proceeding from the dark Receſſes of his Throne) their depths and obſcurities? And doth not the unfolding the Myſteries of his *moral Government* tend equally, with the diſplaying the Secrets of his *natural*, to the advancement of his glory, and the happineſs of Mankind?

In a word, Had *no experiments been made in Nature*, we had ſtill ſlept in the ſhade, or been kept entangled in the barren and thorny paths of SCHOOL PHILOSOPHY; and had *no experiments been made in Religion*, we had ſtill kept blundering on in the dark and rugged Wilds of SCHOOL DIVINITY.

To conclude therefore, and in the words of our great Philoſopher—"Let no man *upon a weak conceit of ſobriety*, or an ill-ap-"plied *moderation*, think or maintain, that a man can ſearch "too far, or be too well ſtudied in THE BOOK OF GOD'S WORD, "or in the book of GOD'S WORKS; but rather let Men endeavour "AN ENDLESS PROGRESS OR PROFICIENCE IN BOTH: only let them "beware that they apply both to CHARITY, and not to ſwelling; "to USE, and not to oſtentation; and again, that they do not UN-"WISELY MINGLE OR CONFOUND THESE LEARNINGS TOGETHER *."

* BACON, *Advancement of Learning*, *lib.* I.—Could we ſuppoſe the divinity of Bacon's Genius to have been ſuch as that he foreſaw the miſerable havoc which a late Cabaliſtic Crew have made both of the WORKS and WORD of God by this impure and unnatural mixture, we can hardly conceive words more expreſſive, or a warning more awakening, than what is here contained in this caution againſt all ſuch blind Workers in dirt and darkneſs.

THE

DIVINE LEGATION

OF

MOSES

DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK IX.

CHAP. I.

I BEGAN this Work by an ARGUMENT (long ſince compleated) to prove that A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS was not taught by Moſes; but that, in its ſtead, *an equal or extraordinary Providence* was the Sanction of the LAW. And I now conclude it, with a corroboration of that ARGUMENT, by ſhewing, that *life and immortality was brought to light by the* GOSPEL alone.

From whence reſults this further Truth, That were MOSES and the PROPHETS the commiſſioned Servants of God, THEY COULD NOT, by their office, TEACH A FUTURE STATE; ſince it was ordained, and reſerved for, the Miniſtry of JESUS.

Beſides, What the LAW promiſed was to be obtained by WORKS. What the GOSPEL *brought to light*, under the name of *Salvation*, is to be procured by FAITH in a crucified Saviour and Redeemer. From theſe Truths will ariſe another proof of the *Divinity* both of the LAW and the GOSPEL.

But as all this can be ſhewn no otherwiſe, than by a diſtinct and collective view of the whole of God's moral Diſpenſation to Man, commencing with ADAM and compleated in JESUS CHRIST, I have made the NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE GOSPEL the ſubject of the Ninth and laſt Book of the DIVINE LEGATION.

Of the two immediately foregoing, namely the Seventh and the Eighth Books, the firſt of them is employed in ſupporting the MAJOR and the MINOR propoſitions of the firſt Syllogiſm: by a continued hiſtory of the Religious Opinions of the Jewiſh People, on this matter, from the time of their earlieſt Prophets (who gave ſome dark intimations of a different diſpenſation), to the time of the *Maccabees*, when the Doctrine of a FUTURE STATE of rewards and puniſhments was become National.

The other, namely the Eighth Book, is employed in ſupporting the MAJOR and the MINOR propoſitions of the ſecond Syllogiſm; in which is conſidered the PERSONAL CHARACTER OF MOSES, and the GENIUS OF HIS LAW, ſo far forth as it concerns, or has a relation to *the Character of the* LAW-GIVER.

As the main Argument of all the foregoing Books, of THE NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE LAW, has been hitherto eſteemed too Paradoxical; the Argument of this laſt, concerning THE NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE GOSPEL, it is more than probable, may be condemned, and by the ſame men, as being too *Orthodoxical:* For I have, long ſince, obſerved, that a religious Notion is apt to change its nature in the eſtimation of certain Divines, when it changes its Advocate.

Were I concerned with none but UNBELIEVERS, in this preſent Diſcourſe, my only taſk, and a ſhort one too, would be to prove the *reaſonableneſs* of theſe which I hold to be the eſſential Doctrines of Chriſtianity; for *Unbelievers* confeſs they are to be found in the *Goſpel*, but deny them to be of divine Original, on account of the ſuppoſed abſurdities which attend them; in the ſame manner that they have allowed the Doctrine of a *future ſtate* not to be found in the LAW; and therefore denied that Diſpenſation to be given by God,

God, becauſe ſuch an omiſſion, they pretend, makes it unworthy of him. This, I ſay, had been a labour both ſhort and eaſy, had I not to do, likewiſe, with a ſort of BELIEVERS, who, as they held that the doctrine of a *future ſtate* made part of the MOSAIC RELIGION, becauſe they think the honour of the LAW requires that it ſhould be found there; ſo, with the ſame ſpirit, they deny that the Doctrine of *Salvation in a Redeemer, by Faith alone*, makes a part of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, becauſe, they think, the honour of the GOSPEL requires that it ſhould not be found there.

Enough hath been urged, in the courſe of the main Argument, againſt the *firſt* of theſe perverſities: the *ſecond* will detain us longer than ſuch plain truths ſeem to require: becauſe the attempt to ſhew the *reaſonableneſs* of theſe which we call the eſſential Doctrines of Chriſtianity, will be deemed immature, till we have eſtabliſhed very clear and circumſtantial evidence of their real exiſtence in the SYSTEM: for laboured Diſcourſes have been written to prove that FAITH ALONE includes WORKS; and that REDEMPTION, according to the *Scripture doctrine* of it, excludes a REDEEMER.

I am therefore, firſt of all, to prove the EXISTENCE of theſe Doctrines; and then, the REASONABLENESS of them. In doing which, I cannot but eſteem it a *favourable circumſtance*, if not a *happy omen*, that the very arguments employed to evince the *exiſtence* of the Doctrines, do, at the ſame time, ſerve equally to ſhew the *reaſonableneſs* of them.

A JOVE PRINCIPIUM was the formulary of ancient Piety and Wiſdom, which ſerved to introduce what the Sage had to deliver, of more than ordinary importance, for the inſtruction of Mankind. But here, the very nature of our preſent Argument will, of neceſſity, lead us up to the FIRST CAUSE, the Author of all Being.

For, without beginning at the CREATION, our view of theſe things would be narrow and obſcure; and human judgment not ſufficiently informed to enable it to conclude, with any degree of certainty, concerning a REVELATION, which is the completion of

one

one great Moral Syſtem, the principles of which were laid in the diſobedience of our firſt Parents.

In this Inquiry, as in all that have gone before, *our deſire is, not to be carried up and down with the Waves of uncertain Arguments,* (to uſe the words of a great Maſter of Reaſon,) *but rather poſitively to lead on the Minds of the ſimpler Sort, by plain and eaſy degrees, till* THE VERY NATURE OF THE THING ITSELF DO MAKE MANIFEST WHAT IS TRUTH *.

Moſes, in the account he gives of the CREATION, expreſly tells us, that MAN, or the human ſpecies, was the *Work* of the SIXTH DAY.--- "So God created Man in his own Image; in the "Image of God created he him; MALE AND FEMALE CREATED "HE THEM. And God bleſſed THEM, and God ſaid unto THEM, "be fruitful and multiply and *repleniſh the Earth*, and have Domi- "nion over — every living thing that moveth upon the Earth. "And God ſaid, behold I have given you every herb bearing ſeed "which is upon the face of the Earth, and *every Tree*, in which is "the fruit of a Tree yielding ſeed, *to you it ſhall be for meat.*— "And the evening and the morning were the SIXTH DAY †." Yet, becauſe the formation of WOMAN, from the ſide of MAN, was not *circumſtantially* related till after the account of God's placing Man in PARADISE ‡, both Jews and Chriſtians § have generally concurred in one Opinion, that EVE was not *created* till ADAM was put into poſſeſſion of the Garden of Eden; for they took it for granted, that Moſes (though in a Moral or Religious hiſtory of the *Creation and Fall of Man)* had obſerved a Chronologic Order.

The very abſurdity of this Opinion renders the miſtake ſo apparent, that the Reader ſhould not have been troubled with a formal

* Hooker's Eccl. Polity. † Gen. i. 27—31. ‡ Gen. ii. 8—21—22.

§ Le Clerc ſays — l'Ecriture nous apprend formellement qu'Adam donna les noms aux animaux, entre leſquels, il n'en trouvoit aucun pour l'aſſiſter; *apres quoi Dieu* CREA *la Femme* de l'une des côtés de l'Homme. *Sentimens de quelques Theol.* p. 423.— Dr. Z. Pearce, in his notes on Milton againſt Bentley, p. 233. And Hooker, in his Eccl. Pol. Book V. Sect. 73. *Woman was even in her firſt Eſtate framed by nature not only* AFTER IN TIME, *but inferior in excellence.*

confutation

confutation of it, did not the right ſtating of the fact (ſo inconſiderable, as on firſt ſight it may be thought,) ſerve to confirm a Truth, which hath been generally overlooked, though of the utmoſt importance towards our obtaining a juſt idea of *Revealed Religion*; as will be ſeen in the courſe of this inquiry.

1. Firſt, therefore, let it be obſerved, that *Eve* could not be created in the *Garden*; ſince we are expreſly told, that ſhe was created along with Adam, ſome time before, namely, on the *ſixth day.*—*Male and female created he them.*—A declaration ſo deciſive, that the Rabbins, who will needs have *Eve* compleatly formed in Paradiſe, gathered from the Words—*Male and Female*, (uſed by the hiſtorian, where he ſpeaks of the Creation of the *ſixth Day*) that *Adam* was an *Androgune*, a double Animal, or *Man-Woman*, joined ſide to ſide*; and that the operation of disjoining them was performed in the *Garden*; where indeed Jeſus tells us, not a *ſeparation*, but a *cloſer union* commenced.

2. When Moſes gives us the Book *of the generations of Adam* †, he repeats what he had delivered before, that man was created male and female.—*Male and female created he them*, AND CALLED THEIR NAME ADAM, IN THE DAY WHEN THEY WERE CREATED ‡. Adam was the common name for man and woman; and that name was given them when the *Male* was created; conſequently the *female* was created with him.

* This Jewiſh interpretation of the text appears to have been very ancient: and to have come early to the knowledge of the Heathen-World. *Plato*, in his *Sympoſium*, brings in one Ariſtophanes ſaying, that the ancient nature of man was not as we find it at preſent, but very different. He was originally Ανδρογυνος, a *man-woman*.—This fancy affords occaſion to a pretty Fable, perhaps of the Philoſopher's own invention, that theſe Ανδρογυνοι were a kind of double-animal, joined back to back. But that Jupiter, when he ſet them a-going in the World, ſlit every one of them, and then ſhuffling the ſeparated parts well together, committed them to their fortune: and the employment of each of them being to find out its partner, the buſineſs of life was an inceſſant ſearch of every one for its *better half*, in order to be rejoined in a more commodious manner. This, ſays the Philoſopher, is the true origin of *Love*.

†: Gen. v. ‡ Ver. 2.

3. On

3. On the other hand, the ſame kind of reaſoning which concludes, that the *Woman* was not created till after the *ſixth day*, will conclude, that the *man* himſelf was not created till after that day: for, if we ſuppoſe the Hiſtory of the Creation obſerves a ſtrict chronologic Order, he was not created till after the *ſeventh day:* the ſacred Writer, immediately after recording the WORK of the *ſix days* and the REST of the *ſeventh*, proceeds thus, *And the Lord formed man of the duſt of the Ground, and breathed into his noſtrils the breath of life, and man became a living ſoul* *. Then follows the ſtory of his being put into Paradiſe—of his deep ſleep—of the Woman formed from his ſide. If, to this argument, ſo ſimilar in all its parts, it be replied, that the direct aſſertion of Man's creation on the *ſixth day* is alone ſufficient to prove that the after mention of his *formation from the duſt of the Ground* is but a repetition of, with an addition to, the firſt account; by which alone the TIME of Man's creation is to be determined: if, I ſay, this be replied, I ſhall take the benefit of the Anſwer, in favour of what I have aſſigned for the *time* of *Eve*'s creation, where I conſider the account of her *formation from the Rib*, juſt in the ſame light that the Objector ſees Adam's formation *from the duſt of the Ground*; that is to ſay, as a repetition only (with other circumſtances added) of what the Hiſtorian had before told us, of Eve's creation on the *ſixth day*, in theſe words—MALE *and* FEMALE *created he them* †.

But further, on a ſuppoſition of a Chronological Order in the relation, we ſhall be forced to conclude, not only that *Eve* was created in Paradiſe, but that ſhe was not created till AFTER *the command was given not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil*; for the *command* is found in the ſeventeenth verſe of this Chapter, and her *formation from the Rib*, not till we come to the

* Gen. ii. 7. *Philo*, miſled by the common error, that a chronological order was obſerved in the hiſtory of the *Creation*, concluded that the *Adam*, created in the Image of God, Gen. i. 27. was a different man from him who was *formed of the duſt of the Ground*, Gen. ii. 7. † Gen. i. 27.

twenty-

twenty-ſecond verſe: conſequently the prohibition did not bind or affect Eve. Yet ſhe tells the Serpent (and ſure ſhe did not pay him in his own coin) that this prohibition equally concerned both her and Adam.—WE *may eat of the fruit of the trees of the Garden; but of the Tree which is in the midſt of the Garden, God hath ſaid,* YE *ſhall not eat of it**. And accordingly, ſentence is pronounced by God upon *her* tranſgreſſion, as well as upon *his* †.

5. But laſtly, to cut the matter ſhort, the Hiſtorian expreſly tells us, that God *finiſhed the work of creation in ſix days, and reſted the ſeventh day from all his work which he had made* ‡. *Eve*, therefore, muſt needs have been created with *Adam* on the SIXTH DAY.

Two points then, only remain to be conſidered.

1. Why Moſes thought it expedient to give ſo very particular a relation of *Eve's formation from the Rib?*

2. And why he did not chuſe to relate this circumſtance in the place where he mentions her *Creation on the ſixth day?*

1. The account of Eve's formation from the *Rib* was, without doubt, given, to inform us, that the UNION of the two Sexes, for the propagation of their kind, was of a nature more noble and ſublime than the *conſorting* of other Animals, who were all equally bid, like *Man*, to *increaſe and multiply*. For as the Poet ſays,

" Not Man alone, but all that roam the Wood,
" Or wing the Sky, or roll along the flood,
" Each loves itſelf, but not itſelf alone,
" Each ſex deſires alike."——

Thus far the common appetite impells; and Man and Beaſts are equally ſubject to this ſecond Law of Earthly Beings. But, from henceforth, it becomes, in MAN, a very ſuperior Paſſion.

——" The Young diſmiſs'd, to wander Earth or Air;
" There ſtops the Inſtinct, and there ends the Care:
" A longer care MAN's helpleſs kind demands:
" That longer care contracts more laſting bands:

* Gen. iii. 2, 3. † Gen. iii. 13—16. ‡ Gen. ii. 2.

" Reflexion, Reason ſtill the ties improve;
" At once extend the intereſt and the love."

Now as Revelation was given us (amongſt other purpoſes, more peculiar, indeed, and important) to ſupport and ſtrengthen the Operations of *Reflexion* and the Concluſions of *Reaſon*, what could better ſerve the general deſign, while theſe were improving for the good of the Offspring, than to inſtruct us in this cloſer relation between the Parents, which aroſe from a perſonal Union, prior to that of reciprocal fondneſs?

But the Hiſtorian ſtill more expreſly inſtructs us in the end for which he recorded *Eve's formation from the Rib*, where he makes Adam ſay, or rather ſays himſelf—*Therefore ſhall a Man leave his Father and his Mother, and ſhall cleave to his Wife; and they ſhall be one fleſh:* alluding to what they originally were, before the ſeparation of the *Rib*.

But the alluſions of *Inſpired Writers* go further (of which I have given many inſtances) than juſt to ornament the diſcourſe with the elegance of the conceit. Their chief end is to ſupport the particular *Truth* there inculcated. Thus it is in the Text we are now conſidering; it contains an inſtruction partly declarative, and partly perceptive.—In mere *Animals*, obſervant of the Command to *increaſe and multiply*, the Offspring, when enabled to provide for itſelf, is diſmiſſed from the Parent's Wing, by an inſtinctive proviſion, which equally diſpoſeth both to a Separation. But the Reflexion and Reason beſtowed upon *Man*, which engaged the Parent to *a longer care*, in protecting, and providing for, its Offspring, impreſſeth on the Offspring, in its turn, a tender ſenſe of gratitude, and love towards the Parent, for the benefits received in that defenceleſs ſtate; and naturally diſpoſeth it to be attentive to the welfare of the Parent, when flattered by the glorious duty of returning an obligation. This might ſomewhat impede or run counter to the firſt great Command and bleſſing, which, in the infancy of the world, eſpecially, required all poſſible encouragement: Therefore, by the moſt divine addreſs it is here directed, that

that we ſhould ſuffer this tye to give place to one more important—*Therefore ſhall a man leave his father and his mother and ſhall cleave to his Wife.*

2. With regard to the ſecond point—Why Moſes did not chuſe to relate the Story of the *Rib*, where he mentions Eve's Creation, on the *ſixth day*—This may be eaſily underſtood. The Story of the Woman's formation from the *Rib* is, as may be ſeen from the ſequel of the ſtory, of ſo much concern in domeſtic life, that we cannot conceive a fitter place for it than this, where we find it, in the Entrance upon the fatal effects of our firſt Parent's idle curioſity: from which Poſterity might draw a Leſſon of great importance, viz.—the mutual obligation incumbent on each Sex, when united, to watch over the other's conduct, equally with its own; as nothing can affect the welfare of the one, in which the other will not be equally concerned; each being deſtined to bear, together with his own, the other's ſhare, whether of good or evil. The account, therefore, of *Eve's formation* was, with much art and decorum, omitted in the place where the Chronologiſt would expect to find it; and poſtponed, till it could be delivered with the advantage of being made an introduction to the hiſtory of the FALL.

The beſt Hiſtorians have, in the ſame manner, created beauties from a well-contrived neglect of the order of time.

The next thing to be conſidered, after the Moſaic account of the CREATION of Man, is, what we are told concerning his SPECIFIC NATURE.

That he was of a nobler Kind than any other of the Animals brought, at the ſame time, into *Being*, abundantly appears from the LIKENESS in which he was *made*; and from the PREEMINENCE which was given to him over the reſt. "And God ſaid, let us "make *Man* IN OUR IMAGE, after our likeneſs; and let him have "DOMINION over the fiſh of the Sea, and over the fowl of the "Air, and over the Cattle, and over all the Earth *."

* Gen. ii. 24.

Now, in what did this *image* or *likeneſs* conſiſt? Certainly not in Man's having an IMMATERIAL PART, ſince he had *this*, as the beſt Philoſophy evinceth *, in common with the whole animal Creation. And the Hiſtorian makes the *image*, or *likeneſs*, to conſiſt in ſomething peculiar to Man. Now, the only two things, peculiar to him, are his SHAPE and his REASON. None but an Anthropomorphite will ſay, that it was his *Shape*, which reflected this Image of his Creator. We muſt conclude therefore, that it was the faculty of REASON which made the reſemblance.

But further, when God ſays, *let us make Man in our Image*, it is immediately ſubjoined—*and let him have dominion* over the whole brute Creation. Now, nothing but the faculty of *Reaſon* could inveſt man with this *Dominion*, DE FACTO, which was beſtowed upon him, DE JURE.

Still further, we ſee *Dominion* was given him on account of this preeminence of being made in the image of God—*Let us make man in our Image, and let him have Dominion*—But a *preeminence*, which qualified Man for *Dominion* over other Animals, could be nothing but REASON, which he had, and which they wanted; whereas an immaterial principle, with which both were endowed, afforded no room for *preeminence*; eſpecially ſuch a preeminence as qualified Man for Dominion.

But now, the ſubſtance in which the faculty of *Reaſon* reſides, could not be a *material ſubſtance*, as this beſt Philoſophy, we ſay, hath ſhewn †. *Man*, therefore, muſt needs conſiſt of an *immaterial* Subſtance, joined to a *material*; or, in other words, he muſt be a compound of SOUL and BODY. And this ſeems to be intimated, and not obſcurely neither, by the Words of the Text; when it comes, in the *ſecond Chapter*, to give a more diſtinct account of Man's Nature than hath been given in the preceding Chapter, where He is placed, according to the order of time, in the new framed Syſtem of Creation.—*The Lord God formed* MAN *of the*

* See note [A], at the end of this Book.

† See Clarke and Baxter, as repreſented in the note [A], above referred to.

DUST

DUST OF THE GROUND, *and breathed into his noſtrils* THE BREATH OF LIFE, *and Man became* A LIVING SOUL *.

By the words—*the breath of life*, and *a living Soul*—which diſcriminate LIFE in man from LIFE in brutes, we are not to underſtand *immateriality* ſimply; ſince all animals, as we ſay, have this in common; but the CONTINUANCE of *life* after the ſeparation of the compound, in virtue of Man's *rationality*; which making him reſponſible for his Actions, may, according to the different parts in God's MORAL œconomy, require *that* ſeparate exiſtence.

But now, if it ſhould be aſked, Why this compleat expoſition of Man's Nature was not given before, in the *firſt* mention of his Creation, but reſerved for the *ſecond*, two very important reaſons may be aſſigned.

1. Had the Hiſtorian given it in the firſt account of Man's Creation, it would have had the appearance of diſtinguiſhing Man, in his natural or phyſical capacity, from other Animals; whereas, in this capacity, there is, in truth, no difference between them. Since the very argument which evinceth the *immateriality* of the *human* ſoul, evinceth the immateriality of the *brutal*. Yet, to have left no mark of diſtinction between them when there was one, had been a very faulty omiſſion in the Hiſtory of Religion. Moſes, therefore, with admirable addreſs, hath pointed out the difference, when he tells us, that *Man was created in the Image of God* †, i. e. endowed with the faculty of REASON.

2. Secondly, the place, which points out this difference, is made to ſerve for an introduction to the Hiſtory of *the free gift of immortality*. And a better cannot be conceived than that which teacheth us, that the *Subject*, on whom this gift was beſtowed, is, by the *immateriality* of his phyſical Nature, capable of enjoying it; and, by the *freedom* of his reaſonable Nature, accountable for the abuſe of it. So much is obſerved in honour of that exquiſite knowledge with which the ſacred Writer was endowed.

* Gen. ii. 7. † Gen. i. 27.

Having

'Having thus explained *Man's* PHYSICAL Nature, we come to the conſideration of his MORAL; which, hitherto, we have but juſt hinted at, in ſhewing him to be reſponſible for his Actions. Now, as this *reſponſibility* is the great Principle on which all Religion, or rather the Sanction of Religion, is founded; and as it is of the utmoſt uſe in our enquiry concerning the true nature of the GOSPEL; to underſtand what Mode of Religion it was to which Adam became ſubject, when he firſt roſe from the forming hand of his Creator, we muſt recollect what hath been ſaid concerning the TIME of his Creation, which, we ſhall now ſee, will ſtand us in good ſtead to determine this important queſtion.

1. For from thence it will appear, that the Man and Woman, the *Male and Female*, were not immediately, on their Creation, put into Paradiſe; but had a State and Condition upon Earth preceding that ſupernatural Eſtabliſhment.

That this firſt State of Man in the world at large was not only prior to, but different from, his State in Paradiſe, the Sacred Writer clearly intimates: *God* (ſays he) on the creation of Man (*male and female*) *bleſſed them, and ſaid unto them, Be fruitful and multiply, and* REPLENISH THE EARTH, *and ſubdue it* *.

But when, after they were put in poſſeſſion of PARADISE, and the *gift of immortality* was there beſtowed upon them, they were not (immediately at leaſt) to *repleniſh the Earth* at large; but to *repleniſh Paradiſe* only: from whence, as they increaſed, their Colonies, perhaps, might be ſent out to inhabit for a time, the other parts of the Earth (not, then, a vale of miſery and *death*), before they *repleniſhed* the Regions of the Bleſſed.

2. Again, at the Creation of the firſt Pair—*God ſaid, Behold I have given you every herb bearing ſeed, which is* UPON THE FACE OF THE EARTH; *and* EVERY TREE *in which is the ſeed of a Tree, yielding ſeed,* TO YOU IT SHALL BE FOR MEAT †. But when God put them into *Paradiſe*, he ſaid, *Of every Tree in the Garden thou mayeſt freely eat; but of the* TREE *of the Knowledge of good and evil,* THOU SHALT NOT EAT OF IT ‡.

* Gen. i. 28. † Gen. i. 29. ‡ Gen. ii. 16, 17.

Hence

Hence it appears that Adam and Eve had a MORAL STATE, or were engaged to ſome Religion, before their Paradiſaical life commenced, and different from it; for in the firſt, there was no reſtraint of food; in the ſecond, there was. Whether the *Religion*, to which they were firſt ſubject, was that we call NATURAL, as being the reſult and concluſion of that Reaſon with which, at our Creation, we were endowed; or whether it was that we call REVEALED, or ſupernaturally taught by God, we can only learn from Scripture. And Scripture teacheth, even by its Silence, that it was NATURAL RELIGION to which the firſt Pair were ſubject, from their Creation to their entrance into Paradiſe.

For Scripture hath this advantage over human compoſitions, that it teacheth as preciſely by what it doth not ſay, as by what it doth. In what concerns Religion, there is nothing, either in its ſilence or in its enunciation, that is ambiguous.

To give an inſtance, for the better illuſtration of the matter before us. SPEECH might be acquired *naturally*, as well as RELIGION. In this they agreed: In one thing they differed—Human Reaſon, which was able to inſtruct in both, teacheth *Religion*, or our duty to our Maker, and to each other, almoſt inſtantaneouſly: But *Speech*, in the ſame School, is learnt only by ſlow degrees. So that *Man* muſt have continued long in that brutal State, to which the reſt of the Animal Creation were, from their very Nature, condemned. Yet it is hard to ſuppoſe, that the all gracious Author of our Being would leave his Favorite Creature, Man, whom he had endowed with ſuperior gifts and prerogatives above the reſt, to ſtruggle with this mute and diſtreſsful condition, from which, unaided reaſon could only, by ſlow degrees, in a length of time, ſet him free. But this uncertainty holy Scripture removes; by the information it hath given us, that God himſelf, and not human Reaſon, was our firſt Schoolmaſter in the rudiments of Speech. The text ſays – *And out of the ground the Lord God formed every beaſt of the field, and every fowl of the air, and* BROUGHT THEM UNTO ADAM, TO SEE WHAT HE WOULD CALL THEM; AND WHATSOEVER

SOEVER ADAM CALLED EVRRY LIVING CREATURE, THAT WAS THE NAME THEREOF. AND ADAM GAVE NAMES TO ALL CATTLE——*. Here we have the moſt natural and familiar image of a Teacher and a learner; where the abilities of the Scholar are *tried* before they are *aſſiſted*. From this text, we likewiſe learn, that no more than the firſt rudiments of Speech were thus, in an extraordinary manner, imparted to Adam for his preſent and immediate uſe. He was aſſiſted in affixing *names to ſenſible things*, with which he was to be perpetually converſant. And this was ſufficient to put his *reaſonable nature* in a train to advance itſelf above the torpid ſilence of the *brutal*. Thus far was man *taught of God*. But the further extent and improvement of ſpeech, particularly in its giving *names to more abſtract ideas*, was left to man alone; which *names*, as his neceſſities required, he would invent, and treaſure up for uſe.

This difference, in the two acquirements of *Speech* and *Religion*, both of which natural Reaſon was able to teach, but not with equal facility or ſpeed, ſhews why God interfered in the one caſe, and why he did not interfere in the other; and conſequently why the Hiſtorian's *enunciation* was neceſſary in the firſt inſtance; and why his SILENCE, in the ſecond, was ſufficient to give equal evidence to what was the truth.

This (which indeed concerns the ſubject in hand) appears ſtill clearer from the following conſiderations:

1. The PENTATEUCH is a profeſſed hiſtory of God's communication with, and extraordinary diſpenſations to, Man, from the placing him in PARADISE to the giving of the LAW. We have ſeen, that Man was ſubject to a *Religion*, prior to that *Will of God revealed* to him when he entered Paradiſe. Now, were the State, under which he lived before the Paradiſaical, the State of *revealed Religion*, the Nature of the Moſaic hiſtory required that ſome account ſhould have been given of it. But no account is given. We conclude, therefore, that Man, on his Creation, came under the

* Gen. ii. 19, 20.

law

law of NATURAL RELIGION, or was, as the Apoſtle emphatically expreſſes it—*a Law unto himſelf* *. On this ſuppoſition, we can eaſily account for the *Silence* of the Hiſtorian. His Theme was REVEALED RELIGION; and to preſerve the memory of ſuch a Diſpenſation, it was neceſſary that the various modes of it ſhould be recorded. But the memory of *Natural Religion* was preſerved by an earlier Recorder, REASON: who wrote it, and continues to write it, in the minds of all Men. Of this original Record, Moſes hath given ſufficient intimation, where, ſpeaking of Man's nature, he tells, that it was created in the LIKENESS OF GOD: meaning (as hath been ſhewn) that Man was endowed with REASON. Now ſuch a LIKENESS implies his knowledge of, and confeſſed ſubjection to, NATURAL LAW OR RELIGION.

2. But it is not only from the *Silence* of the Hiſtorian, as to what preceded Man's migration into Paradiſe, but likewiſe from what he expreſsly *tells us* followed on Man's ſituation there, that we conclude, he was from his creation to this time, under the guidance of the LAW OF NATURE only: For the REVEALED LAW of God to Man in Paradiſe, after beſtowing upon him the *free gift* of immortality, conſiſts but of one *poſitive Command*, as the condition of this accumulated bleſſing: a condition very different from any of thoſe which *Natural Religion* requires to entitle Man to God's *favour*: This plainly implies, that Adam, by the Light of Reaſon, knew already the reſt of God's Will, with which, as Moral Governor of the World, he had irradiated the breaſts of all Men. Otherwiſe, had this light been ſo dim as to give no clear direction for his duty, we muſt conclude, that the all-gracious Creator would have expreſsly delivered to him a complete Code or Digeſt of *Natural Law*, at the time when he enounced this *revealed Command* in Paradiſe. And that he did not give any ſuch, the *Silence* of the Hiſtorian, in a work whoſe Nature would not diſpenſe with ſuch an omiſſion, is a certain proof.

* Rom. ii. 14.

To ſum up all in a word—Man's moral State, under the *revealed Will* of God, began on his admiſſion into Paradiſe. From which truth it follows, that, from his Creation to that time, he was under the guidance of NATURAL RELIGION.

And here let me juſt make an obſervation (which it would be a fault to neglect, though it be but one of the numerous inſtances of divine art in this inſpired Writer) concerning the different terms employed by him in defining *Man* as the ſubject of *Natural Religion*, from thoſe he uſes in defining him as the ſubject of the *Revealed*. In the firſt caſe, Man is characteriſed by that diſtinctive quality of his being made in the *likeneſs of God* *, or being endowed with REASON; the faculty which denotes him the ſubject of *Natural Religion*; that Religion which teacheth the rewards and puniſhments of Heaven INDEFINITELY. In the ſecond caſe, he is diſtinguiſhed as a compound Being, made of *the duſt of the earth, and the breath of life* †, which marks him out for the adequate ſubject of that other Religion, denouncing *death* and *immortality* DEFINITELY.

To proceed.—This *natural* State of Man, antecedent to the *Paradiſaical*, can never be too carefully kept in mind, nor too preciſely explained; ſince it is the very KEY, or CLEW (as we ſhall find in the progreſs of this work) which is to open to us, and to lead us through, all the receſſes and intimacies of the *laſt*, and *compleated*, *Diſpenſation* of God to Man; a Diſpenſation long become intricate and perplexed, by men's neglecting to diſtinguiſh theſe two States or Conditions; which, as we ſay, if not conſtantly kept in mind, the GOSPEL can neither be well underſtood nor reaſonably ſupported.

So terribly miſtaken have thoſe good Men been, who imagined, that the beſt way of ſerving the cauſe of *Revelation* was to deny the very being and exiſtence of *Natural Religion*.

But if ſome have allowed too little to *this Religion*, there are others, and thoſe no declared enemies of *Revelation*, who have aſcribed a

* Gen i. 26. † Gen. ii. 7.

great

great deal too much to it. Syſtems which, however different, are yet alike injurious to the great Truth they profeſs to defend.

The one, by annihilating *Natural Religion*, cuts away the *ground and foundation* of CHRISTIANITY; the other, by giving to *Natural Religion* certain Doctrines of Perfection, to which it doth not pretend, overturns the *Superſtructure*.

Having thus ſhewn that Man lived, at firſt, under the guidance of *Natural Religion*; let us now conſider more preciſely, but with all poſſible brevity, What this Religion is, and what it teacheth.

If my ideas, whether innate or acquired, do not miſlead me, the whole of it may be compriſed in this—"That Man, endowed with REASON and FREEDOM OF WILL, is a Moral Agent, and accountable for his Conduct to his Maker; who hath given him, for his rule of Life, a LAW, diſcoverable by the one Faculty, and rendered practicable by the other.—That the faithful Obſervers of this LAW God will reward, and the wilful Tranſgreſſors of it he will puniſh; but that, on repentance and amendment, he will pardon, and be reconciled to, Offenders."

This SANCTION of *Natural Religion*, evident as it is, hath been brought into queſtion, and diſputed, not only by thoſe who reject our idea of ſuch a moral Syſtem, but by thoſe who contend for it.

The *firſt* have ſaid, that we know ſo little of God's government of the univerſe, that it is hazardous to affirm, that Man hath any claim at all to Reward. The *other*, that it is ſtill more hazardous to affirm, that REPENTANCE will certainly reſtore bad Men to the benefit of this Claim, if, before their tranſgreſſion, they had any ſuch.

Yet the Truths (thus boldly brought in queſtion) are founded on this clear Principle, "That, taking in the whole of a good Man's exiſtence, God will beſtow upon him more of happineſs than of miſery." To deny this, will tend to confound our diſtinct ideas of a good and of an evil Governor of the World. Nor are theſe truths, thus founded, at all ſhaken by *our ignorance* of God's government

of the univerſe. I apprehend, that the ſuppoſed force of the objection ariſeth from Men's not rightly diſtinguiſhing between God's PHYSICAL and MORAL Government; nor ſeeing how the conſequences of that diſtinction directs our judgment to decide of the evidence in religious matters, and particularly of the force of this objection. I will not here repeat my reaſoning on this ſubject, which the reader may find already delivered in the 598th and 599th pages of the *Introduction*, and will ſee repeated, occaſionally, hereafter. In behalf of theſe repetitions, had I added one more, on the preſent occaſion, I ſhould have no need to apologize: for as often as an old argument ſupports a Truth, newly attacked, the uſe of that argument, on ſuch an occaſion, cannot be called a repetition of it, but a different application of it to a new queſtion. And every different application will give additional credit to the ſolidity of the argument, when it is ſeen how many various purpoſes it may be made to ſerve, and how many various Truths it is fitted to illuſtrate. This is one of thoſe FRUITFUL ARGUMENTS, frequently to be met with in this Work, which I have enforced again and again, in the ſupport of *ſome new Truth*; and which, I make no doubt, a leſs attentive Reader has as often condemned for *a repetition of the ſame thing*.

From this Argument, ſo referred to, as it lies in the *Introduction*, we may ſafely conclude, that *a good man hath a claim to reward:* And this, I think, Religioniſts, conſulting no more than their natural ideas, have generally agreed in; and yet have generally concurred to deny that other part of the propoſition (though it ſtand upon the ſame Principle) which teacheth, that God will re-eſtabliſh the repentant Sinner in his original claim to divine favour.

This may ſeem unaccountable; but there is a ſecret in it, which will deſerve to be explained, for more reaſons than one; but at preſent, principally for the ſake of removing this difficulty.

The

The truth is, thoſe Divines, who doubted of this *re-eſtabliſhment*, laboured under a groundleſs apprehenſion, that to allow the Doctrine of *reconciliation*, *on ſincere repentance alone*, might tend to ſuperſede the neceſſity of the *Chriſtian Revelation*; which they erroneouſly ſuppoſed taught nothing concerning a future ſtate but what was diſcoverable, and had been actually diſcovered, by the *light of Nature*: So that if natural Religion taught ONE means of *Reconciliation*, and *Revelation* taught ANOTHER, both could not be true. They, therefore, rejected that, as falſe, which *natural Religion* was ſaid to teach. And modern Unbelievers being under the like deluſion, viz. that *natural Religion and revealed* taught the ſame doctrine concerning a future ſtate, reject, as falſe, that *means of reconciliation* which *Revelation* pretends to have diſcovered.

But we have beſtowed our pains to little purpoſe, if, by this time, the attentive Reader doth not perceive, that the *Rewards*, taught by *natural Religion*, are very different in *kind*, as well as in *degree*, from thoſe taught by the *Revealed*: However, if he hath not yet been ſufficiently inſtructed in this important truth, the ſequel of our Diſcourſe, to which we are now haſtening, will, we hope, give him entire ſatisfaction.

I had ſaid, and on the Authority of St. Paul himſelf, that *natural Religion* taught, that *God is a Rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him**. Now, from his being a *Rewarder*, which ſprings from his nature and attributes, I have ventured to found Man's *claim to reward*.

But it may be aſked, WHERE are thoſe rewards to be expected, and of WHAT quality do they conſiſt?

To the firſt part of the queſtion, I reply—That, at what time ſoever God's Providence hath been diſpenſed EQUALLY to the Sons of Adam, living under the direction of *natural Law*, they could expect their reward only HERE. But, whenever they began to

* Heb xi. 6.

obſerve,

obſerve, that God's Providence was grown UNEQUAL, and that rewards and puniſhments were not regularly diſpended *here*, they would look to have the diſorder rectified HEREAFTER. But of this, more as we proceed.

To the ſecond part of the queſtion, Of WHAT quality theſe rewards conſiſt? I reply, We are taught to believe, they ſhall be abundant, as ſuited to that better ſtate of exiſtence to which they are reſerved; and as beſtowed by an all-bountiful Maſter, to whoſe more intimate preſence they ſhall be admitted: yet ſtill bearing ſome adequate proportion to Man's merit and deſert.

If REASON, on the one hand, ſeems to revolt at the thoughts of *everlaſting Puniſhment*; (for, as God is a Rewarder of the Good, we muſt conclude, the Apoſtle would have us infer, that he is a *Puniſher* of the Bad; ſince this exerciſe of his power, over both Good and Bad, ſtands on the ſame attributes of *Goodneſs* and *Juſtice*;) If REASON, I ſay, doth, on the one hand, ſeem to revolt at *everlaſting Puniſhment*, we muſt confeſs, that FANCY, on the other, (even when full plumed by *Vanity*), hath ſcarce force enough to riſe to the idea of *infinite rewards*. How the heart of Man came to conceive this to be an adequate retribution for his right conduct, during the ſhort trial of his Virtue here, would be hard to tell, did we not know what Monſters PRIDE begot of old upon *Pagan Philoſophy*; and how much greater ſtill theſe latter ages have diſcloſed, by the long incubation of *School-divinity* upon *Folly*.

What hath been urged from natural reaſon, in ſupport of this extravagant preſumption, is ſo very ſlender, that it recoils as you inforce it. 1. Firſt, you ſay, "that the SOUL, the ſubject of theſe eternal rewards, being *immaterial*, and ſo therefore unaffected by the cauſes which bring material things to an end, is, by its nature, fitted for eternal rewards." This is an argument *ad ignorantiam*, and holds no farther—Becauſe an *immaterial* Being is not ſubject to that mode of diſſolution which affects *material* ſubſtances, you conclude

clude it to be eternal. This is going too faſt. There may be, and probably are, many natural cauſes, (unknown, indeed, to us,) whereby immaterial Beings come to an end. But if the nature of things cannot, yet certainly God can, put a period to ſuch a Being, when it hath ſerved the purpoſe of its Creation. Doth ANNIHILATION impeach that Wiſdom and Goodneſs which was diſplayed when God brought it OUT OF NOTHING?

Other *immaterial* Beings there are (as hath been obſerved) who have the ſame natural ſecurity with man for their exiſtence, of whoſe *eternity* we never dream; I mean the Souls of Brutes. But PRIDE, as the Poet obſerves, *calls God unjuſt:*

"If MAN alone ingroſs not Heaven's high care;
"Alone made *perfect* here, IMMORTAL there."

Fanatics, indeed, both New and Old, have well provided for the proper eternity of the human Soul, by making it a part or portion of the ſubſtance of God himſelf*. But ſo blaſphemous a fancy, all ſober Chriſtians, from the moſt early times to the preſent, have looked upon with horror.

However, let us (for argument's ſake) allow the human Soul to be unperiſhable by nature, and ſecured in its exiſtence by the unchangeable will of God: and ſee what will follow from thence.—An *infinite* Reward for Virtue, during one moment of its exiſtence, becauſe Reaſon diſcovers that, by the Law of Nature, ſome Reward is due? By no means—When God hath amply repaid us for the performance of our duty, will he be at a loſs how to diſpoſe of us for the long remainder of ETERNITY? May he not find new and endleſs employment for reaſonable Creatures, to which, when properly diſcharged, new rewards, and in endleſs ſucceſſion, will be aſſigned? Modeſt Reaſon ſeems to dictate this to the Followers of the *Law of Nature*. The flattering expedient of ETERNAL REWARDS, for Virtue here, was invented in the ſimplicity of early ſpeculation, after it had fairly brought men to conclude that the ſoul was *immaterial*.

* See note [B], at the end of this Book.

2. A ſecond Argument, from the conviction it carries with it, I would recommend to the care and protection of its Diſcoverers, the *Platoniſts* and *Poets*; namely, Men's LONGINGS AFTER IMMORTALITY, even in the *ſtate of Nature*. Theſe, ſay our Poetical Metaphyſicians, and Metaphyſical Poets, are a proof that we ſhall obtain what we long for; ſince natural appetites were not given in vain. The *foundation*, on which this argument ſtands, is not, it muſt be confeſſed, quite void of all plauſibility. The general appetite for GOOD was indeed given by Nature, to aid us in the eaſier and ſpeedier attainment of it. But in this conſiſts the ſophiſtry of the reaſoning—Becauſe the appetite for *Good* is eſſential in the conſtitution of every ſenſitive Being, it is concluded, that we ſhall obtain the GREATEST GOOD which the *Imagination* can form, for the object of its wiſhes. And, to call this viſionary Operator, *Nature*, and not *Fancy*, will ſcarce mend the matter, if the noble Philoſopher * did not vilify his ſpecies, when he ſaid, that *She did not know how to keep a mean or meaſure* †. The Phænomenon is eaſily explained. The PASSIONS were given to excite our Activity in the purſuit of *Good:* and the violence of ſuch of them, as drive moſt impetuouſly to their end, will be apt to tranſgreſs the *mean*. But there is another part as eſſential to our frame, which is REASON; and her office it is to keep the Paſſions within due bounds; then moſt apt to fly out, when purſued by that frightful Phantom, ANNIHILATION. And as the beſt ſecurity againſt this terror is the *pledge of immortality*, we are too much in haſte to inquire of *Reaſon*, Whether, indeed, NATURAL RELIGION hath given us this ſecurity.

From all that hath been ſaid, I would infer, that our appetites, or LONGINGS after good, were given us, not to lead the concluſions of *Reaſon*, but to be led by them, leſt theſe LONGINGS ſhould become extravagant.

* Bacon. † Modum tenere neſcia eſt.

3. But

3. But the palmary argument is ſtill behind. It is partly Phyſical, and partly Moral. "The merit of ſervice (ſay theſe Men) increaſes in proportion to the excellence of that Being to whom our ſervice is directed and becomes acceptable. An infinite Being, therefore, can diſpenſe no rewards but what are infinite. And thus the Virtuous Man becomes intitled to immortality.

The misfortune is, that this reaſoning holds equally on the ſide of the UNMERCIFUL DOCTORS, as they are called, who doom the Wicked to EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT. Indeed, were this the only diſcredit under which it labours, the *mercileſs Doctors* would hold themſelves little concerned. But the truth is, the Argument from *infinity* proves juſt nothing. To make it of any force, both the Parties ſhould be *infinite*. This inferior emanation of God's *Image*, MAN, ſhould either be ſupremely good or ſupremely bad, a kind of Deity or Devil. But theſe Reaſoners, in their attention to the *Divinity*, overlook the *Humanity*, which makes the decreaſe keep pace with the accumulation, till the rule of Logic, that *the concluſion follows the weaker part*, comes in, to end the diſpute.

This view of things, which preſents to us the reward, held out by the *Law of Nature*, clears up, at the ſame time, the more diſputed queſtion, concerning *the efficacy of repentance alone*, to reinſtate us in God's FAVOUR; and ſhews, that this doctrine of *Natural Religion* is very conſiſtent with what *Revealed* Religion teacheth, concerning RECONCILIATION, on repentance: ſince the rewards, promiſed by each Religion, being totally different, they may reaſonably, when forfeited, have different means appointed for their recovery. Hence it is, that, by the *firſt*, ſimple repentance, we ſay, is deemed ſufficient; and, by the latter, ſome ATONEMENT may be reaſonably required, together with repentance.

On the whole of what has been ſaid concerning *Natural Religion*, we ſee, That REASON reclaims againſt the pride of ſuch of its votaries, who expect *eternal rewards*, when that Religion only promiſeth very ample ones.

Come we now to the Condition of Man under REVEALED RELIGION. For God (as we muſt needs conclude) having tried Adam in the STATE OF NATURE, and approved of the good uſe he had made of his free-will under the direction of that light, advanced him to a ſuperior ſtation in *Paradiſe*. How LONG, before this remove, Man had continued ſubject to *Natural Religion* alone, we can only gueſs. But of this we may be aſſured, that it was ſome conſiderable time before the Garden of Eden could naturally be made fit for his reception. Since Moſes, when he had concluded his Hiſtory of the Creation, and of God's *reſt* on, and *ſanctification* of, the *ſeventh day**, proceeds to ſpeak of the condition of this new world, in the following terms:—*And God created every living plant of the field, before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew; for the Lord God had not cauſed it to rain upon the Earth* †. Which ſeem plainly to intimate, that when the ſeeds of vegetables had been created on the *third day*, they were left to Nature, in its ordinary operations, to mature by Sun and ſhowers. So that when, in courſe of time, Paradiſe was become capable of accommodating its inhabitants, they were tranſplanted thither.—"And the Lord took the Man, and put him into the "Garden of Eden—And the Lord God commanded the Man, "ſaying, Of every Tree of the Garden thou mayeſt freely eat; "but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou ſhalt not "eat: for in the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely "die ‡." In this manner, was the firſt extraordinary revelation of God's Will, or what we call REVEALED RELIGION, added to, or more properly built upon, the *Religion of Nature*; which continued to be the foundation of all God's extraordinary Diſpenſations throughout the whole courſe of his moral Government of Man.

Well! Adam diſobeyed the Command. He ate, and became (as he was firſt created) MORTAL.—*And leſt* (as the Hiſtorian ſays) *he ſhould put forth his hand, and take alſo of the tree of life,*

* Gen. ii. 2, 3. † Gen. ii. 4, 5. ‡ Gen. ii. 15.

and

and eat, and live for ever *, he is driven out of Paradiſe, and ſent back again to his former State; the ſubject of *natural Religion*. And in this ſubjection he continued till the giving of the LAW.

From this account we learn, that, had Adam not diſobeyed the Command, he would have lived for ever, exempt from the preſent condition of *mortality*; ſince this return to it was the penalty of his tranſgreſſion.

And leſt we ſhould make a wrong inference from what we read, that *immortal life* was Man's *natural claim* from the time of his creation; and not a *free gift* beſtowed upon him on his entrance into Paradiſe; the Hiſtorian tells us of the means employed to exclude him from the TREE OF LIFE, which conferred *immortality* on the Eater. The ideas which this language conveys are, indeed, *allegorical*; but they inform us of this, and of nothing but this, that *immortal life was a thing extraneous to our Nature*; and not put into our paſte or compoſition, when firſt faſhioned by the forming hand of the Creator †.

If it be aſked, why Moſes did not record this free gift of immortality, loſt by the firſt Adam, in as open and clear terms as the ſecond Adam proclaimed the *recovery* of it? the reaſon will be given, more at large, hereafter. At preſent, I ſhall juſt obſerve, (though, perhaps, a little prematurely) that the ſeveral MESSENGERS of God's ſeveral *Revelations* had each his proper office to diſcharge. It was the office of JESUS to *bring life and immortality to light*, or to promulge the Doctrine of it in open day. It was MOSES's office to record the *loſs*, and TO SUPPLY THE WANT OF IT ‡, in that Diſpenſation which was committed to his Charge. He could go no further than juſt to hint at a *recovery*, in covert and obſcure expreſſions.

On theſe different and reſpective grounds then ſtood, and muſt for ever ſtand, NATURAL and REVEALED Religion.

* Gen. iii 22.

† Gen. ii. 7. And the Lord formed man of the duſt of the ground, &c. compared with Gen. iii. 19.

‡ See the Subject of the DIVINE LEGATION.

The firſt teacheth an abundant *reward* for *virtue*; the other promiſed a *bleſſed immortality* on the obſervance of a *poſitive command*.

This diſtinction, carefully kept in mind, will reflect great lights upon both Religions. As, by the neglect of it, the *Moſaic* Diſpenſation hath lain, for many ages, involved in obſcurities; and the *Chriſtian* is become ſubject to inexplicable difficulties. This will be ſeen as we proceed.

At preſent let it ſuffice to obſerve, 1. That this account of the Paradiſaical State ſupports our Capital Aſſertion, that *Natural* Religion neither teacheth nor promiſeth *eternal Rewards*. While it is ſuppoſed to do ſo, nothing can be conceived more diſcrediting of Revelation; for it will force us to conclude, that God arbitrarily annexed *Salvation*, or eternal life, to one condition by the *Law of Grace*, and to another condition by the *Law of Nature*. This obſervation will have its weight with thoſe plain men, who allow, to the two connected Laws, the common privilege of explaining one another.

2. It enables us to ſee clearly into another reaſon, why the *condition of immortality* was the obſervance of a *poſitive command*; and not the performance of moral duty at large. For *immortal life* being a *free-gift* to which no man had a claim by nature, it might be given on whatever *condition* beſt pleaſed the Benefactor. And the obſervance of a *poſitive duty* was very fitly preferred to a *moral*; as it beſt marked out the nature of the benefit, which was of *grace* and not of *debt*.

3. But there is ſtill another reaſon, (ariſing from the moral order of things) why this *free gift*, if it were fit or neceſſary to be beſtowed on *condition*, ſhould rather be annexed to a *poſitive* than a *moral* duty. No one, I ſuppoſe, was ever ſo wild as to imagine, that had Adam not eaten of the forbidden fruit, he would have been intitled to *immortality*, unleſs he had likewiſe obſerved the dictates of the moral Law, which *natural Religion* enjoins; the habitual violation of which, unrepented of, every reflecting man ſees, muſt have deprived him of *immortality*, as inevitably as the

the tranſgreſſion of the *poſitive command.* The reaſon is evident. Man living under the *Law of Nature*, when the *free gift of immortality* was beſtowed on him, his previous qualification to fit him for the acceptance of the free gift, muſt needs be *ſome reward*; or, in other words, his having a claim to *that* REWARD which *natural Religion* beſtows. Now nothing but the obſervance of *moral duties* could intitle him to *ſome reward.* The conſequence is, that the obſervance of moral duties was a condition *annexed by nature*, and appropriated to that *reward* which follows the favour of God in general; and ſo could not be made the condition of a *different* thing, viz. *the free gift of immortality*, which was founded in a prior capacity of *reward*; and this capacity acquired by the performance of moral duties.

Theſe things give the curious obſerver ſuch exalted ideas of divine Wiſdom, in the order and courſe of God's Diſpenſations to Man, that (tranſported with the idea) I have anticipated a *Truth*, which, though it be of preſent uſe to confirm what hath been already ſaid concerning the ſeparate ſtates, and different genius of *Natural* and *Revealed* Religion, yet belongs more properly to another place; where I ſhall employ it to remove a difficulty which hath ſo long *entangled*, that it hath at length *diſcredited* the moſt rational as well as eſſential Principle of Chriſtianity.

In the mean time, we ſee, to how little purpoſe Divines have fatigued themſelves, and others, to give a reaſon, Why a *poſitive* and not a *moral* duty was made the condition of *immortal life.* In the courſe of which enquiry, ſome have been ſo extravagant as to aſſert, that the ſequeſtered ſtate of the firſt Pair made the obſervance of a *moral duty* an improper condition to be annexed to this *free gift*; ſeeing, in that ſtate, opportunities were wanting to exerciſe them. But, if we divide moral duty, as is commonly done, into the three ſeparate Branches, of *Divine*, *Perſonal*, and *Social*, we ſhall find that Adam had an equal occaſion to practiſe the two firſt, as if ſent into a World filled with Inhabitants; and

the

the moſt meritorious part of the third, as ſoon as ever he was bleſſed with *a Help meet for him* *.

The truth is, the State of *Natural Religion*, under which Adam lived till he was put into *Paradiſe*, unobſerved by Divines; and the miſtaken ideas entertained of it, by them, when they had obſerved it, and diſtinguiſhed it from the *Revealed*, betrayed them into theſe abſurdities, and gave birth (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) to a thouſand errors, which have obſcured and deformed the glories of that laſt great and beſt Work in God's moral government, THE REDEMPTION OF MANKIND BY THE SACRIFICE OF HIS SON.

From the account here given, God's JUSTICE, with regard to the effects of Adam's tranſgreſſion upon his Poſterity, is fully declared. Adam fell, and forfeited the *free gift* of immortality—*in the day that thou eateſt thereof thou ſhalt ſurely die* †. He returned to his former ſtate in which he was created, ſubject to mortality; *that death* which follows the ſeparation of ſoul and body. It is aſtoniſhing that any *other death* ſhould have been underſtood by thoſe words ‡, when the very *ſentence of condemnation* itſelf confines us to the ſenſe here given——*In the ſweat of thy face* (ſays God) *ſhalt thou eat bread, till* THOU RETURN UNTO THE GROUND: *for out of it waſt thou taken: for duſt thou art, and* UNTO DUST SHALT THOU RETURN §.

In this State, Adam begot a *Poſterity*, which naturally became ſharers in his original condition of *Mortality* ||. And, Were they injured in not being made partakers of a gift never beſtowed upon

* Gen. ii. 18. † Gen. ii. 17.

‡ See note [C], at the end of this Book. § Gen. iii. 19.

|| "By *death* (ſays Mr. Locke) ſome men underſtand, *endleſs torments in Hell-fire*.—"But it ſeems a ſtrange way of underſtanding a Law, (which requires the plaineſt and "directeſt words), that by *death* ſhould be meant, *eternal life in miſery*. Can any one be "ſuppoſed, by a Law, which ſays, *for felony thou ſhalt ſurely die*—not that he ſhould "loſe his life, but be kept alive in perpetual and exquiſite torments? And would "any one think himſelf fairly dealt with that was ſo uſed?" Reaſonableneſs of Chriſtianity, Vol. II. p. 508.

them?

them? Abſurd! They were left and continued in poſſeſſion of all the Rights inherent in their original nature; and would have had the benefit of the FREE GIFT, had not he, to whom it was given, and from whom they were deſcended, forfeited it before they came into Being *. What *Phyſical* contagion they contracted at their birth, either of body or of mind, is of little uſe to enquire; ſince, however Man came by his Malady, his cure is one and the ſame.

So good reaſon had St. Paul not to think he impeached the *Juſtice* of God, when he ſaid, that DEATH *reigned from Adam to Moſes, even over thoſe who had* NOT SINNED AFTER THE SIMILITUDE *of Adam's tranſgreſſion* †, i. e. over thoſe who died before they came to the knowledge of good and evil. Now, as the *death*, here mentioned, could be only Phyſical, though total; the *death* ſpoken of, in the ſame ſentence, as denounced on the reſt of mankind, who had *ſinned after the ſimilitude of Adam's tranſgreſſion*, muſt, conſequently, be Phyſical likewiſe.

Thus both infants and adults falling under the very letter of the ſentence denounced on Adam, we ſee how God's juſtice is made apparent.

Another important truth emerges from this account of the FALL, viz. that this part of the Moſaic Hiſtory is NO ALLEGORY, as hath been commonly imagined. The root of which conceit, as indeed of many other extravagances that have deformed the rational ſimplicity of the Chriſtian Faith, hath been the confounding the diſtinct and different ſanctions of *natural* and *revealed* Religion with one another. For Divines, as we ſaid, having miſtaken theſe ſanctions to be the ſame, namely IMMORTALITY, they were led to conclude, though againſt the expreſs words of the text, that Adam's tranſgreſſion was a breach of ſome precept of the MORAL LAW, and, conſequently, that the account which repreſented it as the violation of a *poſitive*

* See what is ſaid concerning the difference between the forfeiture of natural and adventitious Rights. Div. Leg. B. V. § 5.

† Rom. v. 14. See alſo note [D], at the end of this Book.

Command,

Command, was an ALLEGORY: and being once got upon this fairy-ground, every man had it in his power to purſue, as he liked, the favourite Viſion, which he himſelf had raiſed from an *Allegory* left unexplained by the ſacred Writer. Numberleſs have been theſe monſters of the Imagination. But a late Allegoriſt of the hiſtory of the *Fall* hath ſo diſcredited the trade, by his abſurd and abominable fancies, fit only to be told by himſelf *, that were it not for the account which both believers and unbelievers find in this commodious method of evading difficulties, we might hope at length to get free of the diſhonour of having ſo long abuſed a rational mode of information.

We have ſhewn what the laſt *believing* Writer hath invented, to render the abuſe *odious*; let us now ſee what the laſt *unbelieving* Writer hath offered to render the abuſe *ridiculous*. He aſſures us, that the Scripture account of the FALL *is a* MERE ALLEGORY, *in the manner of the eaſtern Fables, ſignifying that man was formed to a ſtate of happineſs and perfection, which he enjoyed as long as he continued innocent, but loſt and forfeited it by following his luſts and paſſions, in oppoſition to the will of his Creator; and became miſerable as ſoon as he became a wilful and habitual ſinner* †.

Here we ſee the learned Doctor throws aſide his uſual reſerve, and preaches up rank DEISM without diſguiſe; while he makes the FALL from, and RESTORATION to, life, as taught in the *Old* and *New Teſtament*, to be nothing more than an *Emblem* of the frail Condition of Man, to whom God had given the LAW OF NATURE for his only guide. On this principle he attacks Dr. Waterland's and Biſhop Sherlock's explanations of the ſtory of the FALL. But the force of his reaſoning (as hath been the good fortune of moſt deiſtical Writers) ſprings not from the truth of his own notions, but from the futility of his Adverſary's.—"Pray tell us," (ſays the learned Doctor, with that vivacity which he never reſtrained, when he had his Adverſary at advantage,) "What is it we

* See the Memoirs of the Life of Mr. W. Whiſton, Vol. I. p. 339.

† Dr. Middleton's Works, 4to. Vol. II. p. 131. and Vol. III. p. 199.

"Chriſtians

"Chriſtians are obliged to believe of it? [the ſtory of the *Fall.*]
"Muſt we believe it to be all an *Allegory?* No. It is the allegorical
"interpretation that has drawn all this clamour from me, of
"weakening the authority of Moſes and favouring infidelity. Muſt
"we believe it to be all *literal?* No. We are not allowed to do
"that, ſince there is certainly much *myſtery* in it. What then are
"we to do? Why we are to conſider it as neither fact nor fable;
"neither literal nor allegorical; to interpret one ſentence *literally*,
"the next *allegorically*; the third again *literally*; and ſo on to
"the end of the chapter; which, like the very Serpent it treats of,
"is all over ſpotted and ſpeckled; here with *letter*, there with
"*myſtery*; and ſometimes, with a daſh of both *."

This, on a ſuppoſition, (the truth of which, both the Deiſt and the Believer took for granted) that the Moſaic account of the FALL was an ALLEGORY, hath its weight. But none at all, on the ſuppoſition, whoſe truth I have endeavoured to evince, that the Moſaic account is a HISTORY OF FACT, and not, as the learned Doctor pretends, A MERE ALLEGORY; interlarded, indeed, as the ancient Hiſtories of greateſt weight have always been, with ſtrong figurative expreſſions, as well *allegorical* as *metaphorical.* In ſuch a kind of compoſition, the beſt rules of interpretation not only juſtify the rational Critic in underſtanding ſome expreſſions *literally* and others *allegorically*, but neceſſarily require his obſervance of this rule. To do what the learned Doctor requires of him—To ſtick throughout, either to the *letter* or the *figure*, would betray much ignorance of the genius of ancient literature. When Adam is ſaid to have *eaten of forbidden fruit*, and *Iſrael to have committed whoredom*, Do theſe phraſes (uſed by the ſame Hiſtorian in his Hiſtory of the *Fall*, and afterwards in the Hiſtory of the Jewiſh *Defection*) make one more an ALLEGORY than the other? Are not both narratives of facts *figuratively* adorned? the firſt, to denote *Adam's tranſgreſſion of a poſitive Command*; and the other, to ſignify *the defection of the Iſraelites into Idolatry.*

* See the Doctor's Defence of his Letter to Waterland.

The cold raillery, therefore, of our learned Doctor, while he conſiders the Moſaic Account of the FALL, *as neither fact nor fable, neither literal nor allegorical, but to be ſometimes interpreted one way, ſometimes another*——might, for his credit, have been ſpared; as informing us of nothing but his inattention to, or ignorance of, literary compoſition, as it was in its primeval ſtate; early formed, and ſtill continuing to exiſt, amongſt People undiſciplined by arts and poliſhed manners.

The truth is, our Critic in his cenſure, and thoſe learned Divines in their defence, have equally confounded two diſtinct Species of Writing with one another; that is to ſay, an ALLEGORY with a real HISTORY ornamented with metaphorical and allegoric colouring. The Divines, to ſerve their occaſions, did it, either wittingly or inadvertently; and the learned Doctor, to ſerve his, either followed their example or imitated their practice. Theſe Divines had obſerved, that preceding Commentators on the Bible had, occaſionally, in the narrative parts, *jumped from the literal to the allegoric ſenſe, and ſo backward and forward to the end of the Chapter*, becauſe they found, that where the language was full of *figurative* terms, it was reaſonable and neceſſary ſo to do. Their error was, in ſuppoſing they might do the ſame, in what they believed to be an ALLEGORY. On the other hand, our Doctor ſaw the abſurdity of this practice in an *Allegory*; but his error was, in ſuppoſing it to be equally abſurd to do the ſame in a *figurative* narration of fact.

And what occaſioned the common miſtake of both parties was, their having (as we ſay) confounded theſe two ſpecies of Compoſition with one another; which they would never have done, had they but conſidered, that the end of an ALLEGORY is to *hide*, and the purpoſe of allegorical, that is figurative expreſſions, only to *ornament*.

But, as the Hiſtory of the *Fall* is, in Dr. Middleton's ſenſe, a MERE ALLEGORY, and as his MORAL of the *Fable* tends to reduce the whole Doctrine of the Goſpel to MERE DEISM; I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew, from the *very genius of Antiquity*, that *his Moral*

is

is not of the nature of thoſe which the moſt early times loved to diſguiſe under that cover.

It is, in the learned Doctor's opinion, A MERE ALLEGORY, *in the manner of the eaſtern Fables, ſignifying, that Man was formed to a ſtate of happineſs and perfection; which he enjoyed as long as he continued innocent, but loſt and forfeited it by following his luſts and paſſions, and ſo became miſerable.*

The truth of his idea, of its being a MERE ALLEGORY, hath been examined already. But this is not the whole of his idea: It is, if you will believe him, *in the* MANNER OF THE EASTERN FABLES.

An obſervation that betrays his ignorance both of *Eaſtern Fables* and *Eaſtern Truths*. The *Fables* of the Ancients, whether of the Eaſt or Weſt, were invented, as I have ſhewn elſewhere, for this end, and for no other, namely, to hide from the People, under that cover, ſuch *Truths* as were above the People's capacity to comprehend; or were judged inexpedient, for the ſake of public utility, that they ſhould know. This Veil, however, their Wiſe Men were able to penetrate; and ſo could benefit themſelves of all the Truth conveyed under it; and the Public, of juſt ſo much as was judged expedient for them to be made acquainted with.

But what pretence is there to ſay, that either of theſe cauſes of concealment had any place in the MORAL, which the Doctor is pleaſed to tell us is conveyed under the *fable of the Fall*. The *Moral* contains a Truth of the utmoſt clearneſs, and moſt general uſe; whoſe publication could be of no poſſible diſſervice to Society, or be abuſed by one ſingle individual in it.

On the other hand, if, inſtead of this MORAL, of *a ſimple lapſe from innocence to guilt*, we believe that Jeſus and his Apoſtles have rightly interpreted the Moſaic account of the FALL, where they inform us of the ſpecific nature of the loſs which Adam ſuſtained thereby; and if, from the nature and courſe of God's Diſpenſations, we ſee the fitneſs of its remaining a *Myſtery* for many ages, that *Myſtery* which (the Apoſtle tells us) *was hid from ages and generations, but was at length*

made manifeſt to the Saints *; if this, I ſay, were the caſe, then, indeed, though the Doctor's *Moral* required none of this Cover to his MERE ALLEGORY: yet ſuch a Cover very well ſuited the Hiſtory of Moſes; and juſtified the interpretation of the Apoſtles.

Thus the POSITIVE COMMAND, whatever it ſpecifically was, is contained in the words of *not eating of the Fruit of the tree of good and evil*—the TEMPTER, THE EVIL BEING, is ſhadowed under the *Serpent*---and the CONDEMNATION TO DEATH, by Adam's return to his firſt ſtate of MORTALITY.

Having thus cleared the revealed Doctrine of the FALL from the abſurdity of this deiſtical interpretation, I now go on with my Subject.

Man, having forfeited the *free gift of Immortality*, is driven out of *Paradiſe*, and returned back to the ſtate and condition in which he was created, a Subject only of NATURAL RELIGION. With this difference, that, before his entrance into Paradiſe, he was altogether ignorant of the extent of his finite duration: on his expulſion from thence, he might learn, from the terms of his *Sentence*, that the execution of it, by DEATH, was at no great diſtance.---*In the ſweat of thy face ſhalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it waſt thou taken: for duſt thou art, and unto duſt ſhalt thou return* †.

But when we ſpeak of the two Religions, *natural* and *revealed*, we muſt diſtinguiſh (in our uſe of the term, REVELATION) between a *Syſtem* of revealed Religion, and an occaſional Communication of the divine Will to Man, for his conduct on particular points, or for his comfort in general, when the courſe of God's moral government required that he ſhould, from time to time, have intimations given to him, more or leſs obſcurely, of the hidden purpoſe of Providence in his favour; and this, through various Diſpenſations, till, at the final completion of them, *life and immortality* ſhould be again *brought to light* and reſtored. Theſe occaſional Communications began with that contained in the Sen-

* Col. i. 26. † Gen. iii. 19.

tence

tence denounced on the *Serpent*, or the EVIL ONE, that *the Seed of the Woman ſhould bruiſe his head*; *and that he ſhould bruiſe its heel* *: And ended with that given by the mouth of Jacob, *that the ſceptre ſhould not depart from Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet, until* SHILOH *ſhould come, to whom the gathering of the People ſhould be* †.

What followed theſe occaſional Communications was that SECOND SYSTEM of *Revealed Religion*, delivered to the Poſterity of *Abraham*, by Moſes, preparatory to the THIRD and laſt, under the Reign or rule of *Shiloh*, or JESUS CHRIST, which took in and embraced the whole Poſterity of *Adam*.

So that, of *Revelations*, in the ſenſe of REVEALED SYSTEMS of RELIGION, there were but THREE: the *firſt*, given to *Adam* when placed in Paradiſe; the *ſecond*, to the Poſterity of Abraham, when going (under the miniſtry of *Moſes*) to poſſeſs the *promiſed Land*; and the *third*, promulged to all Mankind, by *Jeſus the Meſſiah*.

Ignorance, of this matter, made the Rabbins invent a fanciful *Syſtem of Revealed Religion*, as given to the *Sons of Noah*, under the name of the SEVEN PRECEPTS.—So that it ſeemed proper juſt to hint at this *diſtinction*; which, for want of attending to, hath been the occaſion of much error and miſtake.

We have now ſeen MAN under the two firſt States of God's Moral Government, the *natural* and the *revealed*; and how, by his miſconduct in the *ſecond*, he was returned back again to the *firſt*; in which he remained throughout the long interval from Adam to Moſes; when, by this time, the NATURAL LAW was become ſo viciated, and obſcured, that all memory of the LAWGIVER was loſt and forgotten. So that the knowledge of the one true God, on which all *natural* as well as *revealed* Religion is founded, was, of neceſſity, to be REPUBLISHED to the world, by MOSES, when he entered on his Miſſion; who not only rekindled its extinguiſhed flame, but, by the *Diſpenſation* committed to his

* Gen. iii. 15. † Gen. xlix. 10.

care,

care, in which the *firſt Cauſe* conſtantly and immediately directs all things, obviated the like misfortune for the future.

And as this Diſpenſation, called the Law, being the prelude and preparation to the Gospel, whoſe Author was the promiſed Messiah, the Reſtorer of what was loſt in Adam, could be only made intelligible by the previous knowledge of the *cauſe* and *nature* of that loſs, therefore hath Moſes ſtudiouſly recorded that previous Knowledge.

And here it will be proper to obſerve, that had Jeſus been only a Messenger ſent from heaven, with no other purpoſe than to propagate a Syſtem of revealed Morals, or to *republiſh* the Law of Nature, we can ſee no reaſon why life and immortality might not have been promulged by Moses for the Sanction of the *Law*, as well as by Jesus Christ, who hath made it the peculiar Sanction of the *Goſpel:* and ſo both Doctrines, that of the *true God*, and of *eternal life*, have come from Heaven together. The Socinians, and they who deny a Redemption by the *Atonement* of a real Sacrifice *on the Croſs*, would do well to re-conſider this matter. But more of it in a fitter place.

To proceed. By the Penalty inflicted on Adam he (with all his Poſterity) was again made *mortal*; that is, became extinct, at the natural diſſolution of the union between Soul and Body.

But that *diſtribution* of reward and puniſhment, which God, under every mode of his Moral Government, makes, with ſupreme juſtice, either here in this world, or hereafter in another, was (when the ſentence of Death was denounced on Man's tranſgreſſion) at firſt made here in this world, ſo long as he continued to be favoured with the adminiſtration of an equal or extraordinary Providence. Which, as we learn from the Moſaic Hiſtory, continued from the Fall down to the time when Polytheiſm univerſally prevailed. For, when the World, by reaſon of the Vices and Corruptions of its Inhabitants, *did not like to retain God in their knowledge, but changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an Image made like to cor-*

*corruptible Man**, that firſt diſpenſation of Providence was withdrawn.

Yet, as ſoon as God had ſelected a *choſen Race*, and had ſeparated it from the reſt of Mankind, *to place his name there*, we ſee, with aſtoniſhment, this *equal Providence* revive in Judea; for Man was ſtill under the *Curſe* or *doom of death*. And this exiſted, till repeated Idolatries, the crime which firſt cauſed the *equal Providence* to be withdrawn from the Nations at large, did at length deprive the *choſen People*, likewiſe, of their ſhare of this bleſſing.

And, by ſuch time as they had invariably returned from their Apoſtacy to the pure worſhip of the *God of their Fathers*, the Courſe of God's moral government required, that the nature and genius of the GOSPEL (the Religion which compleated all the foregoing, and which, by the recovery of what was loſt in Adam, made an *equal Providence* no longer neceſſary) was gradually revealed unto them. This, as we ſay, ſuperſeded the uſe, and prevented the return, of that *equal Providence*; which, otherwiſe, on their adherence to the God of Iſrael, and perſeverance in his worſhip, they might naturally have expected. Nay, the full conviction of their recent loſs, joined to the ſcattered lights in the later Prophets together with other leſs legitimate helps, enabled them to gather and arrange their ideas in favour of a FUTURE STATE; as hath been ſhewn at large in the foregoing Books.

Theſe *lights* Divine Providence, in its courſe, did indulge to them, till the *Sun of Righteouſneſs* aroſe, leſt the ſudden ſplendour of his appearance ſhould totally dazzle this blinded and devoted people; who, thus indulgently prepared and made fit to receive the Goſpel, were, by their rejection of it, rendered totally without excuſe.

Theſe obſervations, the Reader ſees, add further evidence to the Truths advanced in the former Books, concerning this EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE.

The courſe of my Argument, in thoſe Books, led me to deduce an equal adminiſtration of Providence in the Jewiſh State, from the

* Rom. i. 23—28.

Nature

Nature of its Theocracy. My Subject here leads me to ſhew, from the general order of God's Moral Government, that this *equal Providence* was adminiſtered in the world at large, while it retained the memory of the true God; and was again adminiſtered in the Land of Judea, when, by the Miſſion of Moſes, the true God had there regained his rights.

All this, when carefully conſidered, will, amongſt a variety of other reaſoning, be one inconteſtible proof of the truth of Revealed Religion. Here, in the Mosaic, we find it ſo contrived, by divine Skill, that the peculiar Nature of that œconomy, under a Theocracy, ſhould coincide with, and concur to ſupport, that very diſpenſation of Providence which naturally aroſe from the puniſhment of the Fall. This alſo will add ſtrength and light to all my former reaſoning, for the extenſion of this *extraordinary Providence* to Particulars. For now it is ſeen, that this diſpenſation was not merely political and attendant on a *Theocracy*, where civil conſiderations often overlook the care of individuals; but it was a general diſpenſation of Religion, from the Fall to the time when idolatry over-ran the World: and was again adminiſtered when and where the knowledge and worſhip of the true God was reſtored.

"It is true (may an objector reply), that this *different* adminiſtration of Providence, between the faithful followers of the true God, and the careleſs apoſtates from his worſhip, did preſerve the dignity due to God's Moral Government; yet ſtill this difference appears to be ſo great, that it looks like an impeachment of the divine Attributes, to confine this benefit to ſuch only, *who liked to retain God in their knowledge*, while the reſt of Mankind were left and abandoned to the evils conſequent on an irregular and unequal adminiſtration of Providence."

This objection would have weight, if thoſe who were included under the Sentence paſſed on Adam ſhould be irremiſſibly doomed to the ſhort exiſtence of this mortal life. But a ſecret reprieve (kept hid, indeed, from the early world) paſſed along with the *Sentence*

Sentence of Condemnation. So that they who never received their due in *this* World, would ſtill be kept in exiſtence till they had received it in the *next*: ſuch being, in no other ſenſe, ſufferers by the adminiſtration of an unequal Providence, than in being ignorant of the reparation which attended them. For we learn, from ſacred Writ (what the principles of natural Reaſon do not impeach) that the DEATH of Chriſt had a retroſpect from the FALL of Adam; and that REDEMPTION was, from the firſt, amongſt the principal Ingredients in God's Moral Government of Man.

Now, if the *goodneſs* of God thus provided for human *redemption*, that *goodneſs*, joined to his *juſtice*, would make the *redemption* as extenſive as the forfeiture. But, in caſe a *retroſpect* did not take place, it would not be thus extenſive. More words would only obſcure a truth, which the ſacred text hath rendered ſo plain and clear.

Ye were redeemed (ſays St. Peter) *with the precious blood of Chriſt*, FOREORDAINED *from the foundation of the World, but was* MANIFEST *in theſe laſt times for you* *. St. John explains, from the words of Jeſus himſelf, what is to be underſtood by his being *foreordained*, viz. That it was receiving the *glory* which accompanies the entrance on an high office—*And now, O Father,* GLORIFY *me, with the* GLORY *which I had with thee before the World was. I have* MANIFESTED *thy name unto the men which thou gaveſt me out of the World* †.

St. Peter, in the words above, diſtinguiſheth between the *advent* of our *Redeemer*, and the *efficacy* of his death, in teaching us, that, though his MANIFESTATION was late, yet the virtue of his FOREORDAINED *Redemption* operated from the moſt early times. For it would be trifling to ſpeak of a *pre-ordination*, which was not to be underſtood of a *pre-operation*; ſince thoſe to whom the Apoſtle wrote well underſtood, from the Attributes of the Godhead, that all things *that were*, had been *pre-ordained*, in the ſimple ſenſe of

* 1 Peter i. 20. † John xvii. 5, 6.

the word. The other ſenſe, of a *pre-operation*, St. John more forcibly expreſſes, *by the Lamb* SLAIN *from the foundation of the World* *.

But if the courſe of God's various Diſpenſations required, that this *Act of grace*, the REDEMPTION, ſhould be *kept hid for Ages*, and never fully revealed till the *Advent* of his SON, it could not be otherwiſe, than that, in the *intermediate Diſpenſations*, Mankind muſt be ſtill repreſented as ſuffering under the forfeiture of Adam; in Scripture language called, *lying under the curſe:* Nor had ſuch of Adam's Poſterity any cauſe to complain that the REDEMPTION was kept hid from them, ſince it was an Act of *Grace*, and not of *Debt*, of which they would finally, and in due time, have the benefit. In the interim, as hath been ſhewn above, the moral government of God, revealed to us in Scripture, was adminiſtered to them in ſuch a manner, as, ſooner or later, to proclaim its perfect equity.

CHAP. II.

IN this manner did the FREE GIFT OF IMMORTALITY become forfeit, by Man's violating the CONDITION on which it was beſtowed. For a GIFT is not the leſs *free* by having a *condition* annexed unto it: the quality of a *free gift* not ariſing from its being without *condition*, but from its being without a *claim of right*.

It is true, that a *Condition*, annexed to a *claim of right*, is of a different nature from *that* which the Governor of the world hath ſeen fit to annex to a *free gift:* the firſt ariſeth out of the ſettled conſtitution of things; the ſecond depends on arbitrary will and pleaſure. Thus MORAL VIRTUE was the *condition* of that favour and protection which the *Creature*, Man, *claims* from his Maker; but the OBSERVANCE OF A POSITIVE COMMAND was the *condition* of the *free gift of immortality*.

* Rev. xiii. 8. See alſo note [E], at the end of this Book.

Again,

Again, the *Law of Nature* informs us, that the *Condition*, which accompanies a *claim*, is, when unperformed, ſtill capable of recovering its efficacy: the ſame *Law* likewiſe directs us to the *means*, namely REPENTANCE. But the violated Condition, annexed to a *free gift*, is not thus recoverable.

The reaſon of this difference is apparent. God's Creatures have a claim to his favour and protection, whenever, and as often as, the breach of the *Condition* is repaired by ſincere *repentance*; becauſe the relation between the Creator and Creature makes the *claim* indiſſolvable. But IMMORTALITY being a *free gift*, which gift that *relation* doth not naturally infer; when the condition, on which it was beſtowed, is broken, the benefit is irrecoverably taken back. The conſequence of which is, that if God, in his infinite goodneſs, ſhall be pleaſed to reſtore again that *free gift*, he may do it by what *means* he ſees fit, as not being confined to *that* which his own eſtabliſhment hath preſcribed, for the recovery of his *favour* and *protection* ſimply.

The *means*, therefore, of regaining the *free gift of immortality*, when God had graciouſly decreed that it ſhould be regained, can be only known by REVELATION.

Another ſpecific difference between the *Conditions* annexed to a *grace*, and to a *claim*, is this, that as the condition of the former is the obſervance of an *arbitrary Command*, this Command may not be the ſame (though ſtill arbitrary, as annexed to a *free gift*) when that grace is *reſtored*, with what it was in the *firſt donation*. It was not the ſame; as we ſhall ſee when we come to ſpeak of the *condition of life and immortality* again *brought to light*. Where we ſhall, at the ſame time, be enabled to ſee God's gracious purpoſe in the *Change*.

But here let us always keep in mind (which not to do will occaſion much confuſion in handling the ſubject of REDEMPTION), that the MEANS of recovering a benefit loſt, and the CONDITION annexed to that benefit, when recovered, are two very diſtinct and

different things. Both of which, viz. of the MEANS and the CONDITION, we ſhall ſpeak to in their Order.

And firſt of the MEANS; and to Whom intruſted.

The MEANS employed in this great Work, the REDEMPTION OF MANKIND, human reaſon alone was not ſufficient to diſcover.

It may, indeed, be collected from the Principles of *Natural Religion* (as we have more than once obſerved, and cannot do it too often) that God, on the ſincere repentance of Offenders, will receive them again into favour, and render them capable of thoſe rewards *naturally* attendant on right behaviour. But the caſe before us is very different. The benefit loſt by Adam's tranſgreſſion was *a free gift*, a matter of grace. Our reſtoration, therefore, to that benefit muſt needs be of *grace* likewiſe; conſequently, the *means* reſided in the hidden counſels of the Beſtower, and ſo not to be found in the promulged Digeſt of *Natural Law*.

He might have *reſtored* us, and certainly would, had he ſeen it beſt, on the common terms on which *Natural Religion* aſſureth us he will receive returning Sinners to his favour: or he might, with equal juſtice, in perfecting the great work of *Redemption*, require MORE; namely, a MEDIATION, enforced by ſome kind of SATISFACTION. But what his good pleaſure was herein, it was impoſſible for human Reaſon to diſcover; whatever fitneſs that Reaſon may perceive in theſe MEANS, when revealed.

Indeed, had it been decent for fallen Man, aided only by the glimmering light of that indefinite promiſe, that he ſhould ſome time or other be reſtored to his loſt inheritance; had it been decent, I ſay, to indulge his conjectures concerning the Counſels of the Moſt High, he would have been apt to think that a MEDIATOR might be employed amongſt the *means* uſed in this *Reſtoration*; ſince he is able to ſee the ſame fitneſs of ſuch an interpoſition in matters of *grace*, as of *repentance alone* in matters of *right*. MEDIATION implying a confeſſion, that the thing requeſted is merely of *grace*; to the obtaining of which, Man doth no further co-operate than by his hopes and wiſhes.

How

How reaſonable ſuch a concluſion would have been we find by this, that the very MEANS, here ſuppoſed, have been, as we have ſaid, in *fact*, uſed, and accepted by the God of our Salvation.—*For there is one God*, (ſays St. Paul,) *and one* MEDIATOR *between God and Man, the Man Jeſus Chriſt* *.—*Jeſus* (ſays the Author of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews) *is the* MEDIATOR *of a better Covenant, which was eſtabliſhed upon better promiſes* †.

The modeſty of *Reaſon* finds its account in Concluſions thus confirmed; and the Truth of *Scripture* receives light and ſtrength from Concluſions thus made.

We are now to conſider of the Perſon of this *Mediator*, and then enquire into the manner in which he diſcharged his *Mediation*.

The eternal Son of God, Jeſus, the Meſſiah, was the Perſon appointed to this Office ‡. The time of his appearance was foretold by the Jewiſh Prophets: and the nearer they lived to that time, the clearer and fuller were their intimations concerning the Character and Fortunes of him, who was ſent to REDEEM Iſrael, and *to bring* again *to light* that *life and immortality* which was loſt by the tranſgreſſion of Adam.

The manner in which he was to diſcharge his MEDIATION, is our next enquiry: whether he did it ſimply by INTERCEDING for the remiſſion of the Forfeiture; or whether by SATISFYING, at the ſame time, for the Debt? is the Queſtion. Now, as it reſted in God's good pleaſure, which of theſe he would accept, we muſt again have recourſe to Scripture for information: where we find, that the *interceſſion* was by way of SATISFACTION for the Debt.

This *Satisfaction* is called in Scripture, REDEMPTION; a term taken from civil tranſactions amongſt Men, where the things or perſons *redeemed* were paid for, with a price. Hence St. Paul, ſpeaking of our Redemption from the forfeiture of Adam, expreſſeth it by this Periphraſis, *Ye are bought with a price* ‖.

* 1 Tim. ii. 5. † Heb. viii. 6.

‡ See the note [F], at the end of this Book.

‖ 1 Cor. vi. 20.

The

The *price* paid was the DEATH of the Son of God. *Chriſt died for the ungodly* *, ſays he. And again, *Chriſt died for our Sins* †—*he died for all* ‡—*to obtain ſalvation, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt died for us* §. On this account, and in alluſion to the like tranſactions amongſt Men, the *Redeemer* is called the LORD of thoſe whom he *redeemed*—*For to this end* (ſays he) *Chriſt both died and roſe and revived, that he might be the* LORD *both of the dead and living* ||.

And now let us proceed to the nature of that DEATH which had the efficacy of REDEMPTION.

1. Firſt, it muſt be VOLUNTARY—*Hereby we perceive the love of God, becauſe he laid down his life for us* **, ſays St. John.—*I lay down my life for the Sheep*, (ſaith Jeſus himſelf) *no man taketh it from me, but I lay it down of myſelf. I have power to lay it down; and I have power to take it again. This* COMMANDMENT *have I received of my Father* ††. Here he repreſents the *laying down his life* as a *power* beſtowed, in conſequence of a *Command* received. And this will lead us to conſider

2. The ſecond requiſite of a *voluntary* death efficacious of *redemption*; which is, that it muſt be OFFERED UP, in conſequence of pre-ordained *acceptance*, called, in the text, a COMMAND. And what is a religious *offering up* to God, but a SACRIFICE?

In this ſenſe (the proper ſenſe of the word,) the holy Scriptures expreſſly call the death of Chriſt a SACRIFICE. St. Paul ſpeaking (as is his wont) in the Language of the LAW ‡‡, ſays,—

* Rom. v. 6. † 1 Cor. xv. 3. ‡ 2 Cor. v. 14.
§ 1 Theſſ. v. 9, 10. || Rom. xiv. 9.
** 1 Ep. John iii. 16. †† John x. 15—18.

‡‡ To this an objector may reply,—*if St. Paul ſpeaks in the Language of the Law*, why is not the word *Sacrifice* part of that language, as well as *Paſſover?* And if ſo, ſays ſuch a one, your argument from this text, in proof of a *real Sacrifice*, is enervated. To this I anſwer, the *language of the law* may extend to *names* without extending to *things*. It plainly does ſo, here. The word *Paſſover* is language peculiar to the *Law*: the word SACRIFICE, though the language of the *Law*, is not peculiar to it, but in uſe throughout the whole religious World to denote a *Rite*, common, at that time, to all Men.

Chriſt

Chriſt our Paſſover is SACRIFICED *for us* *. The Writer of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews, who rarely ſpeaks any other Language, ſays—*Chriſt needeth not daily, as thoſe high Prieſts, to offer up* SACRIFICE, *firſt for his own ſins, and then for the People's; for this he did once when he* OFFERED UP HIMSELF †. Again—*Chriſt hath appeared to put away ſin, by the* SACRIFICE OF HIMSELF ‡. And again—*He was once* OFFERED *to bear the ſins of many* §.

But the virtue of *expiatory Sacrifices* conſiſted in procuring ATONEMENT, by ſome ſort of SATISFACTION. And thus the expiatory Sacrifice of Chriſt on the Croſs operated for our REDEMPTION.

One could hardly have thought it poſſible, that any Man, who had read the *Goſpels*, with their beſt Interpreters, the Authors of the *Epiſtles*, ſhould ever have entertained a doubt, WHETHER THE DEATH OF CHRIST WAS A REAL SACRIFICE?

But miſtaken notions, concerning the *origin* and *nature* of this ſacred Rite, have ſo obſcured the *Rationale* of it, that the SOCINIANS, who boaſt to have interpreted Scripture on the ſevereſt and juſteſt Laws of Logic and Criticiſm, have, in this inſtance, as well as in many others, deviated more from theſe Laws than the moſt licentious of the *Allegoriſts*, or the wildeſt of the *Spiritualizers*. Here, in their care to avoid an imaginary abſurdity, they have fallen into a real one, and of the groſſeſt kind, while they conſider the *death of Chriſt* as nothing more than THE SEAL OF HIS MISSION. For, were this all, ſo bloody an Impreſſion might have been well ſpared; ſince the *proper Seal of his Miſſion*, or the evidence of his being SENT, were MIRACLES performed and PROPHECIES fulfilled. His DYING, if it were only in ſupport of what he taught, could be nothing more than the *ſeal of his Integrity*.

But Ignorance of the ORIGIN AND NATURE OF SACRIFICE hath miſled theſe our *Rationaliſts* into the groſs and ſemipagan errors concerning the *Rite* itſelf. And therefore it will be expedient to

* 1 Cor. v. 7.
† Heb. vii. 27.
‡ Heb. ix. 26.
§ Heb. ix. 28.

give

give (though it may prove a work of ſome length and labour) an enlarged Hiſtory of this whole matter.

As SACRIFICE is almoſt coeval with the human Race, its nature and ſuppoſed effects depend on the knowledge of its *Original*; which is only to be found in the notions, habits, and cuſtoms of the firſt mortals.

The PRINCIPLE advanced in the fourth Section of the fourth Book of this work, together with the reaſoning on that *Principle* concerning the ANCIENT MODE OF CONVERSE BY ACTION IN AID OF WORDS, will lead us (ſo prolific is that Principle, in laying open the moſt ſecret treaſures of Antiquity) to the true *rationale* of this widely extended, and as widely miſtaken, *Rite of Sacrifice*. This will ſhew, how the common ſentiments of our Nature would draw the firſt Men into this mode of worſhip, whether the SACRIFICE WAS EUCHARISTICAL, PROPITIATORY, or EXPIATORY. Under one or other of theſe Claſſes, I ſuppoſe, all ſorts of *Sacrifice* may be reaſonably comprized. Though the Egyptians, we are told, extended the number to ſix hundred ſixty and ſix. But their Sacrifices, like their Kings, were wantonly multiplied at pleaſure, in defiance of time and truth, to fit the purpoſe of every fabling or deſigning Prieſt. For, the Sentiments which nature and reaſon excite in every pious breaſt towards the Author and Support of our Being, are ſimply theſe, *Gratitude* for good beſtowed; *Application* to him for good ſought or wanted; and *Repentance* for, and deprecation of, Crimes committed.

1. Gratitude gave birth to *Euchariſtical Sacrifice*. And this duty was, in the moſt early times, diſcharged in EXPRESSIVE ACTION; the leaſt equivocal of which was, the Offerer's bringing the firſt fruits of Paſturage or Agriculture, to that ſequeſtered place, where the Deity uſed to be more ſolemnly invoked, at the ſtated times of religious Worſhip; and there, preſenting them in homage, with a demeanour which ſpoke to this purpoſe--- "I do hereby acknow-"ledge thee, O my God! to be the Author and giver of all good:

"and

" and do now, with humble gratitude, return my warmeſt thanks " for theſe thy bleſſings, particularly beſtowed upon me."

Things, thus devoted, became, from thenceforth, ſacred. And to prevent their *deſecration*, the readieſt way was to ſend them to the Table of the Prieſt, or to conſume them in the fire of the Altar.

2. The PROPITIATORY SACRIFICE was *precatory*, to implore ſucceſs to their labours, in order to procure and improve to their uſe theſe common bleſſings of Providence; and *deprecatory*, to avert the evils due to the paſt abuſe of ſuch bleſſings. And in this ſpecies of Sacrifice, likewiſe, the oblation was ſo contrived as to be an *Action* equally expreſſive of an invocation for the continuance of God's favour; and for the remiſſion of the Offerer's tranſgreſſions.

3. But it is the third Sort, the EXPIATORY SACRIFICE, which, by reaſon of the horrid abuſes it early underwent, hath obſcured the whole face of things: yet the luciferous Principle, here applied, to illuſtrate this whole matter, ſhews EXPIATORY SACRIFICE to be, in its nature, as intelligible, and in practice as rational, as either of the other two. Here, inſtead of preſenting the firſt fruits of agriculture and paſturage, in corn, wine, oil and wool, as in the *euchariſtical*, or a portion of what was to be ſown or otherwiſe propagated, as in the *propitiatory*; ſome choſen Animal, precious to the repenting Criminal, who deprecates, or ſuppoſed to be obnoxious to the Deity, who is to be appeaſed, was offered up and ſlain at the Altar, in an Action, which, in all languages, when tranſlated into words, ſpeaks to this purpoſe,---" I confeſs my tranſgreſſions at thy " footſtool, O my God! and, with the deepeſt contrition, implore " thy Pardon; confeſſing that I deſerve death for theſe my " offences."—The latter part of the Confeſſion was more forcibly expreſſed by the *Action* of ſtriking the devoted animal, and depriving it of life; which, when put into words, concluded in this manner— " And I own that I myſelf deſerve the death which I " now inflict on this Animal."

But here it will be proper to obſerve, that as crimes of a lighter complexion were atoned for, as well as deprecated in the *propitiatory*

Sacrifice; ſo thoſe of a deeper dye could be only blotted out by the *expiatory*. This frequently brought into both the ſlaughter, or at leaſt, the conſecration of a devoted animal, by an action which ſpoke alike in each; but louder in the *expiatory*; while, in all the *three*, the *action of Sacrifice* ſtill expreſſed a reaſonable language.

But this ſyſtem of Sacrifice, ſo well ſupported by what we know of plain and ſimple Nature, in its moſt early movements, is further realized by what Hiſtorians tell us was pronounced by the mouth of the Sacrificer himſelf; who frequently explained his own action by the words with which he accompanied it.

We learn from Antiquity, that when friendly or adverſe States had entered into an alliance for mutual defence, or ended a war on mutual conditions, the League was ſolemnized by the two parties with the additional Sanction of a SACRIFICE, in its nature chiefly partaking of that ſpecies we call *Propitiatory*; to implore a bleſſing on the tranſaction.

The Hiſtorian, Livy, hath recorded the Ceremonies in uſe, in theſe Sorts of Sacrifice; where, ſpeaking of a Treaty concluded between the Roman and Alban People, on certain conditions mutually agreed upon, he tells us, that the Public perſon, on the part of Rome, whom we may call the *King at arms*, and who was the ſacrificing Prieſt, when about to ſtrike the Victim, thus invocates their common God, in an addreſs to the Alban People, and their chief Heralds—"Legibus deinde recitatis, Audi, inquit, "*Jupiter*; audi *Pater patrate* Populi Albani; audi tu Populus "Albanus; ut illa palam prima poſtrema ex illis Tabulis Cerave "recitata ſunt, ſine dolo malo, utique ea hic hodie rectiſſime intel- "lecta ſunt, illis Legibus Populus Romanus prior non deficiet. Si "prior defexit publico Conſilio dolo malo, TU ILLO DIE, JUPITER, "POPULUM ROMANUM SIC FERITO, UT EGO HUNC PORCUM HIC "HODIE FERIAM TANTOQUE MAGIS FERITO *quanto magis potes* "*polleſque: Id ubi dixit, porcum ſaxo ſilice percuſſit* *."

* Liv. l. i. c. 24.

Another

Another Treaty concluded between Hannibal and his Army of multifarious *Adventurers* was, the ſame hiſtorian tells us, ſanctified in the like manner. Juſt before the battle of Trebia, the General, encouraging his Followers, by all the uſual excitements, to do their duty, concludes with a promiſe of the moſt magnificent ſpoils, as the reward of their valour. And then offering one of thoſe *propitiatory* Sacrifices for himſelf and his army; the better to induce the various nations, of which it was compoſed, to confide in his word, and reſt aſſured of his good faith, he held out a Lamb ready for the Altar, and then proceeded in the following manner—
"Eaque ut rata ſcirent fore, Agnum læva manu, dextra ſilicem
"retinens, SI FALLERET, JOVEM CÆTEROSQUE PRECATUS DEOS
"ITA SE MACTARENT QUEMADMODUM IPSE AGNUM MACTASSET.
"*Secundum precationem, Caput pecudis ſaxo eliſit* *."

We ſee the reaſon, why in theſe religious Acts, when made the Sanction of good faith, in public and civil conventions, the expreſſive *action* ſhould be further aſcertained by *Words*. It was neceſſary, in an affair of public and general importance, to give the utmoſt preciſion to the Act, by removing from it all doubtful or equivocal meaning.

Again, it is further worth our notice, that, although THE SPEAKING BY ACTION had (as we have ſhewn) its original in the defects and imperfections of early language; yet, even when thoſe impediments to fuller information were in a good meaſure removed, ſtill, partly from habit and cuſtom, but principally from ſome advantages which this mode of converſe had above the other, of ſpeech, it was (as has been obſerved elſewhere) long kept up amongſt People of ſimpler manners, eſpecially in the more ſolemn tranſactions of life; of which thoſe relating to religion were the chief: by reaſon, that *ſignificative actions* make a ſtronger and more durable impreſſion than *words*; as the Eye is a more certain and ſteady conveyance of intelligence than the Ear.

* Liv. lib. xxi. c. 45.

On the whole, the Reader now ſees, that nothing could be more natural, intelligible, or rational, than *this mode of religious Worſhip*, as here explained.

Ignorance of all this, and inattention to the ſtate and condition of ancient times, have divided *Believers* into two parties on this ſubject.

One of them holds, that the origin of Sacrifices was by *command from Heaven*; the other, that it ſprung from *Superſtition*, together with many the like abſurd practices. The firſt call this religious Rite, *Myſterious:* and ſo give to *Heaven* what, in their opinion, *Reaſon* diſclaims. *As to the origin of Sacrifices*, (ſays a learned Divine,) *it is extremely hard to conceive them to be a human Inſtitution*; BECAUSE *we cannot give any tolerable account of the* REASONS *of them* *. A more than *tolerable*, even a plain and clear *reaſon*, the Reader ſees is now given. But men are always diſpoſed to find in themſelves a ſtandard for the meaſure of all things. However, admit *Sacrifice* to be devoid of *Reaſon*; muſt things, thus circumſtanced, needs come from Heaven? As if nothing had ever entered into Religion that was of the growth of Superſtition! What will be the conſequence of thus accounting for what we do not underſtand, but the diſpoſing men to think, that every religious Rite, though palpably abſurd, yet, if fancifully *myſterious*, had that original?

Another argument, which this more orthodox Party urge for their Opinion, that Sacrifice muſt needs be heavenly-derived, is, perhaps, ſomething more plauſible, but equally inconcluſive: It is the *very early uſe of Sacrifice*, which riſes as high as the two Sons of Adam. And, indeed, our account of this *ſignificative action* ſhews, that we can conceive no time, after the *Fall*, too early for its introduction amongſt men, under the guidance and government of *natural Religion*, as theſe two Brothers certainly were: Beſides, the defects of language, while in its early rudiments, neceſſarily

* Shuckford.

occaſioned

occaſioned this *mode* of intercourſe between Man and his Maker. Yet, notwithſtanding, Primæval uſe can never prove *Sacrifice* to have ariſen from any other ſource than the light of *natural reaſon*. And if that be ſufficient (as we have ſhewn it is), we muſt needs conclude that it aroſe from thence, when Scripture is ſilent concerning any other ſource. Eſpecially ſince we find that this Scripture hath carefully recorded what *God* immediately, and not *nature*, taught to Adam and his Family. Now, concerning *Sacrifice*, there is not a ſingle word which implies any ſuch inſtruction. On the contrary, the manner in which the ſtory is told leads us to conclude, that the Rite was firſt dictated by *natural reaſon*.—*Abel was a keeper of ſheep, but Cain was a Tiller of the ground. And in proceſs of time it came to paſs, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, an offering unto the Lord. And Abel he brought of the firſtling of his flock* *.—*And* IN PROCESS OF TIME (ſays the Hiſtorian) IT CAME TO PASS, &c. words, which (in the ſequel) not only acquaint us with the firſt Sacrificers, but in theſe, here quoted, ſtrongly intimate, that the *Rite* was of human original. While, throughout the whole narrative, we find no mention of any preſcribed mode of *Patriarchal Sacrifice*, though Moſes is moſt minute in what concerns the preſcribed Sacrifices of the LAW. Doth not this ſhew, that the firſt was a voluntary, uncommanded Worſhip, where the *mode* was left to the diſcretion of the Worſhipper; and the latter a *preſcribed* Rite, where every circumſtance, in the celebration, was to be ſcrupulouſly obſerved?

Nor is this reaſoning to be evaded by the confeſſed brevity of the ſacred Hiſtorian. For had the Original of Sacrifice been preſcribed, and directly commanded by the Deity, Moſes could never have omitted the expreſs mention of that circumſtance. The two capital Obſervances in the Jewiſh Ritual were the SABBATH and SACRIFICES.—To impreſs the higheſt reverence and veneration on the *Sabbath*, the Hiſtorian is careful to record its divine Original.

* Gen. iv. 2.

in.

in theſe words——*Thus the Heavens and the Earth were finiſhed, and all the Hoſt of them. And on the ſeventh day, God ended his Work, which he had made: and he* RESTED ON THE SEVENTH DAY *from all his work which he had made: and* GOD BLESSED THE SEVENTH DAY, AND SANCTIFIED IT: *becauſe that in it, he had reſted from all his Work, which God created and made* *. Now, who can ſuppoſe, that, had SACRIFICE been of divine Original, Moſes would have neglected to eſtabliſh this truth, at the time that he recorded the other? Since it was of equal uſe, and of equal importance, with the other. I ſhould have ſaid of much greater: for the multifarious *Sacrifices* of the LAW had not only a reference to the *forfeiture* of Adam, but likewiſe prefigured our *Redemption* by Jeſus Chriſt, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter.

The other miſtaken extreme, ariſing from the ſame cauſe, namely, ignorance of the nature of Sacrifice, is amongſt thoſe Believers, who hold, that although Sacrifice became, at length, of *divine right*, yet, in its Origin, it was but a capricious Ordinance of human invention; concerning which, no rational or philoſophic account can be given; yet, having ſpread wide, and ſtruck its roots deep into the fat and lumpiſh Soil of Superſtition, it was ſuffered, by God, to occupy a place in the Moſaic Inſtitution, in compliance with the prejudices of a perverſe and barbarous People, to whom many other extraneous Rites (perhaps irrational, but certainly harmleſs) were indulged.

And now, to go on with our Hiſtory of Sacrifice. This important Rite, firſt dictated by natural reaſon, did not long continue in its original integrity.

Of all the cuſtoms in uſe amongſt Men, thoſe reſpecting Religion are moſt liable to abuſe. For the paſſions of HOPE and FEAR become then moſt inordinate when the Mind is taken up and occupied in the offices of divine Worſhip. At this ſeaſon, the ſobriety of common ſenſe is often forced to give way to the extravagance

* Gen. ii. 2, 3.

of

of the imagination. And this more eſpecially muſt have been the caſe in thoſe early Ages, when undiſciplined REASON was but juſt projecting how to curb the irregular ſallies of Enthuſiaſm.

Add to this, that SACRIFICE being a *Scenical* Rite, it was principally fitted to ſtrike the Fancy; which delighting in paradox and Myſtery, would riot in this enchanted ground, till it had loſt ſight of the ſimple meaning of a plain expreſſive action, firſt conceived for *uſe*, and continued out of *neceſſity*.

Under this ſtate of deluſion, *Euchariſtical* and *propitiatory* Sacrifices were ſoon imagined to receive their chief value from the *coſtlineſs* of the offering; and HECATOMBS were ſuppoſed more acceptable to Heaven, than purity of mind, adorned with gratitude, and humble reliance on the Deity.

Amidſt theſe diſorders, *Philoſophers* and *Moraliſts* might, from time to time, cry out, and aſk, as they did, but without being heard;

"Dicite, Pontifices, in Sacro quid facit Aurum?
"Quin damus id Superis, de magna quod dare lance
"Non poſſit magni Meſſalæ lippa propago:
"Compoſitum jus, faſque animi ſanctoſque receſſus
"Mentis, et incoctum generoſo pectus honeſto?
"Hæc cedo, ut admoveam Templis, et farre litabo*."——

The world went on its Train; *and pomp of Sacrifice* was every where preferred to the *piety of the Offerer*.

But in *expiatory* Sacrifices, matters went ſtill worſe. For, in theſe, the paſſion of FEAR being predominant, ſtrange enormities were ſoon ſuperadded to the follies of the Worſhippers.

In theſe, the offering of the ſlain animal began, firſt of all, to be vainly conſidered as a VICARIOUS ATONEMENT for the crimes of the Sacrificer.

Though, in the purity of the firſt Inſtitution of Sacrifice, *ſtriking* the devoted animal was an action naturally ſignificative; which

* Perſ. Satyr. II.

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(as we ſaid) when reduced to words, contained no more than this humble and contrite recognition – *I confeſs, O my God! that I deſerve death for my tranſgreſſions.*

Modern Unbelievers, to get to their favourite point, which was to arraign the Moſaic Ritual for its *vicarious atonements*, have been very large in expoſing this abuſe in the offices of *pagan* or of *natural* Religion, corrupted. "Right reaſon (ſay they) diſclaims all ſuch atonements; and teaches, that to ſecure pardon for our offences againſt God, no more is required than humble confeſſion before the throne of Grace, joined to a ſincere purpoſe of amendment; ſo that all the *Moſaic*, as well as Pagan Sacrifices, which went on the idea of a *vicarious atonement*, were merely human inventions of fraud or ſuperſtition."

But this charge againſt the Law is founded either in ignorance or in ill faith. For though it may be true, that, by the *Law of Nature*, all *vicarious atonement* by Sacrifice is ſuperfluous and abſurd; yet, by the *Law of Moſes*, it was rendered juſt and rational; for though this *Law* was founded, as all God's revelations are, on *natural Religion*, yet the Law, built thereupon, is conceived on the Principle of a FREE GIFT, long ſince forfeited by the breach of the Condition on which it was beſtowed. This Principle, together with the *loſs*, intimates the *recovery*. And further, in the inſtitution of the *Rites of Sacrifice*, inſtructs us in the *means* employed for the recovery; *means* peculiar, and properly adapted, to the nature of a *free gift*.

We have already given, and ſhall further explain and juſtify, thoſe *means* (namely, the VICARIOUS ATONEMENT, in the SACRIFICE ON THE CROSS, with its dependencies), on the grounds of Natural Reaſon and Religion.

To free, therefore, the *vicarious atonements*, in the Moſaic Sacrifices, from this Objection of our PHILOSOPHERS, it will be ſufficient to obſerve theſe two things:

1. Firſt,

1. Firſt, that the Moſaic Sacrifices were TYPES (and by both the Diſpenſations of the *Law* and *Goſpel* declared to be ſo) of the great vicarious Sacrifice of the Croſs: So that the juſtification of their uſe depends on their Prototype; whoſe conformity to right reaſon and equity will be ſhewn.

2. But then, in the ſecond place, as theſe *Types* had a MORAL IMPORT *, that is, bore a temporal ſenſe likewiſe, having a relation to the peculiar benefits enjoyed under a THEOCRACY, and ſo, of conſequence, were not *Types* merely and ſolely of things to come, and to be tranſacted in another Syſtem, it will be neceſſary, in order to their full juſtification againſt the objections of our adverſaries, to ſhew, that the *peculiar* benefits given by the LAW were of the nature of a FREE GIFT, like that of *immortality*, which was firſt beſtowed on, and ſoon after loſt by Adam in *Paradiſe*, and recovered by Jeſus Chriſt in the *Goſpel*. Between which two Diſpenſations, the LAW *came in* (as an intermediate Revelation), and the benefits *peculiar* to the LAW (namely extraordinary *temporal bleſſings*) were ſo far of the nature of the FREE GIFT of immortality (their prototype), as to make the MEANS of reconciliation for the violated condition, attendant on ſuch a *Gift*, different from what is required for the tranſgreſſions which natural Religion condemns.

Thus have we put a fair end to this formidable objection, conceived in ignorance, and brought forth in iniquity.

But this is not all. The ſacred Volume, which contains the Principles whereon *vicarious atonements* are juſtified, under the *Moſaic Law*, at the ſame time inſtructs us, that, by the LAW OF NATURE, a *vicarious atonement by ſacrifice* is ſuperſtitious and abſurd.

Moſes, in pity of his People (whoſe idolatry, during his ſhort abſence, had ſo incenſed the God of Iſrael, as to make it apprehended, by their Leader, that they would be totally abandoned, if

* See theſe terms explained in the 6th book of this work, Sect. V. p. 400.

not inſtantly deſtroyed), tranſported with the patriot paſſion, and miſled by the Principles he had brought from Egypt, concerning VICARIOUS DEVOTEMENTS, thus addreſſes the Lord:—*Yet now, if thou wilt, forgive their ſins: and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy Book which thou haſt written.* To this the God of Iſrael replies (but on the principles of his own prior *Law*, the LAW OF NATURE; the *Ritual Law* being already planned, indeed, but not given and received),—"WHOEVER HATH SINNED AGAINST ME, HIM *will I blot out of my book* *." As much as to ſay, "The *Law of Nature* "allows not of *vicarious atonements*; but ordains, that the man "who tranſgreſſeth ſhall himſelf bear the puniſhment of his ini- "quity; a puniſhment which no man deſerves for the faults of "another, unleſs he be partaker of the guilt, by joining in the "tranſgreſſion."

But ſelf-love, aided by ſuperſtition, made men ſeek for pardon of their own Sins in the ſufferings of others. When God gave the *Law of Nature*, he did not permit his Creatures to change the means he had ordained for pardon and reconciliation. But when he ordained the *Moſaic Law*, by which many benefits of *mere grace*, as well as others of *Debt*, were beſtowed, he might, for breaches in the condition annexed to thoſe of *mere grace*, well and equitably make the terms of pardon *different* from thoſe he had before eſtabliſhed for breaches in the condition annexed to thoſe of *Debt*.

Thus we ſee how REVELATION triumphs; while every attack upon it produceth, in ſome new diſcovery of the amazing Wiſdom in the various parts of the Diſpenſation, ſome further evidence of its Truth and Divinity. We have ſhewn with what ſuperior ſagacity, as well as indulgence, many harmleſs practices of Gentiliſm were introduced into the Moſaic Ritual. But to manifeſt to the World what uſe divine Wiſdom can make even of the worſt rubbiſh of Paganiſm, VICARIOUS SACRIFICES, condemned by the *Law of Nature*, as abſurd and ſuperſtitious, it changed, when brought

* Exod. xxx. 32, 33.

into

into the Moſaic Ritual, their very nature; and, in that revealed Syſtem, made them proviſionary and reaſonable.

And now, again, to proceed. A deep-rooted *Superſtition* is always ſpreading wide and more wide. When men, thus labouring under this evil, had (in order to give themſelves eaſe) gone ſo far as to indulge the fancy of a *vicarious Sacrifice*, it was natural for them, to think of enhancing ſo cheap an *atonement* by the coſt and rarity of the *offering*. And oppreſſed with their malady, they never reſted till they had got to that which they conceived to be the moſt precious of all, A HUMAN SACRIFICE. Nay, to accumulate the merit of the ſervice by bringing it ſtill nearer home, the madneſs did not ceaſe to rage till it terminated in INFANTICIDE, or in offering up to their grim idols (inſtead of themſelves) the CHILDREN of their bowels. We learn from *Sanchoniathon*, in that ineſtimable fragment of Antiquity, tranſlated by *Philobiblius*, that what is here collected from the natural courſe of things, is realized by fact. *It was cuſtomary in ancient times* (ſays the fragment) *in great and public calamities, before things became incurable, for Princes and Magiſtrates to offer up in ſacrifice to the avenging Demons, the deareſt of their Offspring* *. Under the fanatic fury of the high efficacy of this *atonement*, we need not wonder that the ſtrongeſt inſtincts of Nature ſhould be ſubdued, and even their very impreſſions effaced, in this horrid ſacrifice, when we reflect that mere *civil cuſtom*, to avoid only a probable, nay, but a poſſible, inconvenience, was, in thoſe early times, of force enough to eraze, even out of the beſt cultivated minds, the innate *love of Parents for their Children*, and to introduce a general practice of *expoſing* them, at their birth, to almoſt inevitable deſtruction. What power then muſt this magic of cuſtom acquire, when joined to dire Superſtition, under the horror of approaching vengeance, to diſpoſe the terrified Supplicant to offer up his own kind to avert it; nay, to make all ſure, his own offspring, not only with indifference, but with alacrity.

* Apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. l. 4. p. 158,—ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς, τῶν κινδύνων, ἄνδι τῆς πάντων φθορᾶς τὸν ἠγαπημενὸν τῶν τέκνων τοὺς κρατοῦντας ἢ πόλεως ἢ ἔθνους, ὡς ἀφαγὴν ἐπιδιδόναι λύτρον τοῖς τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι. κατισφάττοντο δὲ οἱ διδόμενοι μυστικῶς.

This ſeems to have been the true original of HUMAN SACRIFICE*: An infernal practice, which ſoon overſpread the World, barbarous and civil. For that LOVE and FEAR of God, implanted in our Nature to improve and perfect HUMANITY, do, when become degenerate by fanatic and ſervile paſſions, make as ſpeedy a progreſs in diſhonouring and debaſing it.

From this HISTORY of the origin, uſe, and abuſe of SACRIFICE, thus delivered, on the principles of Nature and Reaſon, and verified by Fact, I have deduced, and, with the fulleſt evidence, eſtabliſhed the following truths.

1. Firſt, That the mode of Religious Worſhip by SACRIFICE, is in itſelf, A REASONABLE SERVICE.

2. Secondly, That Sacrifice for ſin was a fit atonement, and reaſonably required in the Diſpenſations both of *natural* and *revealed* Religion, as a proper means of reconciling ſinful man to his offended Maſter.

3. Thirdly, That this ſpecies of it, which is moſt open to objection, the VICARIOUS SACRIFICE, is founded in Reaſon, when directed to the *Moſaic* and *Chriſtian* Syſtems; how abuſive and abſurd ſoever, when practiſed in the offices of *Paganiſm*.

Nothing but *this hiſtory of Sacrifice* could lay open the way to theſe Truths: And nothing but theſe Truths could let us into the true Syſtem of GOSPEL REDEMPTION. For till it was ſhewn that a VICARIOUS ATONEMENT, a thing of the eſſence of this Syſtem, is conſonant to our moſt rational ideas of the divine attributes; it might be thought, by thoſe who only ſaw the abuſe, and were ignorant of the genuine uſe of *vicarious atonement*, that our proving the death of Chriſt to be a REAL SACRIFICE, was only adding one embarraſs more in the road of *Revelation*, inſtead of removing (as was my intention) a great many that ignorance hath laid acroſs it.

* See note [G], at the end of this Book.

But

But having now obviated the SOCINIAN objection to this ſpecies of Sacrifice, we may proceed without further impediment to eſtabliſh this capital Principle of the Chriſtian Faith, THE SACRIFICE OF CHRIST ON THE CROSS FOR THE REDEMPTION OF MANKIND.

1. Which will be done, firſt of all, by ſhewing that the *precious death upon the Croſs* was, for many ages, *prefigured*, and, in a ſceni-cal manner, *foretold* by the SACRIFICES OF THE LAW; and more particularly and circumſtantially by thoſe *Sacrifices* called PIACULAR and VICARIOUS.

2. And ſecondly, by ſhewing that this DEATH was kept in perpetual memory under the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, by a SACRED RITE, inſtituted by the Divine Victim himſelf, on his going to be offered; this *Rite* being (to ſpeak properly) nothing but, nor other than, A FEAST UPON A SACRIFICE.

I. All Chriſtian Churches, even the *Socinian*, agree in this, that the Sacrifices of the Jewiſh Law ſerved, amongſt other uſes, for TYPES of the *death of Chriſt*, particularly thoſe Sacrifices called *vicarious*, *piacular*, and *expiatory*. Of which, ſome prefigured one part of that tremendous tranſaction, and ſome another.—The victim burnt without the Camp foretold his ſufferings without the City—The blood ſprinkled in the *Sanctum Sanctorum* by the High-prieſt, on the day of expiation, prefigured our entrance into heaven, whither Chriſt prepared the way for us by his blood—The ſacrifice of the Paſchal-Lamb, which was both *piacular* and *euchariſtical*, proclaimed the innocence of our Redeemer, and the univerſal benefit of his blood to Mankind.

To ſet this matter in the cleareſt light—As to the ſimple rite of SACRIFICE, this was not peculiar to Judaiſm. It was in uſe, as we have ſhewn, from the beginning. Nature dictated this Symbol to all her Children: It being nothing elſe than a ſpecies of Worſhip, in *action* inſtead of *words*; ſo that *ſacrifice* and *religious worſhip* were correlative and coeval ideas. The particular thing which Moſes indulged to his people, for the *hardneſs of their hearts*, was that *multifarious Ritual*, of which, indeed, Sacrifice makes a capital part.

Amongſt

Amongſt the various cauſes of the *Moſaic Ritual*, the principal were theſe:

1. Firſt, A neceſſity of complying with thoſe inveterate prejudices (leaſt liable to idolatrous abuſe) which a long abode in Egypt had induced: amongſt the chief was their attachment to SACRIFICE; a ſpecies of divine worſhip, which, at this time, made almoſt the whole of Religion in the Egyptian world. Theſe people (as hath been obſerved before) reckoning up ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix ſorts of *ſacrifice*.

2. A ſecond cauſe of the Moſaic Ritual was to debar the people from their too ready entrance to Idolatry, by keeping them continually occupied in the performance of their ſacred Rites to the GOD OF ISRAEL; whoſe NAME, when loſt in all other places, was, by their SEPARATION, to be preſerved in the land of Judea, till *the fullneſs of time ſhould come.*

3. A third was to PREFIGURE, by theſe Rites of Sacrifice, the DEATH OF CHRIST UPON THE CROSS: For the *Moſaic Religion* being the foundation of, and preparatory to, the *Chriſtian*, it was fit and proper to connect theſe two parts of God's moral Diſpenſation, in ſuch a manner that their mutual relation might, in a proper time, become evident to all men. For in two Religions related to each other, as the MEANS and the END, the FOUNDATION and the SUPERSTRUCTURE, nothing can be more conformable to our ideas of Divine Wiſdom, than its contriving ſome ties which might eſtabliſh the knowledge, and perpetuate the memory of that cloſe relation, without immaturely explaining the particulars of it. Now what can be conceived more effectual for this purpoſe than to make the RITES of the *one* Religion TYPICAL, that is, declarative and expreſſive of the general *nature* of the *other*.

Theſe various uſes of SACRIFICE in the Moſaic Ritual cannot but raiſe our admiration of the divine Wiſdom, which hath ſo contrived, that the very Worſhip indulged to the Iſraelites, in compaſſion to their childiſh prejudices, ſhould not only prevent the abuſes, the natural effect of thoſe prejudices which led to idolatry, but,

but, at the ſame time, ſhould eſtabliſh and proclaim, by means of their TYPICAL repreſentations, a ſtrong and laſting connection between the two Religions. *Repreſentations* ſo appoſite to this end and purpoſe, that all the ſects and parties in Chriſtianity, how widely ſoever they differ amongſt themſelves in other matters, agree in this, that *the ſacrifices of the Law*, beſides the other uſes in the Moſaic inſtitution, are TYPICAL OF THE DEATH OF CHRIST *. So far, we ſay, all the Chriſtian Churches, even the SOCINIAN, agree with us. In this, they differ; they pretend, that though the *Jewiſh Sacrifices* prefigured the death of Chriſt, as *Types* of it, yet it does not follow that *his death* was a *real Sacrifice*, like the Jewiſh. On the contrary, we affirm, that this alone is ſufficient to ſhew, that if the *Type* was a *real Sacrifice*, the Antitype muſt be ſo likewiſe. For (to enter a little more particularly into this mode of repreſentation) a TYPE differs from a SYMBOL in this, that the Type repreſents ſomething *future*; the *Symbol*, ſomething *paſt* or *preſent*.—The commanded Sacrifice of Iſaac was given for a *Type*; the Sacrifices of the *Law* were *Types*. The Images of the Cherubims over the Propitiatory were *Symbols*; the bread and wine in the laſt Supper were *Symbols*.

So far they agree in their *genus*, that they are equally REPRESENTATIONS; but in their *ſpecies*, they differ widely.

It is not required that the *Symbol* ſhould partake of the *nature* of the thing repreſented: the Cherubims ſhadowed out the celerity of Angels, but not by any phyſical celerity of their own; the bread and wine ſhadowed out the body and blood of Chriſt, but not by any change in the Elements.

But *Types* being, on the contrary, repreſentations of *things future*, and ſo partaking of the nature of *Prophecy*, were to convey information concerning the *nature* of the *Antitypes*, or of the things repreſented; which they could not do, but by the exhibition of their own nature.

* See what hath been ſaid of the logical and natural propriety of *Types* and *ſecondary ſenſes*, B. vi. S. 6. of the Divine Legation.

Hence

Hence we collect, that the command to offer Iſaac, being the command to offer a *real Sacrifice*, the death and ſufferings of Chriſt, thereby repreſented, was a *real Sacrifice*. And the piacular and vicarious Sacrifices of the Law being *real Sacrifices*, the Death on the Croſs was a *real Sacrifice* likewiſe.

Were this otherwiſe, the *Type*, as a *Type*, would contain more than was contained in the *antitype*. An abſurdity, which makes the *Shadow* convey more than the *Subſtance*; when, by its very nature, it ſhould convey leſs. On this Truth, the reaſoning in the Epiſtle to the Hebrews is founded.—"Chriſt (ſays the Apoſtolic "Writer) was once *offered* to bear the ſins of many. For the *Law* "having the Shadow of good things to come, and not the very "image of the things, can never with thoſe *Sacrifices*, which "they offered, year by year, continually, make the comers there-"unto perfect: for then would they not have ceaſed to be "offered *."

The Jewiſh Sacrifices are here called Shadows, not in an abſolute, but in a comparative ſenſe. The *Type* is inferior to the *Antitype*, juſt as, in viſible things, a natural *ſhadow* is to an artificial *image*. For the *Typical* Sacrifices of the *Law*, having, beſides their property of *Types*, a moral import, (and not like the Typical Sacrifice commanded to be offered by Abraham, *a mere ſhadow, without any moral import,)* are called *Shadows*, not in oppoſition to realities (for having a *moral import*, they are *realities)*; but called *Shadows*, only in compariſon to the vaſt diſparity between the virtues of the *Types* and the *Antitype*, thus explained and enforced by the ſame inſpired Writer—"For if the blood of bulls and of "goats, and the aſhes of an heifer, ſprinkling the unclean, ſancti-"fieth to the *purifying of the fleſh*, how much more ſhall the "blood of Chriſt, who *offered* himſelf without ſpot to God, *purge* "*your conſcience* from dead works to ſerve the living God †?"

* Heb. ix. 28. x. 1, 2. See B. vi. S. 6. of the Divine Legation.

† Heb. ix. 13, 14.

Again;

Again; though, from hence, it appears that theſe *Types* with the *Antitype* are occupied in the elucidation of the ſame great ſubject, yet it will not follow, that every ſeveral *Type* is equally expreſſive of the Antitype. Some of them ſhall preſent a more perfect image of the *Antitype* than others; yet they do not exclude the moſt imperfect from a ſhare in the honour of ſo auguſt a repreſentation. For though the divine Author of the Syſtem had ordained, that the whole of the Jewiſh Ritual, concerning Sacrifices, ſhould *typify* or prefigure the great SACRIFICE OF CHRIST; yet as thoſe *Sacrifices*, at the ſame time, conſtituted an eſſential part of the Moſaic Oeconomy, which, on ſeveral occaſions, I have expreſſed more generally by the terms of their bearing a MORAL IMPORT, it could not but be that ſome would carry *fainter*, and others *ſtronger*, *ſhadows* or *images* of what as *Types* they repreſented; juſt as the various Jewiſh ſervice, in its moral nature, afforded more or leſs occaſions of evidence. Thus, the *Type* of the *Paſchal-Lamb* was a more perfect repreſentation, than the *Type* of the *Victim burnt without the Camp.*

It might, and probably would have been otherwiſe, had theſe Types borne *no moral import*, like the command to offer Iſaac, for then nothing could have hindered all the *Types* from being as complete repreſentations of the *Antitype* as that *command to Abraham* was; and if nothing hindered, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, it would have been done.

We have obſerved, that theſe *Types*, in the Moſaic Ritual, were a kind of *Prophecy by action*; in which Providence was pleaſed to manifeſt to the world, the real connexion between the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian Revelations. But this was not all. The other ſort of Prophecy was not wanting, which, by way of eminence, has commonly aſſumed the *name*, viz. The written Predictions of the Jewiſh Prophets. Where, in a detailed account of the PROMISED MESSIAH, the principal part relates to his death and ſufferings on the croſs, under the idea of a SACRIFICE. And if, as hath been pretended, theſe things relate to *Jeſus* only in a *ſecondary ſenſe*, and

to the Jewiſh Leaders in a *primary*; this would only make the analogy between theſe two kinds of Prediction more complete, and the connexion between the two Religions more ſtrong and durable. For the Jewiſh Sacrifices, though as *types* they refer *ultimately* to Chriſt, yet as a religious ſervice not typical, they had, like Prophecy, a prior reference to the LAW. So admirable is this coincidence between theſe two ſorts of *prediction*. As to the logical and moral fitneſs of SECONDARY SENSES, I have explained that matter at large in the former parts of this work *.

Hitherto in ſupport of the Doctrine of the GREAT SACRIFICE ON THE CROSS. And this alone ſeems abundantly ſufficient to eſtabliſh it.

But this is not the whole. It was not only FORETOLD by the Types and other Prophecies of the *old Law*, but the Remembrance of it was PERPETUATED by a divine Inſtitution in the *new:* and an explanation of this Rite is the laſt ſtep we ſhall take to fix this fundamental Article of our holy Faith.

In thoſe Ages of the World †, when Victims made a principal part of the Religion both of Jews and Gentiles, the *Sacrifice* was commonly followed by a religious Feaſt on the thing offered, called *a Feaſt upon, or after, the Sacrifice*; the partakers of which were ſuppoſed to become partakers of the BENEFITS of the Sacrifice. In alluſion to this cuſtom, Jeſus was pleaſed to inſtitute a Feaſt of the ſame kind.—In order of time, indeed, the *Feaſt* naturally *followed* the *Sacrifice*. But in this great Atonement, where the VICTIM, the OFFERER, and the PRIEST, were all one and the ſame Perſon, the *Feaſt* was, of neceſſity, to *precede* the Sacrifice.

The hiſtory of this inſtitution is recorded, by the Evangeliſts, in theſe words:—"And as they were eating, Jeſus took bread and "bleſſed it, and gave it to his diſciples, and ſaid, Take, eat, THIS "IS MY BODY: and he took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it "to them, ſaying, Drink ye all of it; for THIS IS MY BLOOD of

* See Book VI. Sect. VI.

† See the Diſcourſe on the Nature and End of the Lord's Supper.

"the

" the New Teſtament, which is ſhed for many, for the remiſſion of " ſins *."

Now, to manifeſt that we are not miſtaken in the idea here given of this Rite, let us reflect on the preciſe time of its celebration.

As Jeſus, with his Diſciples, (ſays the text,) was concluding the Paſchal Supper, which was a Jewiſh *Feaſt after the Sacrifice*, his own approaching Sacrifice naturally ſuggeſted to him the idea of this *cuſtomary Feaſt*. But being himſelf both the *Victim* and the *Offerer*, the Inſtitution of this Rite muſt of neceſſity, as we obſerved, *precede* the *Sacrifice*—The *Sacrifice on the Croſs* was the *Antitype* of the *Paſchal-Lamb*; and the *Feaſt* on Chriſt's Sacrifice was the *Antitype* of the Paſchal-feaſt. So that the propereſt ſeaſon we can conceive for the inſtitution of the *laſt ſupper*, was the inſtant of time between the celebration of the *type*, and the offering of the *Antitype*. This time likewiſe correſponded with Chriſt's uſual practice, who was wont to deliver his inſtructions by actions and expreſſions, bearing alluſion to what paſſed before his eyes, or preſented itſelf, in the natural courſe of things, to his obſervation †. Theſe conſiderations ſhew, that the *action*, in the celebration of this Rite, was ſo ſtrongly declarative of its nature, that had Jeſus only broken the bread and given the cup *in remembrance of himſelf*, without adding, *this is my body* and *this is my blood*, no ingenuous Hearer could entertain a doubt, whether this was deſigned by him as a *Feaſt upon the Sacrifice*. But when to this we add the remaining part of the explanatory words, in the conſecration of the Elements---THIS IS MY BODY---THIS IS MY BLOOD—what is here contended for becomes almoſt ſelf-evident.

In theſe *feaſts upon Sacrifice*, the very *body* that had been offered was eaten for the repaſt. Now, as the *laſt ſupper* was to be

* Matt. xxvi. 26, &c.

† See Sir Iſaac Newton's *Obſervations on the Prophecies*, p. 148; where he takes notice how Jeſus, from *the approach of harveſt*—from *the lilies in bloom*—from *the leaves of the fig-tree ſhot out*—from *the ſheep kept in folds near the temple for ſacrifice*—was accuſtomed to take occaſion of inculcating his ſpiritual Doctrines and Precepts.

inſtituted, and the Rite firſt celebrated, *before* the great Sacrifice was actually offered, (for the reaſon juſt now given,) it was on that account (not to mention other reaſons) neceſſary that ſome *ſymbolic elements* ſhould be ſubſtituted in the place of the *very body and blood*. Theſe elements were BREAD AND WINE: on this occaſion naturally, properly, and elegantly called, THE BODY AND BLOOD.

For if the ſpecific nature of the *laſt ſupper* was *a feaſt upon Sacrifice*, we muſt needs conclude, that the divine Inſtituter of the feaſt would give all poſſible evidence of ſo important a Truth.

But if (as was in fact the caſe) this evidence muſt ariſe from, and out of, the occaſion, and through the *words* of the Inſtitution, then the figurative terms of BODY and BLOOD became neceſſary, theſe only being fully declarative of the nature of the Rite. And as this made the uſe of theſe *terms* to be neceſſary, ſo the *neceſſity* of them produced their eaſe and elegance. This is obſerved, becauſe it has been uſual amongſt Proteſtants, even while they were oppoſing the portentous doctrine of TRANSUBSTANTIATION *, to acknowledge, either through ignorance of, or inattention to, the ſpecific nature of the Rite, that the figure of *body and blood* was extremely violent and forced.

It likewiſe removes another difficulty, which the advocates for a *real preſence* throw in the way of common ſenſe. They pretend that, if the words of the inſtitution were only FIGURATIVE, the Evangeliſt and St. Paul might, and probably would, have changed the *figure*, in their narratives, five times repeated on different occaſions; for that no reaſon can be given of the unvaried uſe of the ſame words, but becauſe they are to be underſtood LITERALLY; and then as they were declarative of one of the greateſt Myſteries in Religion, there was a neceſſity to record the *very terms* employed, whenever the hiſtory of the Inſtitution was related. To this, it is ſufficient to reply, that, indeed, were the words uſed *figuratively*,

* See note [H], at the end of this Book.

and

and the *figure* only expreſſive of a death commemorated, and no more, as the Socinians ſuppoſe it to be, it would be but reaſonable to think, the terms would have been varied by one or other of the ſacred Writers; becauſe it is natural to believe, that Writers of ſo different genius and acquirements in language would not all have the ſame opinion concerning the uſe of theſe *preciſe terms*, ſo as to eſteem them preferable to any other; as, in fact, on this idea of the Rite, they would not be. But we can by no means allow their conſequence, that, therefore, they are to be underſtood LITERALLY; ſince, if we admit the Inſtitution to be of the nature of *a feaſt upon Sacrifice*, there will be the ſame neceſſity for the unvaried uſe of the terms, although they be *figurative*, as there would have been although they were *literal*. For theſe preciſe terms are as neceſſary to denote *a feaſt upon Sacrifice* (the Rite we contend for) as to denote the Sacrifice itſelf; the enormous idea of the church of Rome.

All this reaſoning on the nature of the Inſtitution, from the words of the Inſtitutor, receives additional ſtrength even from what hath been ſuppoſed to invalidate it, namely, the concluſion of them—DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME—For although theſe words, when delivered alone, might enjoin no more than a *remembrance of a dead benefactor*, (which is the ſenſe the Socinians put upon them) yet, when preceded by—THIS IS MY BODY—THIS IS MY BLOOD—they are certainly an injunction to keep in *remembrance* his death and paſſion for our REDEMPTION. And could there be a feaſt upon a Sacrifice in which that *Sacrifice* was not to be kept in mind?

It is true, that the Diſciples of Chriſt being commanded to do this *in remembrance of him*, the Command ſhews that the celebration of this *Feaſt* was continually to be *repeated*, which was not the practice in the Pagan and Jewiſh *feaſts after the ſacrifice*. But, in this particular, the reaſon of the difference is apparent—The GREAT SACRIFICE itſelf (of which the Jewiſh were *types*) put an end to that mode of Religious Worſhip amongſt the Followers of Jeſus.

Jewiſh

Jewiſh and Pagan oblations had, or were ſuppoſed to have, a paſſing and temporary Virtue. *For the law having a ſhadow of good things to come, and not the very image of the things, can never with thoſe ſacrifices, which they offered year by year continually, make the Comers thereunto perfect:* FOR THEN WOULD THEY NOT HAVE CEASED TO BE OFFERED *.

But the Sacrifice on the Cross is the very *image* or the thing itſelf; and therefore has more than *a paſſing and temporary effect*, it continues operating till the conſummation of all things; becauſe *it makes the comers thereunto perfect:* we being ſanctified through the *offering of the body and blood of Chriſt*, ONCE FOR ALL †: *for where remiſſion of ſins is, there is* NO MORE OFFERING FOR SIN ‡. It ſeemed expedient, therefore, that the operating virtue of this Sacrifice, *offered once for all*, ſhould be continually ſet before our minds, in repeated celebrations of the *Feaſt upon it.*

What hath been here reaſoned, on the *Inſtitution of the laſt ſupper*, appeared ſo ſtrong to a late eminent Perſon, famous for his Socinian notions on this Subject, that (as I have been told) he uſed to confeſs, that if the death of Chriſt could be proved to be a *real Sacrifice*, the *laſt Supper* was undoubtedly of the nature of the *Feaſt after the Sacrifice.* This was ſaid with his uſual addreſs, to make his Reader overlook, and ſo to neglect, one of the capital arguments for a *real ſacrifice*; for it inſinuates, that arguments for its *reality* are to be ſought for elſewhere, and not in the inſtitution of this *Rite:* Whereas it is our deſign to ſhew, that this very Rite of the *laſt ſupper* conſtitutes one of the capital arguments for the reality of the Sacrifice itſelf. And, therefore, let us now go on with it.

We have ſeen what may be naturally, and, indeed, what muſt be neceſſarily, concluded from this part of the Evangelic Hiſtory of the Inſtitution of the LAST SUPPER, concerning Chriſt's deſign therein.

* Heb. x. 1, 2. † Ver. 10. ‡ Ver. 18.

Let

Let us ſee next what may be collected of St. Paul's ſenſe concerning the ſame; who, although occaſionally, yet hath at large ſpoken of the nature of the LAST SUPPER.

And here we ſhall find, that from this very *ſort of Feaſt* (which the *words* of the Inſtitution of it plainly alluded to), St. Paul expreſsly draws a compariſon; and, at the ſame time, to explain the *efficacy* of the *Rite*, informs us of the end and purpoſe of thoſe *Feaſts upon Sacrifice*.

It is in that place of his firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, where he reproves the proſelytes to Chriſtianity for the idolatrous practice of ſitting with the Gentiles, in their *feaſts upon Sacrifice*, and eating of the meats that had been offered to Idols.

His words are theſe—"I ſpeak as to *wiſe men*: judge ye what I "ſay. The *Cup of Bleſſing*, which we bleſs, is it not the COMMU-"NION OF THE BLOOD OF CHRIST? The *bread, which we break*, is "it not the COMMUNION OF THE BODY OF CHRIST? For we, "being many, are one bread, and one body; for we are all par-"takers of that one bread. Behold Iſrael after the fleſh: are not "they which eat of the Sacrifices, Partakers of the Altar? What "ſay I, then? *That an idol is any thing, or that that which is offered* "*to idols is any thing?* But I ſay, that the things which the Gen-"tiles ſacrifice, they ſacrifice to Devils, and not to God: and I "would not that you ſhould have FELLOWSHIP with Devils. Ye "cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils: ye "cannot be Partakers of the Lord's Table, and of the Table of "Devils*."

The Apoſtle here profeſſeth to write to theſe Corinthians, under their own aſſumed Character of *wiſe men*. And, though, perhaps, he uſeth the term a little ironically—*as wiſe in their own conceit*,—to reprove the *diviſions*, before objected to them, yet the logical inference, drawn from an appeal to men of ſuch a character, is not at all weakened by the ſarcaſm under which it is conveyed. My meaning is, we may fairly conclude, that St. Paul's reaſoning

* 1 Cor. x. 15—21.

is

is ſuch as, in his opinion, *wiſe men* would not diſdain to weigh; and ſo regularly conducted, that *wiſe men* would acknowledge to be of force. In a word, purſued with that ſcience and exactneſs, which leaves no room for the pretence of its having a looſe, popular, or inaccurate meaning.

Whence we may collect, in the firſt place, that the *Cup of bleſſing* is not *merely a general commemoration of a dead Benefactor*, but principally *a commemoration of the* DEATH AND PASSION *of that Benefactor*. It is the *Communion of the blood of Chriſt*; an expreſſion, as we have ſhewn, of the utmoſt elegance to denote *a feaſt upon Sacrifice*.

The inference which the Apoſtle draws from it, puts his meaning out of queſtion. – *For we, being many* (ſays he) *are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread:* i. e. Our being *partakers of one bread*, in the communion, makes us, of MANY (which we are by nature), to become (by grace) ONE BODY in Chriſt. This inference is manifeſtly juſt, if the *Rite* be of the nature of *a Feaſt upon Sacrifice*; for then *the Communion of the body and blood of Chriſt* unites the *Receivers* into one body, by an equal diſtribution of one common benefit. But if it be *merely the Commemoration of a dead benefactor*, it leaves the *Receivers* as it found them; *not one body, incorporated by a common benefit*, but many ſeparate individuals, profeſſing one common Faith.

The Apoſtle having thus repreſented the LAST SUPPER to be of the nature of *a Feaſt upon Sacrifice*, for the truth of which he appeals to their own conceptions of it – *the cup of bleſſing, is it not the Communion?* &c. – *the bread which we break, is it not the Communion? &c.*

He then endeavours to convince them of the *impiety* of their behaviour, from the nature of *thoſe feaſts*, as it was underſtood both by Jews and Gentiles; who alike held, that they WHO EAT OF THE SACRIFICES WERE PARTAKERS OF THE ALTAR: *i. e.* had the benefits of the Sacrifice. But what had theſe *eaters of the things ſacrificed*, in common with the Partakers of the bread and wine in the

the LAST SUPPER, if this *Supper* was not a *feaſt* of the ſame kind with the *ſacrificial Feaſts?* If the three religious Feaſts, Pagan, Jewiſh, and Chriſtian, had not one common nature *, How could the Apoſtle have inferred that this intercommunity was abſolutely inconſiſtent?—*Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of Devils.* For though there might be *impiety* in the promiſcuous uſe of Pagan and Chriſtian Rites; yet the *inconſiſtency* ariſes from their having one common nature, which, ſpringing from contrary originals, deſtroys one another's effects. The reaſoning ſtands thus—*Thoſe who eat of the Sacrifice are partakers of the Altar*; that is, are partakers of the benefits of the Sacrifice. Theſe Benefits, whether real or imaginary, were confirmed by a pact or convention between the Sacrificer and his God. They who eat in *the feaſt on that Sacrifice* are partakers of the ſuppoſed benefits of the Sacrifice, and, conſequently, are Parties to the federal Rites which confirmed thoſe benefits: ſo that the ſame Man could not, conſiſtently with himſelf, be Partaker of both *tables*, the Lord's table and that of *Devils*.

This argument, St. Paul urges to the *Wiſe Men*, whoſe practice he is here expoſing. And we ſee, it turns altogether on the Poſtulatum agreed on, "that the *Laſt Supper* is of the nature of a feaſt upon Sacrifice."

Now, if, inſtead of this idea, we ſubſtitute that other of the *Socinians*, *That the Laſt Supper is a mere commemoration of a dead Benefactor*, all the force of this reaſoning diſappears and vaniſhes. For, although a reaſonable man cannot execute two federal conventions, which deſtroy one another (the inconſiſtency here charged upon the Corinthians), yet he might celebrate, without *abſurdity*, though not without *impiety*, a federal Rite in one religion, and a bare remembrance of a deceaſed Benefactor in another.

Further, the ſame Apoſtle, in correcting another abuſe in the celebration of the *Lord's Supper*, takes occaſion, once again, to

* See Note [I], at the end of this Book.

declare the NATURE of this holy Rite.—His Corinthians, as appears by the next Chapter *, had been guilty of eating the *bread* and *wine* in a very indecent manner, confounding it with the convivial doings in their ordinary repaſts; where charity and ſobriety had been too often violated. This faulty behaviour, by ſuch an indiſcriminate celebration, the Apoſtle calls the being *guilty of the body and blood of Chriſt:* a charge immoderately exaggerated, were the Laſt Supper *a mere commemoration of a dead Benefactor.* The Corinthians did not make a fit diſtinction between their more ordinary food, and their eating and drinking *in memory of a deceaſed Friend.* This, without doubt, was a high indecorum; yet, to rank ſuch delinquents with the *Murderers of the Lord of life*, is a ſeverity in which we can ſee neither juſtice in the ſentence, nor propriety in the terms of it. But let us only ſuppoſe (what we have indeed proved), that St. Paul regarded the Laſt Supper as *a feaſt upon Sacrifice*, that is, a Rite in which the benefits of Chriſt's death and paſſion were, in a certain manner, conveyed, in a proper celebration, thus impiouſly abuſed; and then the charge is fairly and juſtly made out. The profanation of ſuch a Rite was, indeed, aiding and aſſiſting in the crime of his Murderers, as far forth as it rendered his death ineffectual to the Participants; and therefore properly compared to the prodigious enormity of that impious act.

Such then, I preſume, is the true nature of the LORD'S SUPPER. And were the adjuſting an exact notion of it a matter of mere ſpeculation, I ſhould have been much ſhorter; and have left the diſcuſſion of it (under the ſimple idea of a religious cuſtom of Chriſtian Antiquity) to the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian.

But the Inſtitution abounds with important conſequences, in ſupport of the Catholic Doctrine, which I here pretend to illuſtrate and confirm. For, if *the Laſt Supper be a feaſt upon Sacrifice*, the unavoidable conſequence is, that *the death of Chriſt was a real Sacrifice.* It being the higheſt abſurdity to believe, that a Rite was inſtituted on the ſuppoſition of *a real Sacrifice*, and to keep ſuch Sa-

* 1 Cor. xi. 27.

criſice

crifice in perpetual memory, and yet that *no real Sacrifice*, thus commemorated, ever had exiſtence; but only the *ſhadow* of one, under a figure of Speech.

And now it is high time to call again upon the SOCINIANS to examine and review this whole matter.

The Writers of the New Teſtament unanimouſly and invariably call the Death of Chriſt on the Croſs, A SACRIFICE. To this, the SOCINIANS reply, "We confeſs, indeed, that thoſe Writers do thus uniformly qualify the Death of Chriſt. But their Phraſeology abounds with FIGURATIVE TERMS; and the word SACRIFICE is plainly and eminently of this number.—When the death of Chriſt, ſo highly beneficial to mankind, was the ſubject of their diſcourſe, they could not enforce the value of thoſe Benefits ſo intelligibly and ſtrongly amongſt Men, who had been taught to conceive that the higheſt benefits were conveyed by the tremendous Rite of SACRIFICE. But that this was all which thoſe Writers meant, when they called Chriſt's death a SACRIFICE, appears from hence, that SACRIFICE, whatever original it had, ſoon became, in practice, a ſuperſtitious and an irrational Rite; and gloried in an efficacy which right reaſon diſavows, namely a VICARIOUS ATONEMENT; brought, indeed, by Moſes, together with other pagan Rites, into the LAW, on account of the hardneſs of heart amongſt thoſe with whom their Leader had to deal." This, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, hath had its effect, to the diſcredit of the doctrine of REDEMPTION, on thoſe Men, and on others, as ignorant of the true origin and nature of SACRIFICE as themſelves.

To remove theſe objections to a Doctrine ſo eſſential to our faith, is the reaſon why I have been ſo large in proving,

1. Firſt, From the origin and nature of SACRIFICE, that it is A REASONABLE SERVICE.

2. Secondly, That a VICARIOUS ATONEMENT, how much ſoever diſclaimed by *natural Religion*, is, in the *Jewiſh Sacrifices* and in the *Sacrifice of Chriſt*, a proper *atonement*; and may be juſtified on the ſureſt principles of reaſon.

3. Thirdly, That the Sacrifices of the *Law* were TYPICAL of the great Sacrifice of *Chriſt*.

4. Fourthly, That, were it the purpoſe of the ſacred Writers, in their hiſtory of Chriſt's death and paſſion, to repreſent it as a REAL SACRIFICE, it is not poſſible to conceive they could convey that meaning in more expreſſive terms than in thoſe which they have employed.

5. And laſtly, That Chriſt's death and paſſion was, by himſelf, ordained to be perpetually commemorated; by a Rite which declares *that* Death could be no other than a *real Sacrifice*.

When the SOCINIANS, I ſay, have well conſidered all this, they may be aſked, with propriety, and modeſty, whether it can be believed by any reaſonable man, that all this apparatus was provided for, and beſtowed upon, a MERE FIGURE OF SPEECH? Or whether they deſerve the title they give themſelves, of being the only rational interpreters of Scripture, who can ſuppoſe ſuch a perverſion of Order, in the divine œconomy, as that it ſhould dignify a MERE FIGURE OF SPEECH with preceding TYPES, and a following FESTIVE INSTITUTION; things, moſt improper for this Service; and only fitted to miſlead us in our notions and conceptions concerning this capital doctrine of our holy *Religion?*

We have now (it is preſumed) ſettled the true SPECIFIC NATURE of the death of Chriſt; and having before ſpoken largely of its END, we proceed to conſider the effects of it.

They are compriſed by the ſacred Writers in the words, REDEMPTION and JUSTIFICATION.

Redemption reſpects the price paid by JESUS for our reſtoration to eternal life; and *Juſtification*, the acceptance of that price by GOD THE FATHER.

From theſe two terms School Divines coined a third, namely, SATISFACTION; which carries in it the ideas of a debt *paid*, and *accepted*.

The diſputes amongſt Divines concerning the ſenſe and propriety of the terms, *Redemption* and *Atonement*, *Juſtification*, *Satisfaction*, &c. have

have been endleſs, and the confuſion attending them inexplicable; chiefly occaſioned by all parties miſtaking their ground, and arguing on the principles of NATURAL LAW, when they ſhould have had recourſe to the REVEALED, as now explained.

But here a difficulty occurs. LIFE AND IMMORTALITY is, throughout the New Teſtament, conſidered as a FREE GIFT; called ſo in expreſs words by St. Paul—"but not as the *offence*, (ſays he) ſo alſo is the FREE GIFT *." Yet, we know, a large price was paid for it. And this, likewiſe, the ſame Apoſtle agrees to,——"We were BOUGHT (ſays he) with a price †." And St. Peter, ſpeaking of certain heretics, ſays, *They denied the Lord that* BOUGHT *them* ‡. And St. Paul again calls, what he had juſt before entitled A FREE GIFT,—A PURCHASED POSSESSION §.

To clear up this matter, and to reconcile the Apoſtle to himſelf, who certainly was neither defective in natural ſenſe, nor in artificial logic, let us once again remind the reader, that *Life and Immortality*, beſtowed on Adam in Paradiſe, was a FREE GIFT, as appears from the hiſtory of his Creation. As a *free gift*, it was taken back by the Donor, when Adam fell; to which reſumption, our original natural rights are not ſubject; ſince natural Religion teacheth, that ſincere repentance alone will reinſtate us in the poſſeſſion of thoſe rights, which our crimes had ſuſpended. So that when this free gift, forfeited by the *firſt* Adam, was recovered by the *ſecond*, its nature continuing the ſame, it muſt ſtill remain a *free gift*; a gift to which man, by and at his creation, had no claim; a gift which natural religion did not beſtow.

But, if miſled by meaſuring this *revealed myſtery* of human redemption, by the ſcant idea of human tranſactions, where a *free gift* and a *purchaſed benefit* are commonly oppoſed to one another, yet even here we may be able to ſet ourſelves right; ſince, with regard to man, the character of a *free gift* remains to *immortality*;

* Rom. v. 15.
† 1 Cor. vi. 20.—vii. 23.
‡ 2 Pet. ii. 1.
§ Eph. i. 14.

reſtored—

reſtored. For the price paid for forfeited man, was not paid by him, but by a Redeemer of Divine extraction, who was pleaſed, by participating of man's nature, to ſtand in his ſtead. Hence the ſacred Writers ſeeing, in this caſe, the perfect agreement between a FREE GIFT and a PURCHASED POSSESSION, ſometimes call it by the one, and ſometimes by the other name.

CHAP. III.

SO much for the MEANS of recovering what was loſt by *Adam's* tranſgreſſion.

In the entrance on this ſubject, I cautioned the Reader to keep in mind the diſtinction between the MEANS of recovering a loſt benefit, and the CONDITION annexed to the enjoyment of that benefit, when recovered, as two different things, to be ſeparately conſidered, and in their order.

With regard to the MEANS, (already explained at large,) it hath been ſhewn, that they were of an *arbitrary* nature, at God's good pleaſure to appoint; unreſtrained by any thing he had eſtabliſhed in the general ſyſtem of his moral government of man.

Theſe MEANS, had not our holy Religion revealed them, could not, otherwiſe, have been known.

They were the DEATH AND SACRIFICE of his ever bleſſed Son, *Mediating* for us.

And now, *Man* being reſtored to his forfeited Inheritance, the ſecure poſſeſſion of it ſtill depended, as it did in the original grant, on the performance of a CONDITION.

We have already ſhewn, Why that *firſt Condition* was the obſervance of a POSITIVE COMMAND. Which reaſoning, if it have any force, proves, that the *new condition*, annexed to the recovered bleſſing, muſt be the obſervance of a POSITIVE COMMAND likewiſe.

IMMORTALITY (as hath been ſhewn) was a FREE GIFT, as well when *recovered*, as when *originally given*; which might be beſtowed,

ſtowed, or recovered when forfeited, on what *Condition* the Divine Donor ſhould be pleaſed to annex to it.

Nay, if we conſider the nature of the whole œconomy, we ſhall find it could not well be given, or reſtored when loſt, on any other condition than the obſervance of a *poſitive Command*, ſince the performance of MORAL DUTY was the *condition* already appropriated, by *Natural Religion*, to the procurement of GOD'S FAVOUR.

It is true, had IMMORTALITY not been a *free gift*, but what Man had a right to, on his Creation, while under the government of *Natural Religion*, the condition annexed to immortality might have been the performance of *Moral Duty*.

And, indeed, thoſe who ſo far miſtake *immortality* as to eſteem it a RIGHT, inherent in our nature, contend ſtrongly for the *condition's* being of a *moral kind*; and that the command — *not to eat of the Tree of good and evil*, enjoined to Man in Paradiſe, is *ſo* to be underſtood, though delivered under the cover of an Allegory.

But beſides the reaſon given to evince this miſtake, another ariſes from the ſacred Writer's not *explaining* this pretended Allegory: for where an *Allegory* contains a precept reſpecting the whole of *moral duty*, it can never be too plainly nor fully delivered. There would be none of this neceſſity if both the firſt and ſecond condition of *immortal Life* were of a *poſitive nature*, though delivered in allegoric terms which ſpoke for themſelves; for then the chief uſe of an interpretation had been little more than the gratification of our curioſity.

Allow, therefore, the reaſoning here offered to explain the nature of the *condition* annexed to the *free gift* (when firſt given, and when, after forfeiture, reſtored) to be ſolid and convincing, and it opens to us the abundant goodneſs of our Maker; who, that the poſſeſſion of this recovered bleſſing might be no longer precarious, (as it was when firſt beſtowed, on the condition, *to Do or to forbear Doing*,) was graciouſly pleaſed to change one poſitive Command.

mand for another; and, inſtead of ſomething *to be Done*, hath now required of us ſomething TO BE BELIEVED. From henceforth the *free gift* of immortality is become more permanent and certain: a GRACE, which the very nature of the *new Diſpenſation* would lead us to hope for and expect; whereby IMMORTAL LIFE under the Goſpel, like the FAVOUR OF THE DEITY under *natural Religion*, is now, when forfeited, to be regained by REPENTANCE.

So much reaſon, order, and beauty is ſeen in the various parts of God's moral Government of Man, when compared and explained by one another.

The new CONDITION, as we ſay, is FAITH IN THE REDEEMER; or our owning and receiving him as the promiſed Meſſiah, by whom alone we are to receive that ſalvation, procured for us by the Sacrifice of himſelf on the Croſs.

And now, we begin to have ſome reaſonable Notion of that great and fundamental principle of Chriſtianity, that FAITH ALONE JUSTIFIETH, or, in other words, is the *ſole condition* of recovering the poſſeſſion of what we loſt by ADAM.

This great Truth, though made the foundation of the Goſpel of Jeſus, yet (its reaſon lying hid, or not carefully ſought for, and the little of it that was ſeen being horribly abuſed) *Believers*, as well as *Unbelievers*, have, too generally, concurred in condemning, as abſurd in ſpeculation, and fanatical and hurtful in practice. But the *Divine* who hath carefully ſtudied the nature of God's moral or religious Diſpenſations, throughout all their parts, will be eaſily diſpoſed to reſt the whole of the Chriſtian cauſe on the *reaſonableneſs*, the *propriety*, and even the *neceſſity* of this capital Principle.

We have now ſhewn, 1ſt, That LIFE AND IMMORTALITY is, in its nature, a FREE GIFT; and that holy Scripture always repreſents it under this idea: 2dly, That the benefit, which *Natural Religion* informs us we have to expect from our great Maſter is, ſimply, a reward for well-doing: A reward, indeed, which will be abundant; for, though we be *unprofitable ſervants*, yet is he

he a moſt bountiful Maſter. But ABUNDANT and ETERNAL belong to different Syſtems.

Man, from his Creation, to his entrance into Paradiſe, was, as hath been ſhewn, ſubject to the *Law of Natural Religion* only. From thenceforth, to his expulſion from Paradiſe, *Revealed Religion* ſuperinduced to the *Natural*, was to be his Guide: whereby, to GOD'S FAVOUR (the ſanction of *Natural Religion*) was added IMMORTALITY (the ſanction of the *Revealed*;) not on condition of his obſervance of *moral duties*; for that was the condition of God's *favour* under Natural Religion; but on condition of his obedience to a *poſitive command*.

But who are they, who, on the *recovery* of the free gift of immortality, are qualified to claim it? Certainly none but thoſe who are already entitled to *ſome reward* by the *Religion of Nature*; which Religion accompanies the *Revealed* throughout all its various Diſpenſations; and on which, they are all founded.

But to make this great principle of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE ſtill more clear, let us ſuppoſe that, at the publication of the Goſpel, all to whom the glad tidings of immortality were offered, on the condition of *faith in Jeſus*, had been moral or virtuous men; and, on that account, *entitled* (as natural Religion teacheth) to the *favour* of God, and an abundant reward; is it not ſelf-evident, that FAITH ALONE, excluſive of the condition of good works, would, in that caſe, have been the very thing which *juſtified*, or entitled to life everlaſting?

But are *good works*, therefore, of no uſe in the Chriſtian ſyſtem? So far from that impiety, *good works* are ſeen, by this explanation, to be of the greateſt avail; as they render Men the only capable Subjects of this JUSTIFICATION which FAITH ALONE procures.

This is the true uſe and value of WORKS with regard to FAITH; and greater cannot be conceived. Hence it appears, that JUSTIFYING FAITH is ſo far from excluding GOOD WORKS, that it neceſſarily requires them. But how? Not as ſharing in that JUSTIFICATION; but as procuring for us a title to God's *favour* in general, they

become the *qualification* of that ineſtimable Reward, revealed by the Goſpel, to be obtained by FAITH ALONE.

To illuſtrate this matter by a familiar inſtance: Suppoſe a Britiſh Monarch ſhould beſtow, in *free gift*, a certain portion of his own *Domaines* * upon ſuch of his ſubjects who ſhould perform a certain ſervice, to which they were not obliged by the ſtated Laws of that ſociety under which they lived; it is evident, that the performance of this *laſt engagement* ONLY would be the thing which entitled them to the *free gift*: although that which gave them a claim to protection, as Subjects, in the enjoyment of THEIR OWN PROPERTY †, acquired by obſerving the terms of the contract between Subjects and Sovereign, was the neceſſary qualification to their claim of the *free gift*; ſince it would be abſurd to ſuppoſe that this gift was intended for Rebels and Traitors, or for any but good and faithful ſervants of the King and Community.

This, I preſume, is the true, as it certainly is the only conſiſtent explanation, which hath been hitherto given of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE. Well, therefore, might St. Paul reprove the ignorance or licence of certain of his converts at Rome, in his queſtion (which, under his authority, we have aſked before) *Do we then make void the* LAW *through* FAITH? *God forbid! Yea, we* ESTABLISH THE LAW ‡.

"But how (it may be aſked) is the *Law of Works* ESTABLISHED by the Chriſtian Doctrine of *Faith?* For by the *Law of Works*, the Apoſtle could mean no other than the *Law of Nature*; he having again and again told us, the *Law of Moſes*, as diſtinguiſhed from the *Law of Nature*, was aboliſhed by the Law of Chriſt. I anſwer, This *Law of Works* was indeed ESTABLISHED, and in the moſt ſubſtantial manner, by the doctrine of *Faith*, as theſe *Works* are the very foundation of *juſtifying Faith*; the qualification of

* To which *immortality* may be well compared.

† To which the reward offered by *natural religion* may be well compared.

‡ Rom. iii. 31.

all

all who are entitled to the *Fruits* of that *Faith*, viz. LIFE AND IMMORTALITY.

But further, to prevent all miſtakes on this important ſubject, (if the wiſeſt proviſions of Heaven could have prevented the effects of human perverſity, without violating freedom of will) God was pleaſed to ſend JOHN THE BAPTIST, as the Fore-runner of his bleſſed Son, to proclaim and RE-PUBLISH this great principle of *Natural Religion*, PARDON ON REPENTANCE—*Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand* *. A neceſſary CALL to procure Subjects to this new Kingdom, juſt ready to be erected, where LIFE AND IMMORTALITY was to be obtained by *Faith*; but *ſuch* a Faith as is founded on thoſe *Works* which *Natural Religion* requires to be performed; or, when neglected, the omiſſion or tranſgreſſion to be atoned for by REPENTANCE.

This ſhews the extreme folly of what hath been aſſerted by certain of our unwary Friends, and echoed back to us by the Enemies of our holy faith, that the GOSPEL ITSELF is only A RE-PUBLICATION OF THE RELIGION OF NATURE; whereas, it now appears, that the whole of THIS RE-PUBLICATION amounts to no more than a *re-publication* of one great principle of Natural Religion, viz. *Pardon on Repentance*; and this, as the foundation of (and in order to introduce and render effectual) our FAITH IN CHRIST, the great principle of the *Revealed*.

To proceed. It is with regard to *John's* Character of a Preacher of *Moral Righteouſneſs*, on the principles of Natural Religion, that *Jeſus* ſays of him,—*Amongſt them that are born of women hath not riſen a greater than John the Baptiſt: notwithſtanding, he that is leaſt in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he* †: *this leaſt in the kingdom of heaven is greater* (he ſays) *than John*, i. e. *greater in office*. JOHN only proclaimed and re-publiſhed that great Principle of Natural Religion,— *the doing* WORKS *meet for Repentance* ‡ Whereas the Diſciples of Jeſus were the Promulgators of the efficacy of Revealed Religion—SAVING FAITH—*Greater* in their ſpiritual

* Matt. iii. 2. † Matt. xi. 11. ‡ Acts xxvi. 20.

gifts and graces. They worked *Miracles*. John worked *no Miracle*. The reaſon is obvious: MIRACLES are the neceſſary CREDENTIALS of men ſent by God to promulge a *new Revelation*. The preaching up of *Natural Religion* (which was John's office) needed none of theſe *Credentials*: its truth having been engraved in the breaſts of every one, when God created *Man in his own Image*.

But this is not all. The better to ſecure this natural Foundation of SAVING FAITH, *Jeſus* himſelf, in his entrance on his Miniſtry, thought fit to repeat and confirm the Miſſion of *John*; and in the very words of his Forerunner — REPENT, *for the kingdom of heaven is at hand**. On this account, I ſuppoſe, it was that *Herod*, hearing that a new Prophet was juſt ariſen, who began his Miniſtry like *John*, with preaching *repentance*, becauſe *the kingdom of heaven was at hand*, miſtook him for *John riſen from the dead*; and being alarmed at the name of *Kingdom*, joined to the report of *Miracles*, now firſt performed by him, concluded, he was returned to life, with the acceſſion of new powers; Herod, I ſay, in his fright, cries out,—*John the Baptiſt, whom I beheaded, is riſen from the dead, and* THEREFORE *mighty works do ſhew forth themſelves in him* †. A natural ſentiment on this occaſion. For cruelty, in its ſuſpicions, commonly adds terror to ſuperſtition.

Yea, further, when *Jeſus* firſt ſent out his Diſciples to give notice of his Goſpel, they, too, were directed to enforce this previous and neceſſary Truth:—*And they went and preached that men ſhould repent* ‡.

And they whom he left behind him at his aſcenſion were likewiſe directed to perform the ſame office. They began their work with the doctrine of REPENTANCE, only changing the Baptiſm of *John* into that of *Jeſus*. St. Peter, in his firſt diſcourſe to all the *dwellers at Jeruſalem*, who enquired of him into the *way of ſalvation*, ſpeaks in this manner:—*Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt* §.

* Matt. iv. 17.
† Matt. xiv. 2.
‡ Acts. ii. 38.
§ Acts xxvi.

St.

St. Paul tells Agrippa, that he began his Miſſion with exhorting both Jews and Gentiles, *that they ſhould repent, and turn to God, and do* WORKS *meet for repentance* *. And as he *began* with *repentance*, ſo he *ends* with it, where, in his Epiſtle to the Hebrews, he expreſſeth himſelf in this manner, "Therefore leaving the PRINCIPLES of the Doctrine of Chriſt, let us go on unto PERFECTION; not laying again the FOUNDATION of repentance from dead works, and of faith towards God."---Theſe are the great principles of *Natural Religion*, which Chriſt made the FOUNDATION of his Goſpel. Iniquity is called *dead works*---as by *Faith towards God* is meant ſimple belief in him; and alludes to the ſame Apoſtle's definition of Natural Religion---where he ſays, *he that cometh to God muſt* BELIEVE *that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him.* The ſenſe of which is this---"Sink not back again to, nor reſt in that Principle of *Natural Religion*, after you have made it (as your Maſter requires you ſhould) the *foundation* of his Goſpel."

But as there are not only *firſt principles* in Natural Religion, but likewiſe in the Revealed, the Apoſtle goes on with an account of theſe likewiſe---*The doctrines of Baptiſms, and of laying on of hands, and of the reſurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment.* Now theſe *firſt principles* of the GOSPEL we are likewiſe forbid to reſt in, no leſs than in thoſe *firſt principles* of NATURAL RELIGION, which the Apoſtle began with---it follows (as we are directed) that we ſhould GO ON UNTO PERFECTION. But if it be aſked, *What was this doctrine of perfection?* I anſwer, it was that great MYSTERY, firſt revealed by the *Goſpel*, which explains our loſs by the diſobedience of Adam, and the puniſhment attending it, together with the recovery of that loſs by Chriſt Jeſus, who was graciouſly pleaſed to become our MEDIATOR; and more than that, by virtue of his death and ſufferings on the croſs, our REDEEMER likewiſe, together with all the circumſtances attending this wonderful tranſaction of human redemption.

* Acts xxvi.

This

This *Doctrine of Perfection*, the Apoſtle promiſes to explain to them, if God affords him leiſure and a fitting opportunity---*if God* (ſays he) *permit* *. This, for ſome wiſe ends of his Providence, God did not *permit*. Nor have we any reaſon to complain, as he endowed his inſpired ſervants, in general, both with leiſure and abilities to enrich the world with the nobleſt treaſures of divine knowledge, ordained to enlighten and accompany his Church till the conſummation of all things.

Thus, on the whole, it appears, even by the *principle* here explained, of Salvation by Faith alone, that Natural Religion is the ground and foundation of all the Revealed.

Here let us ſtop a moment, to deplore the condition of human blindneſs, always running into oppoſite extremes.---While one ſort of Believers (as we have obſerved) can ſee no more in the *Goſpel* than a *Re-publication of the Religion of Nature*; and another are ſo far from owning, that *Natural Religion* is the foundation of the Revealed, that they are ready to deny that Natural Religion.

Theſe, indeed, are portentous opinions; yet leſs ſo than that of our Rationalists, who deny what Scripture has, in ſo many words, ſo often repeated, Salvation, or Justification by Faith alone.

But they had miſtaken the Goſpel-doctrine of *ſalvation* and *juſtification* for no more than God's *favour* indefinitely, as taught by *Natural Religion*; whereas the words ſignify eternal life, brought to light and defined by the *Goſpel*. What occaſioned their confounding two things ſo different was, an unſuſpected error, full as groſs, namely, that *Natural Religion*, in teaching a reward for well-doing, taught an *eternal Reward*. An error into which theſe men could ſcarce have fallen, had they diſtinguiſhed the *Religion of Nature*, to which Adam became ſubject on his creation, from that Religion which was revealed unto him when he entered Paradiſe.

* Heb. vi. 1, 2, 3.

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This hath been rectified at large towards the beginning of this Diſcourſe; and to what important purpoſes, the Reader may now underſtand.

Indeed, had *Natural Religion* promiſed *life and immortality* for *well-doing*, then would God's two Diſpenſations have contradicted one another; as giving *immortality* to WORKS by *Natural Religion*, and *immortality* to FAITH by the *Revealed*.

But there are no contradictions in the Oeconomy of God's moral Government. All ſuch are the ſpawn of *human Syſtems*, the miſſhapen iſſue of *artificial Theology*. And if one thing, in ſacred Scripture, ſeems to look thus a-ſquint upon another, we may be aſſured it ariſes from the vitiated Organs of the Obſerver.

To inſtance, in the famous caſe (ſo appoſite to our preſent purpoſe) of the Apoſtles, PAUL and JAMES; whom ignorant Interpreters have ſet at variance.

St. PAUL ſays*,—THEREFORE WE CONCLUDE, *that a man* IS JUSTIFIED BY FAITH WITHOUT THE DEEDS OF THE LAW.

But St. James ſeems to ſpeak another language†—YOU SEE THEN, *how that by* WORKS a man is JUSTIFIED, AND NOT BY FAITH ONLY.

The aſſertion of each Apoſtle is (we ſee) a CONCLUSION from ſome preceding PREMISES. Theſe are, firſt of all, to be conſidered, ere we can determine concerning the ſenſe of either *concluſion*, where the ſame *capital word* is employed, by both Writers, in common.

St. Paul having explained (for that is his ſubject) the nature of the GOSPEL COVENANT, whereby we are reſtored to the Inheritance which we loſt by *Adam's* tranſgreſſion, namely, *life and immortality*, ends his argument in this manner—*Therefore we conclude, that a man is* JUSTIFIED BY FAITH [*i. e.* entitled to this recovered benefit by virtue of *Faith*] WITHOUT THE DEEDS OF THE LAW, [which are *Works*] We have ſhewn how true this poſition is; WORKS being what *juſtifies* or entitles us to the *favour of God*, as

* Rom. iii. 28. † His General Epiſtle, chap. ii. 24.

taught

taught by Natural Religion; the foundation, indeed, of the Goſpel-Covenant; which promiſeth life and immortality to FAITH ALONE.

But St. James, where he ſeems to talk ſo differently from Paul, was enforcing a very different thing, namely, the obligation of MORAL DUTY, as taught by *Natural Religion*, though not excluſive of the *Revealed*; for he exemplifies it by the precepts of the DECALOGUE; which, though a moral part of the LAW, is ſupported equally on the two Religions, Natural and Revealed. He, therefore, concludes his argument in this manner—*Thus we ſee, how that by* WORKS A MAN IS JUSTIFIED, *and not by Faith only.*

Hence it appears, that the two Apoſtles uſe the word JUSTIFICATION, in theſe places, in very different ſenſes. St. Paul means by it, a title to *eternal life*, on the terms of *Revealed Religion*; and St. James, a title to *God's favour* indefinitely, on the terms of *Natural Religion.*

Neither can they be fairly charged with obſcurity in uſing an undefined term in different ſignifications, ſince, had their Readers but attended to the different ſubjects each apoſtle was then treating, and both in an equally clear and obvious manner, the objectors would have ſeen, there was not the leaſt need of a formal definition to aſcertain the meaning of either.

On the whole, it appears, that the two Apoſtles are perfectly conſiſtent in their reaſoning on this queſtion. Whoſe words, when aptly put together, produce this complete and capital Truth,—"WORKS entitle us to a *reward* indefinitely; FAITH to the reward of *eternal life:* But as he who deſerves *no reward* at all, can never deſerve the reward of *eternal life*, therefore the firſt ſtep to the *greater* bleſſing muſt needs be a title to the *leſſer.*"

St. PAUL's purpoſe was to vindicate the uſe and honour of the *Goſpel* from *judaiſing Chriſtians*, by ſhewing, that the MORAL WORKS of the *Jewiſh Law* (the ſame with thoſe of *Natural Law*) did not entitle the obſervers to *eternal life*; this being the ſpecific reward which the *Goſpel* beſtows, and beſtows it on FAITH alone.

St.

St. JAMES's purpoſe was to vindicate the uſe and honour of *Natural Religion*, from the corrupt comments of thoſe pretended Chriſtians, who flattered themſelves in their vices with the hopes of obtaining *eternal life* by FAITH, without being previouſly qualified for the FAVOUR of God, by the performance of thoſe *good works* which Natural Religion enjoins: and ſo vitiating the integrity, and deſtroying the very nature of FAITH itſelf. A dreadful Venom, which appeared early, and, like a leproſy, ſoon overſpread the face of the Church; at preſent known by the deteſted name of ANTINOMIANISM.

But to leave nothing unanſwered on ſo important a queſtion, I will ſuppoſe an Objector may perſiſt in his reply.—Be it granted that the two Apoſtles are thus made conſiſtent with one another; a ſtronger objection ſtill remains to the doctrine *of Salvation by* FAITH ALONE, and that is the Declaration of Chriſt himſelf, who gives this *Salvation or Juſtification* to WORKS; where, in his account of his *ſecond coming* to judge the world, he thus pronounces on the final doom of the Nations aſſembled round his Throne,—To the RIGHTEOUS, he ſays,—*Come, ye bleſſed of my Father,* INHERIT THE KINGDOM PREPARED FOR YOU FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE WORLD. *For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat; I was thirſty, and ye gave me drink; I was a ſtranger, and ye took me in; I was naked, and ye clothed me; I was ſick, and ye viſited me; I was in priſon, and ye came unto me. Then ſhall the* RIGHTEOUS *anſwer him, ſaying, Lord, when ſaw we thee an hungred, and fed thee? or thirſty, and gave thee drink? When ſaw we thee a ſtranger, and took thee in? naked, and clothed thee? or when ſaw we thee ſick, or in priſon, and came unto thee? And the* KING *ſhall anſwer and ſay unto them, Verily I ſay unto you, foraſmuch as ye have done it unto one of the leaſt of theſe my Brethren, ye have done it unto me. Then ſhall he ſay alſo unto them on the left hand, Depart from me, ye curſed, into everlaſting fire, prepared for the Devil and his angels. For I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirſty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a ſtranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not;*

ſick and in priſon, and ye viſited me not. Then ſhall they alſo anſwer him, ſaying, Lord, *when ſaw we thee an hungred, or a-thirſt, or a ſtranger, or naked, or ſick or in priſon, and did not miniſter unto thee? Then ſhall he anſwer them, ſaying, Verily I ſay unto you, inaſmuch as ye did it not to one of the leaſt of theſe, ye did it not unto me**.

To explain this, which ſeems to bear ſo hard againſt us, we muſt firſt of all obſerve the great care and caution in the divine Founder of our Faith, and of his Apoſtles, to whom he committed the truſt of proclaiming it to the World; the care, I ſay, that this capital Doctrine of his Religion, Justification by Faith alone, ſhould not be miſtaken or abuſed, in making Faith ſuperſede thoſe Works which Natural Religion requires as neceſſary to procure the *favour of God.* Works, which we have ſhewn to be the only true foundation of that Faith which alone justifies. And the world hath had full experience of the horrid abuses occaſioned by Men's placing Faith on any other foundation.

So that were there *no more* in this *Scenical Repreſentation* of the *laſt Judgement* than the purpoſe to make Works bear ſo conſiderable a part in it, the Repreſentation had been ſtill highly expedient. But there was *a great deal more.*———

—Hold, ſays an Objector; Let us firſt aſk how this Scene can at all ſtand with your Syſtem, which teacheth, "that Works only entitle to a *reward indefinitely*; and that it is Faith which entitles to the reward of eternal life: for theſe Righteous, in the text, are rewarded with that which is only due to the Faithful, namely, *eternal life.*"

—I was about to explain another important uſe of this *Repreſentation*, which you will now find is a full anſwer to your Objection.

—Jeſus, in the very *mode* of obviating the above-mentioned *abuſes* (for they were thoſe abuſes which it was his purpoſe here to obviate), hath, with the moſt divine energy and addreſs, inſtructed us

* Matt. xxv. 34—45.

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in another important Truth, namely, THAT THE VIRTUE AND MERITS OF HIS DEATH HAD A RETROSPECT QUITE BACKWARD, EVEN TO THE TIME OF THE FALL. The *Righteous*, or the performers of *good Works*, are here told, that they ſhall INHERIT *the Kingdom of Chriſt*, PREPARED FOR THEM *from the foundation of the World*. Who were theſe, here called, *Righteous?* Certainly ſuch who had never heard of Chriſt, or been made acquainted with the terms of the Goſpel; ſuch who had obeyed the dictates of Natural Religion; and not having the LAW *of revealed Religion*, were (as the Apoſtle ſays) *a Law unto themſelves* *. This will appear evident to thoſe who conſider the nature and purpoſe of this *Repreſentation* of the *laſt Judgement*; when all Nations, or the whole Race of Mankind, as well thoſe who lived *before*, as thoſe who came *after* the Advent of the Son of God, are to appear at his Judgement-Seat.

The tremendous Seſſion, here repreſented, proceeds in order. They who lived *before* the coming of Chriſt, are the firſt who are ſet to the Bar, whether for reward, or for condemnation. They who lived *after* were to come next. But, with the firſt, the Scene cloſes.

For Jeſus had already explained *the terms of Salvation* to all the followers of the Goſpel. Concerning the condition of theſe there could be no doubt. It might become a queſtion amongſt them, how thoſe who had never heard of Chriſt were to be treated; and whether they were to be made partakers of the benefits of his Death and Paſſion; and likewiſe, upon what terms. To reſolve thoſe points, was the deſign of this moral Picture.

Theſe *Righteous* are juſtified or ſaved. But how? ſurely not by FAITH. For, the Apoſtle tells us, that FAITH *cometh by hearing; and hearing by the word of God* †. That is, "The doctrine of *juſtifying Faith* cannot be learnt from *Natural Religion*; but is to be taught by the Meſſengers of the *Revealed*, ſpeaking by the Spirit of

* Rom. ii. 14. † Rom. x. 17.

God." The *juſtification of theſe Righteous*, therefore, muſt needs be by WORKS; the natural foundation on which all revealed FAITH is built.

But to ſhew ſtill more evidently, and ſenſibly, that the *Righteous*, in the Text, were thoſe who had never heard of Chriſt, till they came to *Judgement*, we muſt obſerve, that as ſoon as they had been told what kind of WORKS they were which procured their Salvation, namely, adminiſtering to this their *Lord when he was a ſtranger, naked, ſick, and in priſon*, they are made to reply—*Lord, when ſaw we thee a ſtranger, naked, ſick, and in priſon?* A Queſtion, which they, who, in this life, had heard of Chriſt, could never aſk; ſince their *Lord* had often told his Followers, that the men who did any of theſe *good Works* to the leaſt of their diſtreſſed Brethren, did them unto him: that is, gained the ſame benefit by them, as if done to himſelf.

In a word, this important REPRESENTATION inſtructs us in theſe two points of Doctrine: Firſt, That the KINGDOM, whoſe bleſſings were produced by the death and paſſion of Chriſt, was ſecured to us *even from the foundation of the world*; and Secondly, That it was *actual Righteouſneſs*, as well as *imputative*, which made thoſe who had never heard explicitly of CHRIST, to become partakers of his merits.

CHAP. IV.

HAVING now, at length, gone through this GENERAL VIEW OF THE NATURE AND GENIUS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION; firſt, by an explanation of the MEANS by which we are enabled to recover the benefits loſt by Adam's tranſgreſſion; and, ſecondly, by an explanation of the CONDITION annexed to the enjoyment of thoſe benefits, when recovered: We proceed to what remains of our *general view*. This Religion, as it was the LAST REVELATION of God's Will to Man, ſo it was the completion of all that

that preceded; and, therefore, when truly explained, muſt needs add the UTMOST FORCE AND LIGHT to every thing that, in the foregoing Volumes of the DIVINE LEGATION, hath been advanced, concerning the NATURE OF THE JEWISH DISPENSATION.

We have already obſerved how graciouſly the Divine Goodneſs diſplayed itſelf, in the RESTORATION of our *loſt Inheritance*, by changing the *condition* annexed to eternal life, from ſomething to be DONE, to ſomething to be BELIEVED. And this was FAITH IN OUR REDEEMER. For by ſuch a change, this important bleſſing became leſs ſubject to a new loſs or danger.

But this was not all. The ſame bountiful Lord of life did, for its further ſecurity, impart to every true Believer, the ſtrength and light of his HOLY SPIRIT to ſupport FAITH *in working out our Salvation* *.

Natural Reaſon, indeed, contemplating the attributes of the Deity, diſcovered to us, that when human abilities alone are too weak to ſupport us in the performance and diſcharge of moral duty, God will lend his helping-hand to aid our ſincere endeavours.

But to manifeſt to us with what more abundant meaſure this aid is diſpenſed, under the GOSPEL, our bleſſed *Redeemer* hath minutely explained all that relates to the PERSON and to the operations of the Divine Diſpenſer, called the HOLY SPIRIT; whom the FATHER and the SON have, for the further ſecurity of this recovered bleſſing, been pleaſed to aſſociate with themſelves in the adminiſtration of this œconomy. Which divine Perſon bears his ſhare, with the other two, in the actual REDEMPTION OF MANKIND.

Thus far as to his NATURE. By which it appears, that this ſpecies of divine aſſiſtance, which our holy Religion calls GRACE, is to be underſtood as one of the *peculiar* bleſſings beſtowed upon the FAITHFUL; and to be reckoned in that number. The words of St. John makes this truth ſtill more apparent. *This* (ſaith he) *Jeſus ſpake of the* SPIRIT, *which they that believe on him ſhould receive.*

* See *The Doctrine of Grace*.

For

For THE HOLY GHOST WAS NOT YET GIVEN, BECAUSE THAT JESUS WAS NOT YET GLORIFIED *.

The OFFICE and OPERATION of this *holy Spirit*, is to ſupport our *Faith* and to perfect our *Obedience*, by enlightening the *underſtanding*, and by purifying the *will*.

This, the bleſſed Jeſus declares, where he profeſſedly treats of the office of the *holy Spirit*.—*I will pray the Father* (ſays he) *and he ſhall give you another* COMFORTER, *that he may abide with you for ever*; *even the* SPIRIT OF TRUTH. *He dwelleth in you*; *and ſhall be in you—which is the* HOLY GHOST; *whom the Father ſhall ſend in my name: he ſhall* TEACH YOU ALL THINGS †.

Theſe are the two parts of his office: As the TEACHER, to impreſs upon the *underſtanding* all thoſe practical and ſpeculative truths, which conſtitute the ſum and ſubſtance of our holy Religion; and as the COMFORTER, by purifying and ſupporting the *will*, to enable us to perſevere in the profeſſion of thoſe truths that conſtitute the body of *moral righteouſneſs*; the foundation (as we have ſhewn) of that JUSTIFYING FAITH, to which the Goſpel hath annexed ſalvation or eternal life.

And the œconomy of the Goſpel ſeemed to require, that when this Diſpenſer of divine aſſiſtance, the HOLY SPIRIT, was to be clearly revealed, and perſonally diſtinguiſhed, as ſoon as Jeſus was GLORIFIED ‡, his firſt deſcent, amongſt the *Faithful*, ſhould be attended with *ſigns* and *wonders*, to bear witneſs to the SANCTIFIER in the ſame way that they had borne witneſs to the REDEEMER. Theſe ſigns were, in both caſes, of the ſame nature, and performed for the ſame ends: Firſt, for CREDENTIALS of their miſſion; and, ſecondly, INDICATIONS of their office.—"When the day of Pen-"tecoſt was fully come, they [the Apoſtles] were all, with one "accord, in one place; and ſuddenly there came a ſound from "heaven as of a ruſhing mighty wind, and it filled all the houſe "where they were ſitting. And there appeared unto them cloven

* John vii. 39. † John xiv. 26. ‡ John vii. 39.

"tongues,

" tongues, like as of fire, and it ſat upon each of them: and they " were all filled with the HOLY GHOST; and began to ſpeak with " other tongues, as the SPIRIT gave them utterance *."

This miracle manifeſted itſelf in the *gift of tongues*, to the aſtoniſhed multitude, barbarous and civil, then caſually aſſembled from every quarter of the habitable Globe, who heard the APOSTLES, (all natives or inhabitants of Galilee,) ſpeaking to each of theſe Strangers, in his own mother-tongue. And this being for the ſervice and conviction of others, was, in its nature, TEMPORARY †. Other effuſions of the holy Spirit were PERMANENT; and theſe, inſtead of being conveyed *in a ſound from heaven as of* A RUSHING MIGHTY WIND, were only conveyed and felt in the STILL, SMALL VOICE. For theſe were principally for the uſe and benefit of the favoured Receiver; who, although he himſelf was fully aſſured by them of the divine preſence, yet could he give no ſufficient evidence of that Preſence to others.

Thus it appears, that this ſpecies of divine aſſiſtance, which our holy Religion calls GRACE, is to be conſidered as one of the *peculiar* bleſſings beſtowed upon the *Faithful*. For, as hath been obſerved, the FATHER and the SON have been graciouſly pleaſed to aſſociate, in the adminiſtration of this new œconomy, a *third divine Perſon*, called in Scripture the HOLY GHOST.

CHAP. V.

THIS MIRACULOUS appearance of the HOLY SPIRIT, on his firſt *Deſcent*, naturally and happily leads us forward in this our *general view*; by bringing us to the conſideration of the extraordinary manner in which it hath pleaſed Providence to promulge and propagate the Chriſtian Faith.

* Acts ii. 1. *& ſeq.*

† See note [K], at the end of this Book.

Now,

Now, as it is apparent to common ſenſe, that an immediate Revelation from Heaven can be firmly eſtabliſhed no otherwiſe than by the intervention of MIRACLES; and, as we have found, by the ſad experience of human corruption, that THIS SUPREME EVIDENCE of our holy Religion hath been fatally diſcredited by the contagion of *lying wonders*, deforming almoſt every age of the Church, it will be of the utmoſt importance to diſcover and fix the bounds of this *extraordinary interpoſition* *.

But a MIRACLE, even when beſt ſupported by human teſtimony, needeth to be ſtill further qualified, ere it can deſerve credit of a rational Believer: namely, that it be ſo connected with the ſyſtem to which it claims relation, as that it be ſeen to make a part of it, or to be neceſſary to its completion.

It is otherwiſe, in Facts, acknowledged to be within the verge of nature and human agency. Here all that is wanted to recommend them to our belief, is the teſtimony of knowing and honeſt Witneſſes.

While, in pretended Facts beyond the verge of nature and human agency, ſuch as thoſe we call MIRACULOUS, much more is required when offered to our belief. The controul and arreſt of the eſtabliſhed Laws of Nature, by the God and Author of Nature, either mediately or immediately, is a thing which COMMON EXPERIENCE hath rendered ſo extremely improbable, that it will at leaſt balance the very beſt human teſtimony, ſtanding unſupported and alone. And why? Becauſe ordinary Facts carry their CAUSES openly and manifeſtly along with them: Or if not ſo, yet none are required, as we are convinced their *cauſes* muſt be INTRINSECALLY there. But in Facts pretended to be *miraculous*, the immediate efficient cauſe is *extrinſecal*; and therefore leaves room for doubt and uncertainty: or rather, when, in this caſe, men perceive *no cauſe*, they are apt to conclude there is none; or, in other words, that the report is falſe and groundleſs. So that when the *whole evidence* of

* Diſcourſe on the Reſurrection.

the

the Fact, deemed *miraculous*, is ſolely compriſed in human teſtimony, and is, in its nature, contrary to UNIFORM EXPERIENCE, the Philoſopher will, at leaſt, ſuſpend his belief.

But though in all MIRACLES, that is, in Facts deemed miraculous, the EFFICIENT CAUSE continues unknown; yet, in thoſe which our holy Religion ſeems to recommend to our belief, the FINAL CAUSE always ſtands apparent. And if *that cauſe* be ſo important as to make the *Miracle* neceſſary to the ends of the DISPENSATION, this is all that can be reaſonably required to entitle it to our belief; when propoſed to us with the ſame fulneſs of human teſtimony, which is ſufficient to eſtabliſh a common fact: ſince, in this caſe, we have the MORAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE DEITY to ſecure us from an error, ſo fatal to our welfare *.

And the confining our belief of *Miracles* within theſe bounds, wipes away (as I conceive) all the miſerable ſophiſtry of our modern pretenders to Philoſophy, both at home and abroad, againſt MIRACLES, on pretence of their being contrary to GENERAL EXPERIENCE, in the ordinary courſe of things. At leaſt, the TRUE PHILOSOPHER ſo thought, when he made that ſtrict enquiry into Truth, towards the concluſion of his immortal Work—"Though COMMON "EXPERIENCE (ſays he) AND THE ORDINARY COURSE OF THINGS "have juſtly a mighty influence on the minds of men to make "them give or refuſe credit to any thing propoſed to their belief; "yet there is ONE CASE wherein the STRANGENESS of the facts "LESSENS NOT THE ASSENT to a fair teſtimony given of it. For "where SUPERNATURAL events are SUITABLE TO THE ENDS "AIMED AT BY HIM who hath power to change the courſe of "nature, *then*, under ſuch circumſtances, they may be FITTER

* Here, by the way, let me obſerve, that what is now ſaid gives that CRITERION, which Dr. Middleton and his Opponents, in a late controverſy concerning MIRACLES, demanded of one another; and which yet, both Parties, for ſome reaſons or other, declined to give; namely, ſome certain mark to enable men to diſtinguiſh (for all the purpoſes of Religion) between true and certain *Miracles*, and thoſe which were falſe or doubtful.

" to procure belief, by how much the more they are BEYOND OR " CONTRARY TO ORDINARY OBSERVATION. This is the proper caſe " of MIRACLES, which, well atteſted, do not only find credit them- " ſelves, *but give it alſo to other truths which need ſuch confirmation* *."

Now the MIRACLES, which Chriſtianity objects to our belief, and which, therefore, demand credit of every reaſonable man, are, and I apprehend muſt be, qualified in one or other of theſe three ways:

I.

They muſt either, in the firſt place, be ſuch as Chriſt and his inſpired Servants and Followers are recorded to have performed for the CREDENTIALS of their miſſion.

II.

Or, ſecondly, ſuch as make a neceſſary part in, or towards the completion of the Goſpel Syſtem.

III.

Or, thirdly and laſtly, ſuch as have been performed directly to manifeſt and VERIFY THE DIVINE PREDICTIONS, when impious men have ſet themſelves on attempting to defeat them.

I.

When a *Miracle* is wrought (as in the firſt caſe) for the CREDENTIAL of a Meſſenger coming with the revealed Will of God, to Man, we may ſafely confide in it. Becauſe *ſuch* a Miracle is ſo far from being beneath the dignity of the occaſion, that it is even neceſſary to anſwer the important purpoſe of it. Under this Idea, it hath, I believe, been generally conceived in every age of our

* Locke's Eſſay concerning Human Underſtanding, Vol. II. Chap. *Of* the Degrees of Aſſent, Sect. xiii. p. 286.——This great man, we find, underſtood it to be apparent to common ſenſe, that the belief of an immediate Revelation from Heaven could be firmly eſtabliſhed no otherwiſe than by the aid of *Miracles*.—But ſee this truth proved more at large as we go along.

holy

holy Religion, till the *preſent*. Indeed, it ſeems to have been the conſtant expectation of Believers, that theſe ſupernatural atteſtations ſhould accompany every NEW MESSAGE from Heaven; inſomuch that all the *pretended Revelations* in the Pagan World, as well as the *real* in the Jewiſh and the Chriſtian, were conſtructed on this principle of credit.

But now, in theſe times, ſome there are even amongſt the Miniſters of the Goſpel, who tell us, they think, or at leaſt are hardy enough to teach, that the REASONABLENESS of the Doctrine is the beſt, and indeed the only true evidence of its divine Original.

If in this they ſhould not be miſtaken, I may, however, boaſt, that I, myſelf, have, in this Work, greatly ſtrengthened this boaſted plenitude of evidence.

But, in reverence to Truth, I hold myſelf obliged to own, that, in my opinion, the REASONABLENESS of a Doctrine pretended to come immediately from God, is, of itſelf alone, no PROOF, but a PRESUMPTION only of ſuch its divine Original: becauſe, though the *excellence* of a Doctrine (even allowing it to ſurpaſs all other moral teaching whatſoever) may ſhew it to be worthy of God, yet, from that ſole *excellence*, we cannot certainly conclude that it came immediately from him; ſince we know not to what heights of moral knowledge the human underſtanding, unaſſiſted by inſpiration, may arrive. Not even our full experience, that all the Wiſdom of Greece and Rome comes extremely ſhort of the Wiſdom of the GOSPEL, can ſupport us in concluding, with certainty, that this Goſpel was ſent immediately from God. We can but very doubtfully gueſs, what excellence may be produced by a well-formed and well-cultivated Mind, further bleſſed with a vigorous temperament, and a happy organization of the Body. The amazement into which Sir Iſaac Newton's Diſcoveries, in Nature, threw the learned World, as ſoon as men became able to comprehend their Truth and Utility, ſufficiently ſhews, what little conception it had, that the human faculties could ever riſe ſo high or ſpread ſo wide.

On the whole, therefore, we conclude, that, ſtrictly ſpeaking, there is no ground of conviction ſolid and ſtrong enough to bear the weight of ſo great an intereſt, but that which riſes on MIRACLES, worked by the firſt Meſſengers of a new Religion, in ſupport and confirmation of their MISSION.

That is, MIRACLES, and MIRACLES ONLY, demonſtrate that the Doctrine, which is ſeen to be *worthy* of God, did, indeed, COME IMMEDIATELY from him.

To be plain, there is a glaring abſurdity in the novel fancy here expoſed; of which we can find no inſtance in the affairs of civil life — And civil and religious Policies are conducted on the ſame principles of Reaſon, while adminiſtered in their integrity. For what *public Perſon* ever imagined, or expected to have it believed, that the true and proper CREDENTIAL of a Miniſter of State was the fairneſs of his Character, or the equity of his demands? Nothing but the BROAD-SEAL of his Maſter, he knows, will ſatisfy thoſe to whom he is ſent, that he has a right to the Perſonage which he aſſumes. Doth not common ſenſe tell us, that a Meſſenger from God muſt come recommended to Mankind in the ſame manner? Neither his perſonal accompliſhments, nor the excellence of his Doctrine, nor, in a word, any thing ſhort of the BROAD-SEAL of Heaven, exemplified in MIRACLES, will be ſufficient to eſtabliſh his aſſumed Character.

But the Doctors of this *new School* ſeem to have fallen into the abſurdity here expoſed, by another as ridiculous; namely, that THE GOSPEL ITSELF IS NO MORE, NOR OTHER, THAN A REPUBLICATION OF THE RELIGION OF NATURE: (an extravagance, amongſt the firſt of thoſe, which, I preſume, this Work of the Divine Legation hath totally diſcredited:)

Now, (ſay theſe men,) if the light of Reaſon hath inſtructed us in what NATURAL RELIGION teacheth, it ſeems moſt conſonant to common ſenſe, that the REPUBLICATION of this Religion ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the ſame manner that it was firſt PUBLISHED to the world. NOT ſo, (I reply,) even on their falſe principle of a mere

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REPUBLICATION. For ſince it was found, by experience, that the firſt publication of God's will, by natural light alone, hath proved inſufficient to perpetuate the knowledge of it; we ſhall think it moſt adequate to Reaſon, that the REPUBLICATION ſhould be better guarded; to ſecure it from the like miſchance.

But the truth is, this idea of Chriſtianity's being *merely ſuch a* REPUBLICATION aroſe from the groſſeſt ignorance of the GOSPEL; which reveals more, infinitely more important Truths than NATURAL LIGHT did or could diſcover. It reveals the whole ſcheme of *human Redemption*; which, till this *Revelation* took place, was a MYSTERY, kept hid amongſt the Arcana of the Godhead.

However, the ſame Men have another objection to the belief of theſe *miraculous Credentials*. And the objection ariſes, it ſeems, from our SOPHISTICAL reaſoning in ſupport of them: for thus (they ſay) we argue ——

"So little being known of the powers of created ſpirits, ſuperior to ourſelves, (ſome of which we are taught to believe are beneficent to man, and ſome averſe) all that we can conclude of MIRACLES, conſidered only in themſelves, is, that they are the work of agents, able, in ſome inſtances, to controul Nature, and divert her from her eſtabliſhed courſe.—But whether this controul be performed immediately by the God of Nature, or by Agents acting under his direction, (which amounts to the ſame thing) or, on the contrary, by malignant agents, at enmity with Man, and, for a time, permitted to indulge their perverſe and hurtful purpoſes, cannot be known but by the *nature of that Doctrine*, in ſupport of which, the pretended MIRACLES are performed. The concluſion from this is, that THE MIRACLES ARE TO BE VERIFIED BY THE DOCTRINE.

But then, (ſay they, again) ſince we know ſo little of the extent of the human underſtanding, we cannot determine of the *true Original* of the Doctrine, propoſed to our belief, till it be ſupported by MIRACLES; now the concluſion from this is, that the DOCTRINE IS TO BE VERIFIED BY MIRACLES.

Such

Such is the vicious Circle (ſay our adverſaries) round which we run, when we firſt PROVE THE MIRACLES BY THE DOCTRINE, AND THEN PROVE THE DOCTRINE BY THE MIRACLES.

This is, without doubt, *a Paralogiſm.* But we deny that any ſuch faulty reaſoning is here employed. The term, DOCTRINE, in the firſt propoſition, is uſed to ſignify *a Doctrine agreeable to the truth of things, and demonſtrated to be ſo by natural light.* In the ſecond propoſition, the term, DOCTRINE, is uſed to ſignify *a Doctrine immediately, and in an extraordinary manner*, revealed by God. So that theſe different ſignifications, in the declared uſe of the word DOCTRINE, in the two propoſitions, ſets the whole reaſoning free from that *vicious Circle* within which our Philoſophic Conjurers would confine it. In this, there is no fruitleſs return of an unprogreſſive argument; but a regular proceſſion of two diſtinct and different Truths, till the whole reaſoning becomes compleat. In truth, they afford mutual aſſiſtance to one another; yet not by taking back, after the turn has been ſerved, what they had given; but by continuing to hold what each had imparted to the ſupport of the other.

On the whole, we conclude, that if any Meſſengers ever wanted the CREDENTIALS OF MIRACLES, they were the firſt MESSENGERS OF GOD in the revealed Myſtery of the GOSPEL.

Indeed, divine Providence hath ſo ſtrictly appropriated MIRACLES *for theſe* CREDENTIALS, that JOHN THE BAPTIST, the Precurſor of thoſe Meſſengers, deſtined only to announce the approaching GOSPEL, worked NO MIRACLES: yet, had *Miracles* been of no other uſe than what this new-fangled Doctrine aſſigns to them, namely to make the hearers attentive to the excellence of the *morals* of the new Religion, none had more need of them than JOHN and his Penitents.—St. CHRYSOSTOM ſeems to have underſtood the GOSPEL better than theſe modern Divines, when he ſuppoſed that even JESUS himſelf worked no *Miracle* till after his baptiſm, *i. e.* till the time of his addreſſing himſelf to his Miſſion, when CREDENTIALS to his Character were naturally required; which *Credentials* had

had he not given, the unbelieving Jews, as he himſelf acknowledges, had been free from blame.—IF I HAD NOT DONE AMONGST THEM (ſays he) THE WORKS WHICH NONE OTHER MAN DID, THEY HAD NOT HAD SIN *.

II.

We come next to that ſecond Species of *Miracles*, mentioned above, whoſe ſubject makes ſo eſſential a part in the Oeconomy of the GOSPEL, that, without it, the whole would be vain and fruitleſs. The firſt and principal of the ſpecies is the MIRACLE of Chriſt's RESURRECTION from the Dead.—*If Chriſt be not* RAISED, (ſaith St. Paul) *your faith is vain*; *you are yet in your ſins* †. And St. Peter uſes the ſame argument to ſhew the NECESSITY of his Maſter's *reſurrection*.—*God* (ſays he) *raiſed him up, having looſed the pains of death*; BECAUSE IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE THAT HE SHOULD BE HOLDEN OF IT ‡.

Now from whence does the *impoſſibility* ariſe, if not from the force of St. Paul's argument concerning the nature of Chriſt's *Reſurrection?*

So important a circumſtance, therefore, required that the higheſt evidence ſhould be given of its truth.

CHRISTIANITY reveals the reſtoration of lapſed and forfeited Man to life and immortality from the power and dominion of the Grave.

But the courſe of human nature continuing the ſame *after* this reſtoration which it held *before*, and the GRAVE ſtill boaſting its power, though fooliſhly, indeed, and in vain, *ſince Death had loſt its Sting* §; there ſeemed to be need of ſome extraordinary evidence of the *reality of this change* in the order of things, which being procured at the price of Chriſt's death on the Croſs, and then viſibly paid, the nature of the compact required that the benefit obtained ſhould be as viſibly put into our poſſeſſion; and both one

* John xv. 24. † 1 Cor. xv. 17.
‡ Acts ii. 24. § 1 Cor. xv. 55.

and

and the other openly exemplified in the ſame Perſon, the *Author of our Salvation*. For, if he himſelf was not ſeen to enjoy the fruits of that Redemption, which was of his own procuring, what hopes could be entertained for the reſt of mankind? Would it not have been too plauſibly concluded, that this expedient of *Redemption* had proved ineffectual by CHRIST's not *riſing?* So neceſſarily connected (in the Apoſtle's opinion) was the MIRACLE of our Saviour's viſible *reſurrection* with the very eſſence of the Chriſtian Faith. And this *Reſurrection being the firſt fruits of them that ſlept*, was the very thing which both aſſured and ſanctified all the benefits that were to follow. For the *Jewiſh firſt fruits* (to which the expreſſion alludes) were of the nature, and a ſecurity to the plenty, of the approaching Harveſt.

Thus, we ſee, the MIRACLE of the *Reſurrection* made a neceſſary part of the integrity of the Goſpel.

But it had other uſes and expediencies beſides; which, (in concluding this head,) I ſhall, in as few words as poſſible, endeavour to point out. The heathen World had, in general, ſome notion of another life. But a *reſurrection* of this *material* body, after death, to accompany the ſoul in its future exiſtence, never once entered into their imaginations; though ſome modern Writers have been miſled to think otherwiſe, partly by what they had learnt of the *fables of the vulgar*, full of ſhadows of a bodily ſhape, Inhabitants of the Tombs, or Attendants on the *Soul*, in the ſequeſtered abode of Spirits; and partly of the more ſolemn dreams of the Philoſophers, particularly the famous STOICAL RENOVATION, which, however, is ſo far from bearing any reſemblance, or yielding any credit to the CHRISTIAN reſurrection, though miſtaken for it, that it is abſolutely inconſiſtent with it.

The Sages of Antiquity had diſcovered many qualities in the human *Soul*, which diſpoſed them to think that it might ſurvive the *Body*. But every property they knew of *Matter* led them to conclude, that, at the ſeparation and diſſolution of the union between theſe two conſtituent parts of Man, the *Body* would be reſolved

reſolved into the Elements from whence it aroſe. And that ſect of Philoſophy which moſt favoured, and beſt cultivated the Doctrine of the Soul's immortality, conſidered the Body only as its *priſon*, into which it was thruſt, by way of penance, for its pre-exiſtent crimes; and from which, when it had undergone its deſtined purgation, it was to be totally ſet free. Nay, ſo little did the RESURRECTION OF THE BODY enter into their more ſtudied conceptions, that when St. Paul, at Athens, (the capital Seat of Science,) preached JESUS AND THE RESURRECTION*, his Auditors miſtook the ſecond term to be like the firſt, a revelation of ſome new Deity, a certain Goddeſs, called ANASTASIS †.

With all theſe prejudices, ſo unfavourable to the RESURRECTION OF THE BODY, nothing leſs than the aſſurance of the beſt atteſted MIRACLE, in confirmation of it, could have reconciled the Gentile World to the belief of ſo incredible a Doctrine.

* Acts xvii. 31.

† In this ſenſe St. CHRYSOSTOM underſtood the thoughts of the Athenians to be concerning St. Paul's mention of the *Anaſtaſis*. Dr. BENTLEY thinks otherwiſe. But which of theſe two Doctors was likely to be beſt acquainted with the genius and ſtate of Paganiſm, when St. Paul preached at Athens, muſt be left to the judgment of the Reader. This, at leaſt, is certain, that the reaſon the modern Doctor gives, why the *Athenians could not miſtake* ANASTASIS *for a Goddeſs, becauſe they too well underſtood the notion of a reſurrection*, is a very weak one, ſince they had no notion of a *reſurrection* at all; unleſs they miſtook (which is very unlikely) the STOICAL RENOVATION for that which the Apoſtle preached. Dr. Bentley, indeed, ſeems to have fallen into that error, or he could ſcarce have ſaid—*the Athenians well underſtood the notion of a Reſurrection.* However, let the Athenians underſtand this *Stoical renovation* as they would, they were certainly liable to a folly as groſs, and at that time much more general, which was, the turning *a moral entity into an object of worſhip:* moſt of which abſtract notions, ſuperſtition had thus metamorphoſed. Amongſt the JEWS, indeed, the RESURRECTION was become a national Doctrine ſome time before the advent of the MESSIAH; not collected (we may be ſure) from natural reaſon, nor taught them by their *Scriptures*, yet collected from the contemplation of their Prophets miſinterpreted; where the *reſtoration of the Moſaic Republic* was predicted, in terms which were miſtaken by the latter Jews, to ſignify the revival or reſurrection of the Bodies of their deceaſed Anceſtors; of which many inſtances might be given, beſides Ezekiel's *Viſion of the dry bones.*

This we ſay with the greater confidence, ſince St. Paul himſelf, on this occaſion, appears to argue on the ſame idea. For when he had rectified this error of the Athenians, concerning *Jeſus and the reſurrection*, and had informed them that, by this *reſurrection*, he meant the revival of the *dead bodies* of men, and reſtoration of them to life, he adds — *whereof God hath given* ASSURANCE *unto all men, in that he raiſed Jeſus from the dead.—For after his reſurrection, he was ſeen* (ſays the ſame Apoſtle, on another occaſion) *of five hundred brethren at once; of whom the greater part remain unto this preſent* *.

2. Under this ſecond diviſion of *Miracles*, whoſe ſubject makes an eſſential part in the Oeconomy of the Chriſtian diſpenſation, let me recommend to your conſideration and belief the power of Jeſus and his Diſciples to CAST OUT DEVILS OR EVIL SPIRITS from the bodies of Men ſuffering by thoſe inhoſpitable Gueſts †.

And under this diviſion I the rather chuſe to place this ſpecies of Miracles, ſince, by occaſion of a very general and infamous pretence of ſuch a power, eſpecially in theſe later times, the fact itſelf has been rendered doubtful; and even excluded from the number of thoſe mental and bodily diſorders, recorded by the Evangeliſts, to have been relieved in the moſt extraordinary manner by Jeſus and his Diſciples--- *And they brought unto him all ſick people* (ſays St. Matthew) *that were taken with divers diſeaſes and torments, and thoſe which were* POSSESSED WITH DEVILS, AND LUNATICS, *and he healed them* ‡.—Inſomuch that at length we have been told, that what is here called the being *poſſeſſed with Devils*, was, indeed, no other than an atrabilaire Lunacy, or one of thoſe *occult diſtempers* for which Phyſicians could not find a remedy, or, what was ſtill harder, were at a loſs for a *name*; and therefore, in complaiſance to the imbecillity of their Patients, they agreed to ſuppoſe it *ſupernatural*, or, (ſaving your preſence) the *work of the Devil.*

* 1 Cor. xv. 6.

† Sermon *On the Fall of Satan*.

‡ Matt. iv. 24.

But

But this ſtrange Malady being delivered to us as a REAL POSSESSION by the Evangeliſt laſt quoted, who, at the ſame time, diſtinguiſhes it from *natural* diſorders, and particularly from LUNACY, with which theſe modern Doctors are willing to confound it, we chuſe to adhere to the opinion of the ſacred Writer.

In ſupport of which, and to form a right judgment of the matter in queſtion, it may be proper to conſider what adverſe part the DEVIL bore in diſturbing the Oeconomy of Grace.

Now, in the Hiſtory of the FALL, recorded by Moſes, to which the Writers of the New Teſtament perpetually allude, SATAN, or the *Tempter*, *Calumniator*, the old Serpent, or the *evil One*, (for by theſe names he is characterized in Scripture,) is repreſented as having inſtigated the *firſt man*, Adam, to diſobedience; for which, by the *ſecond Adam*, Jeſus Chriſt, (who reſtored us to our loſt inheritance,) is denounced his puniſhment in theſe figurative terms, *the Seed of the Woman ſhould bruiſe the Serpent's head**: explained in the New Teſtament, to be the final conqueſt and deſtruction of this enemy of mankind by our *Redeemer*. So that we may reaſonably expect to find the *puniſhment* of the *Tempter* recorded in the Hiſtory of our REDEMPTION, as his *crime* was recorded in the Hiſtory of the FALL. And, indeed, this circumſtance, ſo neceſſary to the ſtory of the whole tranſaction, we meet with in the Goſpel, on ſeveral occaſions.

When the Diſciples, whom Jeſus had ſent out to renounce their Miſſion, came back to their Maſter exulting in the power of their Miniſtry, he receives them as Conquerors, returning in triumph from their ſpiritual warfare—*I beheld* SATAN (ſays he) *as lightning fall from heaven* †. A ſtrong and lively picture of the ſudden precipitation of that *Prince of the Air* from the place where he had ſo long held his uſurpation, hanging like a peſtilential meteor over the ſons of men.

The riſe, therefore, of Chriſt's Kingdom, and the fall of Satan's, being thus carried on together, it would be ſtrange indeed, if, in

* Gen. iii. 15. † Luke x. 18.

the Goſpel, we ſhould find no MARKS of the rage of Satan's expiring tyranny amidſt all the ſalutary bleſſings of the riſing Empire of Chriſt. But we find them in abundance. We find this enemy of our ſalvation, mad with deſpair, invoking all the powers of darkneſs to blaſt that *peace and good will towards men*, proclaimed by Angels on the birth-night of the Son of God. For when he underſtood, by his baffled attempts on his Lord and Maſter, that the SOULS of Men had eſcaped his uſurped Dominion, he turned his cruelty on their BODIES, in the moſt humiliating circumſtances of pain and oppreſſion that could diſhonour or diſgrace humanity: permitted, no doubt, to take a wider range at this deciſive inſtant than at any other, either before or ſince, in order to illuminate the glories of his Conqueror.

Had the *firſt Adam* ſtood in the rectitude of his Creation, he had, on obſerving the Command given to him in Paradiſe, gained IMMORTALITY, and been placed above and beyond the reach of NATURAL and MORAL evil. His relapſe back to MORTALITY brought *both* into the world. The office of the *ſecond Adam* was to reſtore us to our Paradiſaical State. But as the *immortality*, purchaſed for us by the Son of God, was unlike to that which became forfeit by the tranſgreſſion of the *firſt man* in this particular, that it was not to commence immediately, but was reſerved for the reward of a future ſtate, it followed that both *phyſical* and *moral* evil were to endure for a ſeaſon. Yet, to manifeſt that they were, in good time, to receive their final doom from the REDEEMER, it ſeems eſſential to his character that he ſhould, in the courſe of his Miniſtry, give a convincing ſpecimen of his power over *both*.

One part, therefore, of his Godlike labours was, we find, employed in curing all kinds of *natural* diſeaſes. But had he ſtopped here amidſt his conqueſts over *phyſical* evil, the full evidence of his Dominion over *both Worlds*, which, by his office, he was to reſtore to their primeval integrity, had remained defective.

Jeſus, therefore, was to diſplay his Sovereignty over *moral evil* likewiſe; and this could not be ſeen in the manner it was manifeſted

feſted over *natural* evil, but by a ſenſible Victory over SATAN; through whoſe machinations *moral evil* was brought into the World, and by whoſe temptations it was ſuſtained and increaſed.

Hence it was that, amongſt his amazing works of ſanity and ſalvation, the CASTING OUT OF DEVILS is ſo much inſiſted on by the Writers of his life and death; he himſelf having informed them, that it was eſſential to the erection of his ſpiritual Kingdom—*If I* (ſays he) *caſt out Devils by the Spirit of God*, THEN *the Kingdom of God is come unto you* *.

Thus, from the very genius of the GOSPEL, from the nature and conſtitution of the Syſtem of GRACE, it appears that this was a real ejection of the *evil Spirit*.

But, beſides this, Jeſus and his Diſciples, in their manner of working, and in the mode of recording what they worked, did every thing that might beſt diſplay a real victory over SATAN.

Let the *Jews* of that time, let the *Diſeaſed* themſelves, be as much in an error as you are pleaſed to conceive them, in the matter of *Diabolical Poſſeſſion*, yet no Believer will preſume to think that JESUS was deceived in his own caſe; or was diſpoſed to deceive others, when he informed his Hiſtorians of his *being led by the Spirit into the Wilderneſs, and of his being tempted there forty days of the* DEVIL †.—Whether any, or what part of this tranſaction paſſed in Viſion, is not material to determine, ſince the *reality of the agency* is the ſame on either ſuppoſition; as its truth depended not on the mode of ſenſation, but on the infallible aſſurance of that agency. For Jeſus, in his amazing humiliation, when he aſſumed *our nature*, was yet, without doubt, ſuperior to thoſe infirmities of it which ariſe from the deluſions of ſenſe; as ſuch deluſions would have been incompatible with the exerciſe of his divine Miniſtry. If, therefore, there was any miſtake in this matter, it muſt be (I ſpeak it with the moſt reverential horrour) the deſigned

* Matt. xii. 28. † Luke iv. 1, 2.

contrivance

contrivance of our bleſſed Maſter himſelf, who aſſures us, that *he was* not only *the way*, but THE TRUTH * likewiſe.

So far then is clear, that the *evil Spirit* was neither abſent nor inactive when the Goſpel was firſt opened to mankind.

In THIS TEMPTATION, he was permitted to try whether he could traverſe the great work of human Redemption—*In his poſſeſſion of men's bodies*, he ſeems to have been, in part, forced upon the attempt, that *the caſting of him out*, by the power of Jeſus, might evince Mankind that our reſtoration to LIFE was fully accompliſhed.

Thus, in the caſe of the man poſſeſſed in the country of the Gadarines, — The Devils, oppreſſed by the mighty hand of God, and ready to be caſt out and ſent into a place of torment, confeſs the ſuperiority of their conqueror, and proclaim him to be the promiſed MESSIAH, at a time when he concealed this part of his Character, and was not certainly known by it even amongſt his Diſciples.

If it be aſked, why the Devils proclaimed it? The anſwer is eaſy: It was to impede, or to cut off, the courſe of his appointed Miniſtry. On this account Jeſus checks, or enjoins ſilence to them. Indeed, had all the atteſtation given by our Saviour to *real poſſeſſions* been no ſtronger than that which he gave in anſwer to thoſe who ſaid, He caſt out Devils by Baalzebub, namely, that then, *Baalzebub's kingdom being divided within itſelf, muſt be brought to deſtruction* †, the argument might be thought to labour a little; for if the power and operation of *Satan* or *Baalzebub* was a groundleſs fancy, as our Philoſophers pretend, Jeſus may not unreaſonably be thought to argue *ad hominem*; which a Meſſenger from God might do without impeachment of his Character, though the conceſſion on which he reaſons were not ſtrictly conformable to the reality of things. But when ſuch a Meſſenger commands the Devils, whom he pretends to have caſt out, not to diſcover his office or character, this

* John xiv. 6. † Matt. xii. 24, & ſeq.

is

is going a length, if there was no Devil in the caſe, which a Meſſenger from the God of Truth could never, ſurely, be authoriſed to engage in.

If we turn from Satan's *temptation* of Jeſus to his cruel treatment of the Jews, we ſhall ſtill find the ſame ſtrong marks of *real agency*.

Be it granted, that both the Jews and Gentiles of that time were grown very fanciful and ſuperſtitious concerning *diabolic poſſeſſions*, and, conſequently, that they often miſtook *natural* for *ſupernatural* maladies; what follows, but that which we find provided againſt thoſe falſe concluſions which weak or licentious men drew from thence?

The utmoſt care and attention has been given by the ſacred Writers to *mark* out thoſe caſes of real poſſeſſion, which Jeſus relieved, by ſome circumſtance not equivocal, or what could not accompany an imaginary or natural diſorder.

Thus, in the adventure recorded by three of the Evangeliſts *—when Jeſus had eaſed the Demoniac, and his tormentors had obtained leave to go into *a herd of ſwine*; what other reaſon can be given, or, indeed, what better can be conceived, of their extraordinary requeſt on the one hand, or permiſſion on the other, than that this circumſtance was to afford a certain MARK to diſtinguiſh a REAL from an *imaginary* Poſſeſſion?

It is true, that the wild extravagance of human fancy may be able to form chimeras that ſhall affright the Raiſer of them to diſtraction. Yet Brutes (we all know) have none of this dangerous faculty. Therefore, when we find great numbers of them ſtimulated, at once, to an inſtantaneous madneſs, we muſt needs conclude, that it was cauſed by ſome ſupernatural Agent, operating on their organs.

So admirably has our indulgent Maſter been pleaſed to guard this important Truth againſt the moſt plauſible evaſions of ſelf-conceited men.

* Matt. viii.—Mark v.—Luke viii.

The

The ſtrong impulſe of a vitiated fancy, puſhed forward by ſuperſtition, might be ſuppoſed able, without other agency, to produce theſe very extraordinary appearances.

To cut off, therefore, all eſcape from a forced conceſſion of the mighty hand of God, compelling his moſt *averſe* Creatures to acknowledge his Sovereignty, here are two caſes obtruded on the moſt incredulous: The one is, SATAN's temptation of the Meſſiah; the other is, his *Poſſeſſion* of brute Animals: In neither of which caſes hath the *powers of imagination* any place. In the *firſt*, the divine Patient was above their deluſions; in the *other*, the Brutal was as much below them.

If we turn from the FACTS which the Evangeliſts have recorded, to the EXPRESSIONS which they have employed, we ſhall have further reaſon to reſt ſatisfied with the ancient interpretation.

The text ſays,—*They brought unto him all ſick people, that were taken with divers diſeaſes and torments: and* THOSE WHICH WERE POSSESSED WITH DEVILS, *and* LUNATICS; *and he healed them.*

Here we find, that the diſorder of thoſe who are ſaid to be POSSESSED WITH DEVILS, is preciſely diſtinguiſhed, not only from natural diſeaſes and torments in general, but likewiſe from LUNACY in particular; that very diſorder which the Antidemoniaſt is ſo willing to confound with ſupernatural agitations. Is it poſſible, therefore, to believe, that a Writer of any meaning, at the very time he is diſtinguiſhing *Lunacy* from *diabolical Poſſeſſions*, ſhould confound theſe two diſorders with one another? Yet, this is what theſe licentious Critics make him do, in compliance (they tell us) with an accuſtomed mode of ſpeech. On the contrary, is it not certain, that the ſacred Writer was the more intent to repreſent them as two very different diſorders, for this very reaſon, their having many ſymptoms in common? a circumſtance which hath made theſe men ſolicitous to *confound* what the Evangeliſt was careful to *diſtinguiſh*.

In a word, they who, after all theſe precautions taken by St. Matthew, and the reſt, can believe that *Devils* and *Demoniacs* were uſed

uſed only as terms of accommodation, may well believe (as ſome of them profeſs to do) that the terms *Sacrifice*, *Redemption*, and *Satisfaction*, come of no better a Houſe than one of the common figures of ſpeech *.

III.

We now come to the third and laſt Claſs of MIRACLES, which, we ſay, demand the aſſent of every reaſonable man, when propoſed to him with full evidence of the Fact.

Of this kind are the *Miracles* in which the Deity immediately interpoſes, to vindicate the Credit of his own Predictions, when impious men have publicly combined to defeat and diſhonour them.

The moſt eminent of this Claſs was the *miraculous* interpoſition of Heaven, which defeated JULIAN's attempt to rebuild THE JEWISH TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.

When God found it expedient or neceſſary, in order to preſerve the Memory and keep up the Knowledge of himſelf amidſt a corrupt world, running headlong into Polytheiſm and Idolatry, he choſe a ſingle Family, which, when ſpread out into a Nation or People, was to become the public repoſitory of his holy Name, till the fulneſs of time ſhould come, when, as he *promiſed by himſelf, all the earth ſhould be filled with the glory of the Lord* †.

This family was of the ſeed of Abraham; which, in compliance with the religious notions of thoſe times, he was pleaſed to adopt for his peculiar People, under the idea of their *tutelar* Deity, or the *God of Abraham, Iſaac, and Jacob*; and, the more effectually to ſecure the great end of their ſeparation, aſſumed, likewiſe, the title and office of their KING or CIVIL GOVERNOR; having, firſt of all, communicated himſelf to them, as the Maker and Governor of the Univerſe.

Hence, the RELIGION he gave unto this People came under the idea of a LAW; and the LAW, amongſt them, was, in the

* See note [L], at the end of this Book.

† Numbers xiv. 21.

ſtricteſt ſenſe, RELIGION, as having all the ſanctions of a divine Command.

From this ſhort account of the JEWISH CONSTITUTION it appears, that RELIGION, which, elſewhere, had properly and juſtly *particulars only* for its ſubjects, had here the nation or community. And what, elſewhere, (as far as concerns the divine origin of Religion) is only a *private* matter, was here a public. For the Deity being both their *tutelary God* and *Civil Governor*, the proper object of his care was, in either capacity, the collective Body.

Hence it follows, that the principal Rites of the Hebrew *Religion* and *Law* were to be performed in ſome determined Place. For the ideas of a *tutelary* God and *civil* Governor implied a local Reſidence; and a *national act*, ariſing from the relations ſpringing out of theſe qualities, required a fixed and certain habitation for its celebration; and both together ſeemed to mark out the Capital of the Country for that uſe.

Such a practice, which the nature and reaſon of things ſo evidently point out, the Inſtitutes of the Jewiſh Law expreſsly direct and enjoin.

During the early and unſettled times of the Republic, the Sacrifices preſcribed by its Ritual were directed to be offered up at the door of an ambulatory *Tabernacle*; but when the People had perfected the Eſtabliſhment ordained for them, and a magnific TEMPLE was erected for religious Worſhip, then their SACRIFICES were to be offered in that place at Jeruſalem only.

Now, SACRIFICES conſtituting the eſſentials of their Worſhip, their *Religion* could not be ſaid to exiſt longer than that celebration continued. But *Sacrifices* were to be performed in no place out of the Walls of their TEMPLE. So that when this *holy place* was finally deſtroyed, according to the prophetical predictions, the INSTITUTION itſelf became aboliſhed. Nor was any thing more conſonant to the genius of this Religion, than the aſſigning ſuch a celebration of its principal Rites. The Temple would exiſt while they

they remained a People, and continued Sovereign. And when their Sovereignty was loſt, the Temple-worſhip became precarious, and ſubject to the arbitrary pleaſure of their Maſters. — They deſtroyed this Temple; but it was not till it had loſt its uſe. For the Rites, directed to be there celebrated, were relative to them only as a free-policied People.

So that this was, in reality, a total EXTINCTION of the Jewiſh Worſhip. How wonderful are the ways of God! This came to paſs at that very period when a *new Revelation* from Heaven concurred with the blind tranſactions of civil policy, to ſuperſede the LAW by the introduction of the GOSPEL: the laſt great work which completed the Scheme of HUMAN REDEMPTION.

To confound this admirable order of Providence was what induced the EMPEROR JULIAN to attempt the REBUILDING the JEWISH TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM. The vanity of the attempt could be only equalled by its impiety: for it was deſigned TO GIVE THE LIE TO GOD, who, by the mouth of his Prophets, had foretold that it ſhould never be rebuilt. Here then was the moſt important occaſion for a miraculous interpoſition, as it was to defeat this mad attempt. And thus in fact it was defeated, to the admiration of all mankind.

But as a large and full account of the whole affair hath been already given to the Public, in a Work entituled—JULIAN, *or a Diſcourſe concerning the Earthquake and fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's Attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jeruſalem*; thither I refer the learned Reader, who will there meet with all the various evidence of the Fact, abundantly ſufficient to ſupport and eſtabliſh it; together with a full confutation of all the cavils oppoſed to its certainty and neceſſity.

To conclude this ſubject with a recapitulation of what I undertook to prove, namely, that the MIRACLES in the Chriſtian Diſpenſation, which exact credit of reaſonable men, may be all compriſed under one or other of theſe Diviſions, viz.

I. Under that SPECIES OF MIRACLES which ſerves for CREDENTIALS to the MISSION of Jeſus Chriſt and his firſt Diſciples and Followers.

II. Or under that which makes an eſſential part in the integrity or completion of the Goſpel-Syſtem.

III. Or, laſtly, under that in which the Deity immediately interpoſes, to vindicate the credit of his own predictions, when impious Men have entered into a combination to defeat and diſhonour them.

Not that it is my purpoſe poſitively to brand, as FALSE, every pretended Miracle recorded in eccleſiaſtical and civil Hiſtory, which wants this favourable capacity of being reduced to one or other of the *Species* explained above. All that I contend for is, that thoſe Miracles, ſtill remaining unſupported by the nature of that Evidence which I have ſhewn ought to force conviction from every reaſonable Mind, ſhould be at preſent excluded from the privilege of that conviction.

Indeed the greater part may be ſafely given up, for idle and knaviſh tales of monkiſh invention.

Of the reſt, which yet ſtand undiſcredited by any conſiderable marks of Impoſture, we may ſafely ſuſpend our belief, till time hath afforded further lights to direct our judgment.

Nor will the confining our Aſſent to *Miracles*, thus brought within the limits of an apparent SUFFICIENT CAUSE, be leſs beneficial to *Religion* in general, than it is ſubverſive of the vain *Philoſophy* in vogue, which attempts to diſcredit all extraordinary interpoſitions of Providence whatſoever, as we ſhall now ſhew.

1. The bringing MIRACLES within theſe bounds will afford a mark of diſtinction, never to be effaced, between thoſe of the GOSPEL, and thoſe which PAGANISM and its *Advocates* object to us. For I may venture to affirm, that, amongſt thoſe pretended Miracles in the Pagan World, there cannot be found one that carries along with it any thing that bears the leaſt reſemblance to a SUFFICIENT CAUSE. And there is ſtrong reaſon to believe, that the Deity,

Deity, without ſuch an occaſion, would never interfere amongſt the Gentiles; becauſe ſuch an interpoſition would, beſides the vanity of it, have a natural and direct tendency to rivet men in their idolatry.

But the principal uſe of confining MIRACLES within theſe bounds will be the giving an immediate check to FRAUD and SUPERSTITION, when in their full career, to abuſe and enſlave a fooliſh World. For that ſtrange infirmity of the human mind, viz. *a fondneſs for the* MARVELLOUS (begot by a miſconception of nature, and nurſed by the pride of ſelf-importance), always made the deluded multitude thankleſs and averſe to thoſe who would bring them to their ſenſes.

—Cui ſic extorta voluptas.

And if Men be ſo fond of the *Marvellous* for the mere pleaſure of the ADMIRATION which it creates, what muſt be their zeal to propagate thoſe *ſtrange things*, in which Religion is ſuppoſed to be concerned? Every diſorderly paſſion now conſpires to blot and deform the fair face of Nature, with Prodigies and Portents.

Such frightful Viſions, even the earlieſt Ages of Chriſtianity raiſed up. *The Prodigies of* ANTICHRIST (ſays the Apoſtle) *have been after the working of Satan, with* POWERS *and* SIGNS *and* LYING WONDERS *.

This, it is true, ſhould make THEOLOGIANS cautious; but it ſhould not make our PHILOSOPHERS preſumptuous or vain. For even theſe Intimados of Nature know no more of Her than what lies juſt before them, in common with thoſe whom they moſt affect to deſpiſe: And all they know, if not a MIRACLE, is yet a MYSTERY.

Let theſe her Cloſet-acquaintance *ſteal*, as they are able, to her inmoſt receſſes, they *can bring nothing* from thence concerning

* 2 Theſſ. ii. 9.

God's

God's natural and moral Government, as the Poet finely expreſſes it,

—— BUT UNDECYPHERED CHARACTERS,

which only teach us the need we have of a better Decypherer, than that REASON on which theſe men ſo proudly rely.

CHAP. VI.

BUT now, beſides theſe extraordinary Gifts, properly called MIRACLES, with which the firſt Preachers of the *Goſpel* were intruſted, for its more ſpeedy propagation, they were endowed with another, and more complicated kind of ſupernatural Power, namely PROPHECY, in which a MIRACULOUS power was eminently included.

With PROPHECY, or with that ſimpler ſpecies of divine Virtue, MIRACLES, was the Church of Chriſt at that time ſupplied; as one or the other was beſt ſuited to the various uſes of Religion.

In explaining this matter, which the importance of the ſubject requires us to do more at large, it will be neceſſary juſt to repeat what has been obſerved before; that, in the firſt propagation of a *new Religion* from Heaven, the Will of God muſt be atteſted by MIRACLES; ſince nothing leſs than this inſtant Evidence is ſufficient to aſſure us of its divine original.

But when this hath been fully and largely afforded, the *power of Miracles* (where *Miracles* do not make a conſtant and eſſential part in the nature of the *Diſpenſation*, as they did in the *Jewiſh*) is with good reaſon withdrawn from the Servants and Miniſters of Religion: And the CHURCH is from thenceforth left, at leaſt for ſome time, to ſupport itſelf on the TRADITIONAL EXEMPLIFICATION of this evidence; ſomething leſs forcible than the ORIGINAL RECORD, of which the firſt and better ages of Chriſtianity had been in poſſeſſion.

But

But by the time this MIRACULOUS power began to fail, another was preparing to ſupply its place, of ſtill greater efficacy; I mean, that of PROPHECY.

For the ſovereign Maſter, who no leſs manifeſts his conſtant PRESENCE to the *moral* than to the *phyſical* government of the World, has been graciouſly pleaſed to give to the *later* ages of the Church more than an equivalent for what he had beſtowed upon the *earlier*, in beginning to ſhower down on his choſen ſervants of the NEW COVENANT the riches of PROPHECY as the power of working MIRACLES abated. So early, I ſay, was this preparation made for that ſtronger and more laſting ſupport; a ſupport not yet, indeed, improved into *Evidence*; nor was the *Evidence* wanted, while *Miracles*, in a ſort, remained. Beſides, it could not, in the nature of things, become *Evidence*, till ſome time after its firſt enunciation: for till the more conſiderable events of a PROPHECY, which contained the future and later fortunes of the *Goſpel*, had ariſen, and been brought, by degrees, into EXISTENCE, the *Prophecy* could afford no conviction of its truth.

Yet, in this wonderful diſpoſition of things, we ſee the *divine Hand* by which they were conducted.

To proceed. PROPHECIES were now more clearly and ſimply, now more obſcurely and enigmatically enounced, juſt as the nature of the ſubject or the circumſtances of the time required.—Yet ſtill we have ventured to call PROPHECY a ſtronger and more laſting Evidence than MIRACLES. And this will deſerve our attention. The evidence from MIRACLES ſeems, by its nature, to leſſen ſomewhat by time; while that from PROPHECY gathers ſtrength by it, and grows more and more convictive, till the gradual and full completion of all its parts makes the ſplendour of it irreſiſtible.

Hence the wiſdom of the divine Diſpoſer is ſtill further ſeen, in making PROPHECY, not only the *ſtrongeſt*, but the LAST and CONCLUDING Evidence of a *Religion*, which, as it was the completion of the whole ſcheme of REVELATION, ſo having (as it would ſeem) the largeſt portion of its courſe yet to run, that ſpecies of Evidence

which

which does not loſe, but gain ſtrength, by time, was beſt fitted to accompany it to its utmoſt period.

But to go on with our more general reflections on the whole.

This DOUBLE EVIDENCE, in ſupport of *Revealed Religion*, hath always been the ſame throughout every mode of God's moral Diſpenſations. The records of ſacred Hiſtory confirm this Truth.

Under the Jewiſh œconomy, although MIRACLES, by reaſon of the peculiar form of the Republic, were neceſſarily attendant on its adminiſtration, throughout a courſe of many ages (that is, during all the time in which the affairs of this people were conducted by an *extraordinary Providence*), yet God's inſpired Servants were, together with the power of working MIRACLES, endowed with the gift of PROPHECY. For, although the *extraordinary Providence*, and conſequently MIRACLES, which made a part of it, continued much longer than would have been neceſſary, had MIRACLES amongſt the Jews been of no other uſe than they were in the Chriſtian Church, viz. to evidence the divinity of the Revelation; yet as *that Providence*, and conſequently this *miraculous* attendant on it, were to ceaſe long before the abolition of the THEOCRACY; the other evidence of PROPHECY, in the abſence of MIRACLES, was graciouſly beſtowed on the Jewiſh Church likewiſe.

Hence the inſpired Miniſters of it, DANIEL in particular, foretold more circumſtantially and minutely than the reſt, the various fortunes of that Church and Republic, from its decay, in their own times, to the entire diſſolution of it by the introduction of a better SYSTEM.

In the like manner St. JOHN, under the NEW COVENANT, did, by the ſame divine Spirit, predict the fortunes of the *Chriſtian Church*, from the flouriſhing condition of it, in his own time, through all the diſaſters of the corrupt ages that followed, to the happy conſummation of all things.

In both caſes, for the reaſons above given, PROPHECY could not be urged as inſtant evidence, at the time it was delivered, but was kept

kept entire and reſerved for the uſe of thoſe ages, when MIRACLES having long ceaſed in the *Chriſtian* Church, and were declining in the *Jewiſh*, ſeemed to need this other and further ſupport.

From all theſe, and from many other conſiderations to be further urged, it will appear, that, of this double Evidence to the truth of Revelation, viz. MIRACLES and PROPHECY, the latter, as we have ſaid, is of ſuperior force and efficacy.

We have already ſhewn its ſuperiority in gaining by *Time* what the other loſes. This advantage is further ſeen by its being leſs ſubject to the miſtakes and fallacious impreſſions of *ſenſe* than *Miracles* are.

But as this is a matter of much importance, it may be proper to explain and verify the aſſertion.

Both MIRACLES and PROPHECIES are indeed appeals to the *Senſes*, but with this difference, that MIRACLES, however illuſtrious, ſuch as thoſe worked by the firſt propagators of our holy Religion, are ſubject to the cavils of Infidelity.

Of this, Dr. Middleton hath afforded a wonderful example; where he inſinuates, and would ſeem to perſuade us, that the *Voice from Heaven recognizing the Son of God*, was no other than a ſuperſtitious fancy of the later Jews called the BATH KOL; a fantaſtic kind of Divination of their own invention.—As groundleſs and ſcandalous as this cavil is, yet it muſt be owned, that the frame of the animal œconomy, in which a heated imagination is able to work ſtrange appearances in the body, has given ſome countenance to infidelity, in its ſceptical concluſions againſt *Miracles*. And though we have ſaid enough to free thoſe of the *Goſpel*, and ſome others, confined within the reaſonable bounds before laid down, from every imputation of this ſort, yet *Miracles* being, by their very nature, open and liable to abuſive interpretations, and *Prophecy* well ſecured from them, for this, and for the more weighty reaſons given above, we conclude (as the crown of all) with the unerring declaration of the holy Apoſtle PETER; who, in his ſecond general Epiſtle to the

Churches, alluding to this *twofold evidence* for the truth of Revelation, namely MIRACLES and PROPHECY, after he had ended what he thought fit to say of the *first*, proceeds to the *other* in these words—WE HAVE ALSO A MORE SURE WORD OF PROPHECY—ἔχομεν ΒΕΒΑΙΟΤΕΡΟΝ τὸν ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΚΟΝ λόγον—*a word, that may be more firmly relied on, and whose existence is more durable.* The word, βεβαιότερον, including both these senses. And we have shewn that the nature of PROPHECY contains these two qualities.

And they being most eminently comprised in the CAPITAL PROPHECY here described and characterised; a more particular explanation of it may be naturally expected in this GENERAL VIEW of the Christian Religion.—

"We have not followed *cunningly devised fables* (says the Apos-
"tle, ver. 16.) when we made known unto you the COMING AND
"POWER of our Lord Jesus Christ, but were eye-witnesses of his
"Majesty."

17. "For he received from God, the Father, honour and glory,
"when there was a VOICE to him, from the exceeding glory—
"This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

18. "And this *voice* which came from Heaven, we heard when
"we were with him in the mount."

19. "WE HAVE ALSO A MORE SURE WORD OF PROPHECY:
"whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, *as unto a light, shining*
"*in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your*
"*hearts.*"

* There are few places, in the Scriptures of the New Testament, plainer than this before us; and yet there are none where interpreters have wandered further from the Apostle's meaning †.

* From this place to the end, abridged and altered from Sermon *On the Rise of Antichrist.*

† See the altercations between Bishop Sherlock and Dr. Middleton, and their respective Advocates.

This

This hath been principally owing to a miſtake of the ſubject. Theſe Interpreters ſuppoſed that St. PETER was here ſpeaking of the PERSONAL CHARACTER OF JESUS; and thence concluded, that THE MORE SURE WORD OF PROPHECY, whereby he ſtrengthens his argument, reſpected the *Prophecies* of the OLD TESTAMENT, which eſtabliſh that PERSONAL CHARACTER.

But the Apoſtle is treating of a different thing; namely, of THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL IN GENERAL.

Which ſhews, that *the more ſure word of Prophecy* regards a Prophecy of the NEW TESTAMENT.

One miſtake produced, of courſe, another. For, on ſuppoſition, that the *perſonal Character of Jeſus* was the thing meant, it would follow, that *by the power and coming of our Lord*, we are to underſtand his FIRST COMING; and then, indeed, *the word of Prophecy* muſt needs ſignify a Prophecy ALREADY FULFILLED. But nothing is more certain than that the *Character* here given of that *Prophecy*, to which the Church is admoniſhed to *take heed*, or pay its attention, confines us to one, but now, juſt beginning to atteſt its divine original—*it is a light ſhining in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-ſtar ariſe in our hearts*; that is, till a long ſeries of events (yet in the womb of time) ſhall ariſe, to give teſtimony, by degrees, till the whole evidence concludes in one unclouded blaze of conviction. So that *the power and coming of our Lord* muſt needs mean his SECOND COMING.

Yet amongſt the Interpreters juſt before cenſured, there are ſome more eminently abſurd * than the reſt. One of theſe is even deſirous to have it believed, that by this *more ſure word of Prophecy* is to be underſtood the Prophecy of ISAIAH, chap. xlii. ver. 1. although the Apoſtle has characteriſed this to be *a light ſhining in a dark place*, &c. *i. e.* not as convictive evidence at preſent, yet being a LIGHT, though *ſhining in a dark place*, it deſerved our attention, till greater *lights* ſhould ariſe, which would afford full conviction.

* See Mr. M.

Now, could this be the *Character* of a Prophecy of the *Old Teſtament*; eſpecially one of Isaiah's, moſt of whoſe Predictions referred to, and had their completion in, Jesus, their great object? The *dawn* and *day-ſtar*, here ſpoken of by the Apoſtle, as of a very diſtant light, was, in the time of that Prophet, already *riſen* in the hearts of his countrymen, or it would never riſe.

Let us, therefore, look out for ſome more reaſonable Paraphraſe of the ſacred Text.—

—"That you may be aſſured (ſays the Apoſtle) we have not "*followed cunningly deviſed fables*, when we deſcribed to you the "power of our Lord at his second coming, you ſhould recollect "what we have frequently told you, of his first; having been "eye-witneſſes of the Majeſty and *Miracles* attending it, *when* "*there came a voice to him from the exceeding glory*, &c.—Now, the "Miracles, which accompanied, and confirmed his miſſion, on "his first coming, are ſurely ſufficient to gain credit to what we "have, as often, told you, of his second. And, of this capital "Truth, God hath been graciouſly pleaſed to add ſtill ſtronger evi-"dence; by giving us a more sure word of Prophecy."

—But the *general* ſubject of the Epistle will further ſupport the truth of this Paraphraſe.

—It is a farewel addreſs to the Churches, on his having received intimation, from the *holy Spirit*, of his approaching Martyrdom.

The Apoſtle begins with repeating to them [from ver. 3d to the 15th] that elegant ſummary of Chriſtian Religion *, as was his wont, on all occaſions, to inculcate. But, at this juncture, Consolation being what the afflicted Church moſt needed, he takes his topic from the Rewards, now ſuppoſed to be approaching, at the *ſecond coming of our Lord* in the conſummation of all things. Persecution had ſoothed the Sufferers into this flattering error, which was now become general, and not likely to be ſoon re-

* See the Sermon on this text.

dreſſed,

dreſſed, while they continued unable (as they yet were) to diſtinguiſh the *two parts* of which this PREDICTION, concerning the *ſecond coming* of our Lord, was compoſed. Each part had its diſtinct completion, commencing at different periods. The *firſt*, when our Lord came to judgement, on the JEWISH PEOPLE, in putting a complete period to their OECONOMY, by the deſtruction of their TEMPLE; The *other*, when he was to paſs judgement on the whole race of mankind, and make a final end of the MUNDANE SYSTEM.

Or rather, to ſpeak with more exactneſs, this prediction of the SECOND COMING was delivered in *two Prophecies* joined together; and, in imitation of the Jewiſh mode, mixed and interwoven with one another; generally as little underſtood, at the time of the delivery, as all thoſe of a like import were, which had either a *ſecondary ſenſe*, or included a *double ſubject*. But for a larger account of theſe, and particularly of the ſort now in queſtion, I beg leave to refer the Reader to the *ſixth Section of the ſixth Book* of this Work.

Such was the *Error*, which (as we ſay) gave birth to the *conſolatory Epiſtle* here explained. But as all ERRORS, together with the accidental *good*, which, by the directing hand of Providence, they are made to produce, are eaſily attended with much evil; ſo it was here.

At firſt, the *Error* produced ſobriety, vigilance, and perſeverance in the FAITH. But afterwards, it had a contrary effect. *There ſhall come in the laſt days* (ſays this Apoſtle) *ſcoffers, working after their own luſts, and ſaying*, WHERE IS THE PROMISE OF HIS COMING? *For ſince the Fathers fell aſleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation* *.

After the cenſure of this Impiety, the Apoſtle proceeds to upbraid their ignorance of the natural conſtitution of the Earth; which is phyſically ordained to bring on its own deſtruction, by FIRE, in ſome future period, as heretofore, by the deſtruction of

* Chap. iii. 3. *& ſeq.*

WATER:

WATER: and that the *delay* of this dreadful Cataſtrophe, which affords theſe ſcoffs of Impiety, is not owing to the Lord's *ſlackneſs* in the performance of his *promiſe*; *but to his long-ſuffering; that all might come to repentance* *. He then deſcribes this final diſſolution of all things, by *fire* †. Out of which (he tells them) ſhall ariſe (according to the promiſe of PROPHECY) *a new heaven and a new earth, wherein ſhall dwell righteouſneſs* ‡. And with this the FAREWEL EPISTLE concludes.

Such being the ſubject of it, who can doubt but that a true account of the reaſoning in the latter part of the *firſt* chapter is here given? and, conſequently, that the Apoſtle's purpoſe is not to ſpeak of indefinite *Prophecies already fulfilled* IN, or UNDER, the OLD TESTAMENT, but of ſome preciſe Prophecy *to be fulfilled* under the NEW; in order as the ſeveral parts of it (extending through a courſe of many Ages) ſhould come into exiſtence.

To THIS the Church of Chriſt is bid TO TAKE HEED, as to *a more ſure word of prophecy*. But had the deſcription ended here, it would have been much too vague to enjoin our attention in ſo earneſt and particular a manner. The Apoſtle, therefore, goes on to give it this characteriſtic Mark – that it was A LIGHT SHINING IN A DARK PLACE. A *Prophecy*, of which the principal parts were, at that time, ſurrounded and partly involved in obſcurity and darkneſs; but yet, emitting ſo many ſcattered Rays, as to make a careful obſerver inclined to think ſome great ſcene was juſt beginning to open, which would amply reward our attention to this *light ſhining in a dark place*, by the change of its condition, firſt into a *dawn*; and then, into ſtill clearer *day-ſpring*.

The Apoſtle having thus prepared our way to this SURER WORD, or ſuperior excellence of PROPHECY, proceeds to acquaint us with the very IDENTICAL PROPHECY he had in his eye; which will now appear to be no other than the predictions of St. *Paul* and St. *John* concerning ANTI-CHRIST, or the future fortunes of the *Church*,

* Ver. 9. † Ver. 10, 11, 12. ‡ Ver. 13.

under

under the uſurpation of the MAN OF SIN; a prediction elegantly called, by way of eminence, THE WORD OF PROPHECY. For this *Man of Sin* began to *work* before the writing of this farewel Epiſtle. So St. Paul aſſures us—THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY (ſays he) DOTH ALREADY WORK *. St. Peter, therefore, towards the concluſion of his Epiſtle, recurring again, as his ſubject required, to God's long-ſuffering, in the delay of his *ſecond coming* to judge the world, adds, *even as our beloved* PAUL *alſo, according to the* WISDOM *given unto him, hath written unto you: as alſo in all his Epiſtles,* SPEAKING IN THEM OF THESE THINGS IN WHICH ARE SOME THINGS HARD TO BE UNDERSTOOD, *which they that are unlearned and unſtable wreſt, as they do alſo the other Scriptures, unto their own deſtruction* †. Now what are theſe OBSCURE PARTS in St. Paul's Epiſtles, here characteriſed, but the *Prophecies* in St. John's Book of the REVELATIONS concerning ANTICHRIST ‡, abridged by St. *Paul* in his Epiſtles, and referred to by St. *Peter* §. . .

* 2 Theſſ. ii. 7. † Chap. iii. 15, 16.

‡ See Sir Iſaac Newton's Obſervations upon the Apocalypſe of St. John, chap. i.

§ See the remainder of this argument in Diſcourſe *On the Riſe of Antichriſt*.

NOTES.

NOTES ON BOOK IX.

P. 620. [A]. ON this Point it will be ſufficient to refer the reader to thoſe two excellent Writers, Dr. Samuel Clarke and Mr. W. Baxter, for a full Demonſtration of the *immateriality* of that Subſtance, in which the faculties of ſenſe and reflexion reſide. [See Clarke's Tracts againſt Dodwell and Collins, and Baxter on the Nature of the Soul.] Theſe Writers have gone much further than Locke and others on the ſame Subject; who contented themſelves with ſhewing *the poſſibility, nay, great probability, that the thinking ſubſtance in us is immaterial.* [See Locke's Second Reply to the Biſhop of Worceſter, p. 620. of his Works.] But Clarke and Baxter have clearly proved, from the *diſcovered* qualities of a thinking Being, that the Soul cannot poſſibly be *material*, whatever *undiſcovered* qualities it may be poſſeſſed of. And this concluſion was made (in my opinion) neither raſhly nor at random. For, to unſettle our aſſurance in the truth of their Opinion, their Adverſaries muſt ſhew that ſuch *undiſcovered* qualities are contrary to the qualities *diſcovered*; yet contrary qualities can never ſubſiſt together in the ſame ſubſtance, without one deſtroying the other. Hence, we underſtand the futility of Mr. Locke's *ſuperinduction of the faculty of thinking to a ſyſtem of Matter*; conceived, by that excellent Writer, in the modeſt fear of circumſcribing Omnipotence; but Omnipotence is not circumſcribed by denying its power of making qualities, deſtructive of one another, to reſide in the ſame ſubſtance; (for a power which produces nothing is no exerciſe of power) but by denying his power to change, together with conſiſtent qualities, the *nature* of the ſubſtance in which thoſe qualities reſide. This power (ſuppoſing Mr. Locke contended for no more) will be readily granted; but his argument will gain nothing by it. On the contrary, by changing *materiality* into *immateriality*, it ends the

the diſpute with the Biſhop; but to Mr. Locke's diſadvantage, by proving, that the Soul, or thinking Subſtance in us, is *immaterial*.

P. 631. [B]. The impious notion of the human Soul's being part or portion of the Divine Subſtance, made the *Theiſtical* Philoſophers give no credit to the Doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. [See the Divine Legation, Vol. II. B. 3. Sec. 4.] To avoid this impiety, certain Chriſtian Enthuſiaſts taught that *eternity* was the condition of the Soul by *nature* as well as by *grace*. And ſo, before they were aware, fell into the very error of the Philoſophers, which they were ſo anxious to avoid. For *eternity* being confeſſed by all to be one of the attributes of the Deity, it followed, that the human ſoul was indeed part or portion of the Divine Subſtance. This execrable frenzy, of which Religion could never get entirely free, (known by the name of SPINOZISM) hath of late appeared under its ugliеſt form in the Writings of Mr. W. Law, collected from the exploded ravings of Jacob Behmen. (See a book, intituled, An Appeal to all who doubt or diſbelieve the truths of the Goſpel.]—But when learned men wake out of one delirium, it is not to recover their ſenſes, but to fall back again into another; and that, generally, is its oppoſite. So it was here. The Philoſophic Converts to the Chriſtian Faith, in the firſt ages of the Church, were no ſooner convinced of the folly of fancying that *the human Soul was a Part of the Godhead*, than, in their haſte to be at diſtance from that monſtrous opinion, they ran ſuddenly into a contrary folly, and maintained, that the Soul had not one ſpark of the Divinity in her whole compoſition; but was MATERIAL as well as *mortal*: now degrading man to a brute, whom before they had exalted to a God. Nor hath this extravagance been deſtitute of (for what extravagance hath ever wanted) the patronage of modern Divines. We have ſeen it lately employed in ſupport of a freſh whimſy, viz. THE SLEEP OF THE SOUL. One thing however ſeems to be defective in the Scheme; which is, the not rectifying the old error of a RESURRECTION. For, I apprehend, that when a MATERIAL Soul is once gone to Sleep, nothing but a RE-CREATION can awake it.

P. 638. [C]. Other *death* had been underſtood, viz. *Eternal life in miſery*. But, to ſee what ill uſe hath been made of this portentous comment, we need only attend to *Collins* in *his diſcourſe of free-thinking*. "We "learn in the *Old Teſtament*, (ſays he) that Adam by eating the forbidden "fruit ſubjected himſelf and all his Poſterity to death. But the *New Teſta-*

" *ment* TEACHES US TO UNDERSTAND, *by death, eternal life in misery*; and " from thence, we know that GOD HAD BUT ONE WAY to put mankind in " a capacity of enjoying immortal happineſs." p. 153. Having given, in this buffoon manner, ſo abſurd and monſtrous a picture of REDEMPTION, (to the compoſition of which the School Divines had greatly contributed) he, and his free-thinking colleagues, hoped that their Doctrine of *Chriſtianity's being only a republication of the Religion of Nature* would go down the eaſier. And they well enough underſtood how to manage that unſcriptural error to their advantage; as may be ſeen by Tyndal's book, intituled, Chriſtianity as old as the Creation; which combats the Chriſtian Revelation, under cover of the abſurd conceſſions of certain latitudinarian Divines of a later date. Theſe conceſſions, Tyndal miſcalls the PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY. Hence this formidable book became one continued thread of contemptible ſophiſtry from beginning to end. Yet I remember the time when the falſe terror of it alarmed the whole body of the Clergy, for the *danger* of the Church, who were but juſt recovered from the *Sacheverel-criſis*.

P. 639. [D]. The REMONSTRANTS, fearing that this interpretation of the text might give countenance to the School-doctrine of ORIGINAL SIN, deny that *Infants* are here meant, by *thoſe who had not ſinned*, &c. But the fear is vain. It was *death*, and not *damnation*, *which reigned from Adam to Moſes*. The expreſſion—Καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας, &c.—implies it was a part only of the human ſpecies which was *free from ſinning after the ſimilitude of Adam's tranſgreſſion*; or *the being without ſin*. And what part could this be but the infantine?

P. 650. [E]. It is true, that notwithſtanding the conformity of this language in the *Revelations* to that of Peter and to the Goſpel of John, ſome Critics, and particularly Grotius, would have the text in the *Apocalypſe*, which ſays,—*all that dwell upon the Earth ſhall worſhip him whoſe names are not written in the Book of Life, of the Lamb ſlain from the foundation of the world*—to be thus underſtood—*The Book of Life written from the foundation of the World*—and not as here tranſlated—*Chriſt ſlain from the foundation of the World*. However, both the one and the other ſenſe infers the ſame truth; for if *the Book of Life* [of the Lamb ſlain] *was written from the foundation of the world*, it is plain, that the *Lamb ſlain*, or the *ſacrifice* of his death, *was preordained from the foundation of the World*.

P. 653.

P. 653. [F]. The reaſon why Jeſus, at the firſt publication of the Goſpel, refers ſo little to the FALL, which concerned all mankind, and ſo much to his MESSIAHSHIP, which directly concerned only the Jews, is apparent; his Miſſion was firſt directed to the *houſe of Iſrael*. He left his Apoſtles to carry on their Miniſtry of the Goſpel, to the *Gentiles*. Hence St. Paul, who was more eminently *the Apoſtle of the Gentiles*, is ſo explicite in his account of the RESTORATION FROM THE FALL. This furniſhed a handle to Lord Bolingbroke to affirm, with equal ignorance and malice, that—*Paul preached a* NEW GOSPEL, *different from that of Jeſus*.

P. 668. [G]. A learned and ſerious * Writer, in a late book, intituled, Obſervations and Enquiries relating to the various parts of ancient Hiſtory †, hath a chapter concerning HUMAN SACRIFICES; which he thus introduces—*One would think it ſcarce poſſible that ſo unnatural a cuſtom as that of* HUMAN SACRIFICES *ſhould have exiſted in the world. But it is certain, that it did not only exiſt, but almoſt univerſally prevail* ‡. Our account of the origin of this *unnatural cuſtom* will much abate the wonder. However, the learned Writer ſolves the difficulty with much eaſe; by deriving it from the *Command to Abraham*. And here, before I enter on the matter, permit me to repeat, what I have before obſerved, that it indicates an odd turn of mind (however general it may be), which diſpoſes the Learned to ſeek for the origin of the ſuperſtitious rites of antiquity, rather in the caſual adventures of particular men, than in the uniform workings of our common nature §.

But the learned Writer fancies his ſolution is much ſtrengthened by the general notion of Antiquity, that the ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΘΥΣΙΑ was a *Myſtical Sacrifice*. Let us examine his reaſoning on this head. Mr. Bryant having given us, from the fragment of Sanchoniatho, what relates to IL or KRONUS's ſacrifice of his only Son (by which, indeed, it appears, that *human Sacrifice* was not a conceit of yeſterday; the Author of that fragment plainly deriving his ſtory from this part of the Abrahamic Hiſtory), goes on in theſe words, "They [human ſacrifices] were inſtituted pro-" bably in conſequence of a *prophetic Tradition*, which I imagine had been " preſerved in the family of *Eſau*; and tranſmitted, through his poſterity, " to the people of Canaan ‖."

To this, let me, firſt of all, obſerve, that the ſuppoſition of a *prophetic tradition* reſts entirely on the truth of *my peculiar idea* of the *nature of the*

* Mr. Bryant. † Printed in quarto, 1767. ‡ P. 267.
§ See the Divine Legation. ‖ P. 291.

command to Abraham, viz. That it was a *mere ſcenical repreſentation, given at the patriarch's earneſt requeſt.* For on this idea only could the *command* be conſidered as a *prophecy*. But this is doing too much honour to my hypotheſis, ſtill held, I ſuppoſe, by the more orthodox, to be a paradox; and, what is ſtill worſe, it greatly weakens the learned Writer's reaſoning; for a *ſcenical repreſentation*, which muſt naturally end as this did, in a prohibition of the commanded ſacrifice, could hardly induce any one, who went upon the grounds, or in conſequence of a *prophetic Tradition*, to think that *human Sacrifices* were acceptable to the Deity. But the truth is, *this prophetic Tradition*, in the family of Abraham, is merely *gratis dictum*. We find not the leaſt footſteps of it in the more circumſtantial Hiſtory of the other branch of Abraham's Family, the Patriarchal; which was moſt concerned to preſerve it, had there been any ſuch. Beſides, how this *commanded Sacrifice*, which was forbidden to be perpetrated, ſhould encourage human ſacrifices, before men had ſteeled themſelves, by long uſe, in the practice of ſo unnatural a crime, is hard to conceive. It is true, that this argument will loſe ſomewhat of its force, when we ſuppoſe the *command* was given to a family which were no ſtrangers to *human Sacrifices*. This is obſerved purely in reverence to truth; but, be this as it will, it ſubverts the fancy of the *Abrahamic original*. For the fact ſeems to be, that, at the time this *Command* was given to the Patriarch, the Gentile world was deeply plunged into this diabolic Barathrum: which, though the deſcendants of Eſau poſſibly had not eſcaped, yet the line of Iſaac certainly had.

The Moſaic account of the State of Religion in the Abrahamic times, ſhews that it was extremely depraved. For though the iniquity of the *Amorites was not yet full**, yet that of their neighbours, in Sodom and Gomorrah, we know, was. Theſe conſiderations reaſonably induced *Philo the Jew*, in his *Diſcourſe concerning Abraham*, to ſuppoſe that *human Sacrifices* were in uſe before the time of Abraham. And Marſham, one of the beſt modern Critics concerning ancient times, declares, without heſitation, in favour of this humiliating circumſtance; and our admirable Spencer thinks, there is ſo little reaſon to aſcribe the original of *Infanticide* to the *command to Abraham*, that, unleſs the Hiſtory of that command be told very lamely and imperfectly, it affords very ſtrong arguments againſt that inhuman practice. But it is not generally the way of Scripture to

* Gen. xv. 16.

reprobate

reprobate a bad practice before it has been conceived or committed *. Hence we may fairly collect, that *human Sacrifices* were in use before the *command to Abraham*. But what need we more to prove the fact in question, than this, That, if the account, here given, of the origin and progress of *Sacrifice* be the true, (as it hath the fairest claim of being so received, since the first use, and all the gradual abuses of it, till it sunk into the horrid Rite in question, may be understood, and understood only on this simple Principle, the uniform workings of our common nature) human Sacrifices must needs have preceded that æra.

What follows, in the learned Writer, as a strong confirmation of his system, is this, *that* CHILD-SACRIFICE was a type or representation of SOMETHING TO COME. Now, if by *Child-sacrifice* he means the *command to Abraham*, this we allow and even contend for. But, if he means that the specific rite of Child-sacrifice was understood by Sacrificers, either Jewish or Gentile, to be a type or representation of SOMETHING TO COME, I think he speaks without the least proof.—What he adds, one knows not what to make of.—*Child-sacrifice* (says he) *is the only instance of any Sacrifice in the Gentile world which is said to be* MYSTICAL.—For, if by *mystical* he means, *a type of something to come*, this has been answered already. But if by *mystical* we are to understand, what was *so* called by the Gentiles in their Sacrificial Rites, almost all of them were *mystical*; that is, had a meaning subjoined, not obvious, nor intended to be obvious to the uninitiated, or the *Profane*. All their *secret Rites*, in which *Sacrifice* bore a principal part, abounded so much in hidden meanings of this sort, that these Rites were called MYSTERIES by way of eminence.

But if, after all, this TEKNOΘΥΣΙΑ or *Child-sacrifice* had the *plain* meaning which I have given to it, and not the *mystical* of the learned Writer, what becomes of his whole hypothesis?—That it had no other meaning, than the plain one, I appeal to the Authority of an *inspired* Writer. MICAH, without doubt, understood the true Origin, and consequently,

* Probe novi quamplurimos alia omnia de ritus hujus nefarii fonte sentire, quàm ex Abrahami filium suum offerentis, historia corrupta et depravata profluxisse. Huic autem sententiæ fidem adhibere nescio, cum historia illa nisi planè mutilata, magna præbeat contra morem illum inhumanum argumenta; et verisimile sit multas Gentes liberos suos immolare solitas, de Abrahami exemplo, ne vel fando quicquam audivisse. De Leg. Hebræo, ritualibus, L. II. C. 13. Sect. 3.

the

the right import of *Child-ſacrifice*; and he delivers my ſenſe of it, in theſe words—*Will the Lord be pleaſed with ten thouſands of Rams, or with ten thouſands of Rivers of Oil?* SHALL I GIVE MY FIRST-BORN FOR MY TRANSGRESSION: THE FRUIT OF MY BODY FOR THE SIN OF MY SOUL *? Here, we ſee, conformably to what I have delivered concerning *Child-ſacrifice*, that the idea the Gentiles had of it, (for, to the *Gentile*, not to the *Jewiſh* ſacrifices, the Prophet here alludes, as will be ſhewn hereafter) was ſimply, and ſolely, this, *the very higheſt atonement that man could make for his tranſgreſſions*, as it was the offering up what was moſt dear to the offender. The Prophet, therefore, puts it in the number of *expiatory Sacrifices*. But had that, which the learned Writer contends for, been the true and ancient notion of the τεκνοθυσια, one can hardly think that, at a time when the Prophets were gradually opening the nature of the NEW DISPENSATION, *Micah* would have let ſlip ſo fair an occaſion of conſidering it under that Chriſtian idea.

We may now ſee, for what reaſon *Child-ſacrifice* came to be reckoned a MYSTERIOUS WORSHIP; it was done, to withdraw the obſervation of the People from ſo horrid a rite, when conſidered only in its ſimple uſe; for nature is rarely ſo far debauched, as to behold, with indifference, the violation of its moſt inſtinctive appetites. So that the enormity was to be covered by ſome far-fetched invention of ſuperior excellence of virtue, which preferred the rights of the Divinity to all human obligations. Thus, when the Worſhippers were apt to revolt at *Sacrifices* extremely cruel or libidinous, the Prieſts ſecured their own credit, and the honour of their God, by the intervention of a *ſpiritual meaning*. And *human Sacrifices* became *myſterious* for the ſame reaſon that the impudent proceſſion of the *Phallus*, in the corrupted Rites of Bacchus and Oſiris, was taught to convey the high matters of REGENERATION, and a *new life*.

I have been the longer on this queſtion, becauſe, if human Sacrifices ſhould be thought to have had their original from the *Command to Abraham*, it might ſeem to give ſome colour (which was far from the intention of this very learned and worthy man) to the calumny of the Deiſts, who aſſert, that HUMAN SACRIFICES MADE A PART OF THE MOSAIC RITUAL. For if the τεκνοθυσια preſigured the *Sacrifice on the Croſs*, or, as the learned Writer expreſſeth it, *was a type or repreſentation of ſomething to come*, it ſoftens a little this infidel Paradox. The *Poet* VOLTAIRE hath repeated the

* vi. 7.

calumny

calumny over and over, as if the Bible was ſtill ſhut up, not only from the people in general, but (what, perhaps, would have been attended with leſs injury to Religion) from THESE POETS in particular.

And now, this more ſerious queſtion, (in the midſt of one leſs important, viz. *the origin and progreſs of ſacrifice in general)* will deſerve a ſevere examination.

VOLTAIRE, in a thing he calls, "An Eſſay on general Hiſtory," accuſes the LAW, in theſe Words——"The Jewiſh Law ſeems to permit theſe "[human] Sacrifices. It is ſaid in Leviticus, that *none devoted which ſhall be "devoted of men ſhall be redeemed, but ſhall ſurely be put to death* *." The Jewiſh Books bear evidence, that when the Iſraelites over ran the little country of Canaan, they maſſacred in moſt of the villages, men, women, and children, becauſe they had been DEVOTED. On this Law it was that "*Jephtha* ſacrificed his daughter †."

1. This whole calumny I ſhall clear away firſt of all, by the moſt expreſs prohibitions of the LAW, together with the declarations of the PROPHETS; both of which execrate every ſpecies of *human Sacrifice*.

2. And then examine and explain all thoſe paſſages of Scripture, which ſeem to have given a handle to this impious charge.

3. Concluding, in the third place, with a confutation of that cenſure of inhumanity towards the inhabitants of Canaan urged by Voltaire, to ſupport his main accuſation of HUMAN SACRIFICES, and urged as if it were itſelf in the number of ſuch Sacrifices.

I.

In my entrance on the firſt head, let me previouſly obſerve, that the earlieſt direction for SANCTIFICATION, that is (in the language of Moſes) for SACRIFICE, is of the *firſt-born*, expreſſed in theſe words ‡, SANCTIFY *unto*

* xxvii. 29.

† La Loi des Juifs ſemblait permettre ces Sacrifices. Il eſt dit dans Levitique; *ſi une ame vivante a été promiſe à* DIEU *on ne pourra la racheter, il faut qu'elle meure.* Les Livres des Juifs reportent que quand ils envoluirent le petit pais des Cananéens, ils maſſacrérent dans pluſieurs villages, les hommes, les femmes, les enfans—parce qu'ils avoient éte devoués. C'eſt ſur cette Loi qui furent fondes les ſerments de *Jephté* qui ſacrifia ſa fille, &c. Oeuvres de M. de Voltaire, Tom. xiii. p. 227. 8 Ed. 1756, 8vo.

‡ Exod. xiii. 2.

me

me all the firſt-born, whatſoever openeth the womb amongſt the Children of Iſrael, both of man and beaſt ; it is MINE. This is declared to be for a memorial of God's *ſmiting Egypt in favour of his choſen people.—All the firſt-born of the Children of Iſrael are* MINE, *both man and beaſt: on the day that I ſmote the firſt-born in the land of Egypt, I* SANCTIFIED *them for myſelf* *.

But from this *Sanctification* or SACRIFICE, *Man* and *unclean animals* were excepted, and *redeemed.* The *redemption* of the firſt-born of man is thus ſettled and explained——" I have taken (ſays the text) the LEVITES for all the " FIRST-BORN of the Children of Iſrael: and I have given the *Levites* as " a gift to *Aaron* and his Sons, *to do the ſervice* of the children of Iſrael, in " the tabernacle of the Congregation †." The *redemption* of the *firſt-born* of *unclean animals*, with a repetition of the redemption of Men, is thus expreſſed :—*Every firſtling of an aſs ſhalt thou redeem with a Lamb—and all the firſt born of man, amongſt thy Children ſhalt thou redeem* ‡. The redemption-money, for both, is given to *Aaron* and his Succeſſors § ; to whom the whole tribe of *Levi* was aſſigned for a vicarious (and in lieu of a more general) *ſanctification* of the firſt-born of man.

This *redemption* was not on account of perſonal favour to a *choſen people*, but in abhorrence of HUMAN SACRIFICES, as appears plainly both from the LAW and the PROPHETS.

Moſes, on his delivery of the LAW, thus ſolemnly forbids all curious enquiry concerning the Pagan rites of Worſhip, in the Nations round about them; *Inquire not after their* GODS, *ſaying, how did theſe nations* SERVE *their Gods?* EVEN SO WILL I DO LIKEWISE. The reaſon of the prohibition follows, they practiſed the horrid enormity of *Child-ſacrifice——For every abomination to the Lord,* WHICH HE HATETH, *have they done unto their Gods;* FOR EVEN THEIR SONS AND THEIR DAUGHTERS HAVE THEY BURNT IN THE FIRE TO THEIR GODS ‖. The dangerous curioſity here reſtrained, was not on account of the number and nature of the Gods of Canaan. For the ſtriking abſurdity of their *Theogony* or original, and the impiety of their *Mythology* or hiſtory, would have ſerved to attach the Iſraelites more firmly

* Numb. viii. 17.—and Exod. xiii. 14, 15.

† V. 18, 19, and to the ſame purpoſe, iii. 12, 13—45.

‡ Exod. xiii. 13. § Numb. xviii. 15, 16.

‖ Deut. xii. 30.

to

to the LAW. The prohibition only reſpected an inquiry into the Canaaniteſh *modes of worſhip*, or, as it is better expreſſed in the text,—HOW *theſe nations ſerved their Gods*. And though this inquiry might, at firſt, ariſe from nothing elſe than a wanton curioſity, yet the Legiſlator intimates that it would end in apoſtacy from the LORD OF HOSTS—*even ſo will we do likewiſe*; that is, we will uſe thoſe Pagan rites in the ſervice of the God of Iſrael; for they were little in danger, ſo early, to uſe Canaanitiſh rites in the ſervice of the Gods of Canaan. Beſides, the caution here is not againſt IDOLATRY but INFANTICIDE. Nor could they be much diſpoſed to forſake the God of Iſrael for the Gods of Canaan, at the very time they were ſo ſucceſsfully marching, under the auſpices of Moſes, to exterminate that devoted people. He therefore could ſcarce conceive that, at this time, they needed ſuch a caution. For, the reaſon he gives for reſtraining this hurtful inquiry is, leſt they ſhould worſhip their own God with Pagan rites; eſpecially this moſt abominable of all, INFANTICIDE. And there was the more need of this caution, ſince the *firſt-born of man and beaſt*, in Iſrael, were to be *ſanctified to the Lord*; and though the firſt-born of man was redeemed, while the firſt born of the *clean beaſts* were ſacrificed, yet the love of corrupt and idolatrous Rites might give ſome propenſity to a fatal miſtake, and to ſlip in *Sacrifice* inſtead of *ſanctification*.

Afterwards, when the Iſraelites became polluted with the infernal ſtains of *Infanticide*, the PROPHETS never ceaſed to proclaim aloud God's abhorrence of this impiety. For, in order to impreſs upon the paganiſed or apoſtate Iſraelites a due ſenſe of their frequent defections, it was found neceſſary for theſe his meſſengers thoroughly to probe the conſciences of ſuch hardened wretches, which had been ſeared with the *fires of Moloch*.

Sacred Hiſtory informs us, how ſeverely *Ahaz* was puniſhed for his multiplied Idolatries; but principally for his "burning his Children in "the fire, after the abominations of the Heathen [the Canaanites] whom the "Lord had caſt out before the Children of Iſrael *."—*They ſacrificed* (ſays the Pſalmiſt) *their ſons and their daughters unto Devils—the Idols of Canaan—and the Land was polluted with blood—inſomuch that he abhorred his own inheritance* †—"They have built the high places of Baal (ſays Jeremiah) to

* 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. † Pſalm vi. 38, 39, 40.

" burn their Sons with fire, for burnt offerings to Baal *." And again—*they cauſed their Sons and their Daughters to paſs through the fire, to Molech* †. Ezekiel, likewiſe, accuſeth them of having cauſed their *Sons to paſs through the fire to* DEVOUR *them* ‡. But further, it would ſeem, by the following words of Jeremiah, that theſe impious ſacrifices were offered, by the unnatural Jews, to the God of Iſrael himſelf.—" The Children of Ju-" dah have done evil *in my ſight*, ſaith the Lord; they have ſet their abo-" minations *in the houſe which is called by my name*, to pollute it, and they " have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the " Son of Hinnom, to burn their Sons and their daughters in the fire; " *which I commanded them not, neither came it into my head* §." The concluding words ſeem to intimate that theſe Apoſtates pretended to have received ſuch a command; or with what propriety was it ſo formally denied? Poſſibly they might pervert the famous paſſage in Leviticus ‖; of which more hereafter.—However, the whole of the text informs us clearly, that *Child-ſacrifice* ſometimes polluted the altars of the Temple. Ezekiel ſeems to confirm the ſame thing. " Moreover, this they have done unto me; " they have *defiled my Sanctuary, in the ſame day, and have prophaned my* " *Sabbaths*. For when they had *ſlain their Children unto their Idols*, then " *they came, the ſame day, into my Sanctuary to prophane it, and lo! thus* " *have they done in the midſt of mine houſe* **."—i. e. " When they had " ſlain Children to their Idols, they, on the ſame day, offered the like " horrid ſacrifice to me."———And we know, it was their uſual practice, amidſt their defections, to join *idol-worſhip*, to the worſhip of the God of Iſrael.

The ſacred Hiſtorian is ſtill more expreſs to this purpoſe; when he thus ſpeaks of the wicked king Manaſſah—*He built altars in the houſe of the Lord—and he built altars for all the Hoſt of Heaven, in the two Courts of the houſe of the Lord*, and HE MADE HIS SONS TO PASS THROUGH THE FIRE; *and obſerved times, and uſed enchantments*, &c. ††.

On the whole, the groſs IMMORALITY of this horrid Rite, was that to which the abhorrence of God was principally, and often ſolely, directed. This truth would appear certain (did Scripture afford no other evidence)

* Pſal. xix. 5. † xxxii. 35. ‡ xxiii. 37.
§ vii. 30, 31. ‖ xxvii. 28, 29. ** xxiii. 38, 39.
†† 2 Kings, xxi. 4, 5, 6.

from

from the warning given by Moſes to his People, on their going to take poſſeſſion of the Promiſed Land.

But a deciſive paſſage in Iſaiah cuts off the ſubterfuge of our Philoſophers, who are ready to ſuppoſe that the declared abhorrence of *human Sacrifices*, ſo often repeated in Scripture, is confined to ſuch as were directed to an IDOLATROUS OBJECT; for the Prophet, in the very place referred to, ſpeaking in the name of God, declares the utmoſt deteſtation of *human Sacrifices* when offered to himſelf: For, ſpeaking to thoſe immoral Iſraelites, who imagined they could atone for their vices by ritual obſervances, he tells them, that even *legal ſacrifices*, when offered to him with corrupt diſpoſitions, were as diſpleaſing to him, as thoſe abominable *human Sacrifices* would be, which the Law of Nature condemns.—*He that killeth an ox is as if he had ſlain a* MAN; *he that ſacrificeth a lamb as if he cut off* A DOG'S NECK *. Here, we ſee the ritual worſhip, commanded by God, is oppoſed to the *Sacrifice of Man*, abominated by the Law of Nature; and to the Sacrifice of a Dog, the thing moſt abhorred by the Law of Moſes; in whoſe ritual this animal was held ſo totally unclean, that *the hire of a whore* and the *price of a Dog*, are put together, as equally unfit to be brought into *the houſe of the Lord* †.

II.

We now come to thoſe two capital Paſſages, on which the Enemies of Religion found their impious Charge. The one, they conſider as an indiſpenſable COMMAND; the other as an EXAMPLE, adapted to inforce the execution of it.

The pretended *Command* is in *Leviticus*, and contained in theſe words:—NONE DEVOTED, WHICH SHALL BE DEVOTED OF MEN, SHALL BE REDEEMED, BUT SHALL SURELY BE PUT TO DEATH ‡.

Here is a *Law*, which our Philoſophers, in their great ſagacity, conceived did enjoin ſomething. But being ſtrangers to the ſubject, and ignorant of the phraſeology, with heads likewiſe full of miſchief, they diſcovered HUMAN SACRIFICES in a place where Moſes was ſpeaking of quite another thing,

The Chapter, in which this *Law* is found, contains directions for the making, and for the performance of Vows; a mode of obligation which

* Pſal. lxvi. 30. † Deut. xxiii. 18. ‡ Levit. xxvii. 29.

had a natural place in a government THEOCRATICAL; where *civil* matters of obedience were intimately connected with *religious*.

Now, that capital Command given to the Chosen People, TO EXTERMINATE THE CANAANITES, a command so necessary to be observed, for the preservation both of their *civil* and *religious* Systems, needed, above all things, frequent repetitions of the sacred tie of Vows for its more exact performance; some of the softer as well as stronger passions of our Nature, pushed forward by the delusions of self-interest, being always at hand to defeat or retard the divine sentence denounced against an INCORRIGIBLE People (of which more hereafter). The repetition of *Vows*, therefore, for the speedier accomplishment of this great and laborious event (just like the repetition of oaths of allegiance in common states for the better security of the establishment) was enjoined, or at least encouraged, by the Leaders of the Jewish people.

Sometimes the Vow was made by the People, in a Body; like that we find in the Book of *Numbers*—"And Israel vowed a *Vow* unto the Lord, "and said, If thou wilt, indeed, deliver this people [the Canaanites] into "my hand, then *I will utterly destroy their Cities*. And the Lord hearkened "unto the *Voice* of Israel; and delivered up the Canaanites: and *they ut-* "*terly destroyed them and their Cities* *." Sometimes again, the vow was made by Particulars; by such whose power or situation best qualified them for the execution of this primary COMMAND: and to these, and for this sole purpose, was this strangely mistaken Text directed. "—NONE DE- "VOTED, WHICH SHALL BE DEVOTED OF MEN," (or, as it is explained in the immediately preceding verse,—*no devoted thing, which a man shall devote unto the Lord)*—"shall be redeemed, but shall be surely put to death †." These *Vows* were called the SANCTIFYING OR DEVOTING *men* or *things*. In which, indeed, the Language of Religion is employed; and very *naturally*, for the reason given above. But to prevent the abusive interpretation of such *Vows*, in the manner of our PHILOSOPHERS, by suffering more of *Religion* than the mere language to enter into the idea of them, the People are forbidden to extend their *vows* to what God himself had *sanctified*, such as the *first-fruits*.——*Only the firstling of the beasts, which* (says Moses) *should be the Lord's firstling, no man shall sanctify it* ‡. But if *man* was, for this reason, not to sanctify the first-fruits of *beasts*, much more was *he*

* Numb. xxi. 2, 3. † Levit. xxvii. 29. ‡ v. 26.

restrained

reſtrained from ſanctifying the firſt-fruits of *Man*; ſince the *firſt fruits of Man* were not to be put to death (like thoſe whom human Vows had devoted), but to be *redeemed*.

In a word, *the men here devoted by men, and not to be redeemed*, were NO SACRIFICES AT ALL, as the firſt-fruits of the Children of Iſrael WERE, and, therefore, to be *redeemed*; but enemies taken in battle, to whom no quarter had been given; and whoſe lives, by the Law of Arms, were at the diſpoſal of the Conqueror. M. Voltaire's ignorance of the *Law of Moſes*, which occaſions him to miſtake a MILITARY EXECUTION for a RELIGIOUS SACRIFICE, might have been well excuſed, had he forborne to abuſe what he did not underſtand. But to know his Virgil no better is a diſgrace indeed.

"Quis ILLAUDATI neſcit Buſiridis aras?"

ſays the great Poet, in plain deteſtation of *human Sacrifices*. Yet in the funeral Rites of *Pallas*, directed by the Hero of the Poem, (the Model of Religious Piety and civil wiſdom) the captives taken in war are ſlain at the lighted Pile, without the leaſt mark of the Poet's cenſure or diſapprobation.

"Vinxerat, et poſt terga manus quos mitteret umbris
"Inferias, cæſo ſparſuros ſanguine flammam."

For their lives were forfeited by the Law of Arms, and only taken with a little more ceremony than is, at preſent, in uſe: the military execution being often performed at Tombs and Altars: for in the Pagan World, *Superſtition* had occaſioned a confuſed mixture of things, ſacred and prophane. But in the Jewiſh Republic, where the Church and State were incorporated, this commixture made no other confuſion than what ariſes from the miſtakes of Men, ignorant of the nature of that Sacred Oeconomy.—Their God was their *King*; and their government in conſequence, was *Theocratical*. So that every act of State was in a certain ſenſe, though not in the common one, an act of Religion. Obedience to the LAW was inforced by a Vow; and ſlaughter in and after Battle, a DEVOTEMENT to the *Lord of Hoſts*; in ſupport of the civil command to exterminate the Canaanites.

But beſides the ſingular Form of the Jewiſh Republic, which brought in the uſe of this language, the very genius of the People, modelled, indeed, on a *theocratic* adminiſtration, diſpoſed them to improve that mode of

ſpeech;

ſpeech; ſo that matters merely civil and domeſtic are conveyed to us in the ſtyle of Religion.

Thus highly coloured, both in the *Camp*, and in the *Temple* of the *Lord of Hoſts*, was the language of the Jewiſh People. Which gave a pretence to the deteſtable Spinoſa, to inſinuate, that the whole of the Moſaic Religion conſiſted only in a SACRED PHRASEOLOGY. Though what he inſinuates proves only, yet proves fully, that the DEVOTEMENT in queſtion was a civil not a ſacrificial *Rite*. "Judæi (ſays he) nunquam cauſarum "mediarum ſive particularium faciunt mentionem, nec eas curant, ſed "Religionis ac pietatis, ſive ut vulgo dici ſolet, devotionis cauſa, ad Deum "ſemper recurrunt. Si enim, ex. gr. pecuniam mercatura lucrati ſunt, "eam a Deo oblatam aiunt; ſi aliquid, ut fit, cupiunt, dicunt, Deum "eorum cor diſpoſuiſſe; ſi aliquid etiam cogitant, Deum id iis dixiſſe "aiunt," &c. *

Having now examined the pretended PRECEPT or Command; and ſhewn that it has no relation to HUMAN SACRIFICE, but to quite another thing; we proceed to the EXAMPLE, the caſe of JEPHTHAH: for, *on the Law of human Sacrifices* (ſays the Poet Voltaire) *it was, that Jephthah, who ſacrificed his Daughter, founded his oath of Devotement.*—As this EXAMPLE hath given more alarm to the Friends of Religion than it deſerves, and drawn them into forced and unnatural conſtructions of his raſh and fooliſh Vow, it may be proper to conſider the Man and his Manners, fairly and at large.

JEPHTHAH †, a Baſtard ſon of *Gilead*, by an Harlot, being caſt out from a ſhare of his Paternal Inheritance, by the legitimate Iſſue, took refuge in a ſtrange land. What effects this expulſion muſt have on his religious Sentiments, we may learn from the caſe of DAVID; who thus expoſtulates with Saul, on his exile—"If (ſays he) they be your Counſellors, who have "adviſed you to this unjuſt uſage of me,—*curſed be they before the Lord*; "*for they have driven me out this day from abiding in the inheritance of the* "*Lord*, ſaying, GO, SERVE OTHER GODS ‡." Now, if *David*, ſo learned

* Tract. Theol. C. I. This was ſaid by *Spinoſa* in order to decry the MIRACLES recorded in *Scripture*. But with the uſual luck of every attempt of the ſame kind. For were this very exaggerated account a true one, a ſtronger proof, of the reality and frequency of *Miracles*, could hardly be conceived in the nature of things. Since no People but ſuch who had lived under a real THEOCRACY, could have contracted a turn of mind productive of ſo ſingular a *Phraſeology*.

† Judges xi. ‡ 1 Sam. xxvi. 19.

and

and zealous in the LAW, was expoſed at leaſt to this inevitable temptation, by his exile in a foreign land, what muſt we think of *Jephthah* in ſimilar circumſtances? who had nothing of David's knowledge of the *Law*, and conſequently none of his *zeal* for its ſupport. In this foreign Land, *Jephthah* aſſociated himſelf to a diſſolute Band of Outlaws, who lived upon rapine and violence: not (it is confeſſed) the moſt diſcreditable profeſſion, in thoſe early ages of barbarous manners. Amongſt theſe men, he ſoon got to be the leader, and a diſtinguiſhed Chief in all their lawleſs expeditions. So that his fame for military atchievements filled all the Regions round about.

At this time, the Iſraelites, in puniſhment for one of their defections from their God and King, were labouring under the oppreſſion of the idolatrous Borderers. And the *Amorites* making an excurſion into *Gilead*; the Iſraelites of this place, as moſt immediately concerned, ſought to provide for themſelves, as well as for their brethren (now become repentant), ſome Leader of ſuperior power and diſtinguiſhed capacity. And the Reputation of their Kinſman, *Jephthah*, made them firſt apply to him.

But Jephthah, with the frank roughneſs of a ſoldier of fortune, naturally upbraided them, on this occaſion, with their former neglect and injuſtice, in permitting his father's houſe ſo cruelly to caſt him out, to want and miſery; and now, as meanly, without redreſſing his injuries, to fly to him in their diſtreſs.

They reply, they were now come to make him that amends, by their choice of him for *Head* over all the inhabitants of Gilead.

Jephthah accepts this ſatisfaction: and an *Act* is made of their proceedings, according to the religious cuſtoms of thoſe times.

All this while, the *Republic*, the THEOCRACY itſelf, ſeems to have been little thought of, by this future *Judge of Iſrael*. Indeed the honour of ſo ſacred a ſtation had ſmall charms for our licentious Outlaw.

However, in conſequence of the reconciliation, and in purſuance of the Choice which the *Gileadites* had made of him, for their Head and Leader, he enters on his office. And now, perhaps, for the firſt time, he obſerved, towards his enemies, all the punctilios of the Law of Arms.

He ſent to know of the Children of Ammon, why they committed hoſtilities againſt his countrymen. They anſwered, that the Iſraelites had unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed them of their Lands; and that they were now aſſembled in arms to recover the inheritance of their Fathers. To this, the *Baſtard of Gilead*, like an able Advocate, as well as a determined Chieftain,

tain, replied, That when Iſrael, under the conduct of Moſes, had left Egypt, to take poſſeſſion of the Land, promiſed to their Forefathers, and now given to them by their God, they had craved leave of the intermediate People, and particularly of the *Children of Ammon*, for a free paſſage through their Country, according to the Law of Nations, which being denied unto them, they forced their way; and when hoſtilely oppoſed, and their enemies overcome in battle, they took poſſeſſion, as, by the Laws of War, they might do, of the Lands of the Conquered. So far was well; and ſuitable to the dignity of a *Judge of Iſrael*.

But, by what follows, it appears, that our famous Adventurer was, as yet, more than half a Pagan; for thus he proceeds—*So now the Lord God of Iſrael hath diſpoſſeſſed the Amorites from before his People Iſrael; and ſhouldeſt thou poſſeſs it?* Wilt not thou possess that which Chemosh, thy God, giveth thee to possess? *So whomſoever the* Lord, our God, *ſhall drive out from before us, them will we poſſeſs* *. This was ſaid, on the Gentile principle of *local tutelary Deities*, in all the groſſneſs of that notion; not yet refined and rationalized by our Adventurer, on the ideas of the Law. But when he reſumes the *civil argument*, he again reaſons better: and very ſolidly pleads the general law of prescription, in defence of his People—*While Iſrael* (ſays he) *dwelt in Heſhbon and her Towns, and in Aroer and her Towns, and in all the Cities that be along, by the Coaſts of Arnon*, three hundred years; *Why therefore did ye not recover them* within that time †? But the force of this Argument making no impreſſion, the negotiation ended in an appeal to arms. *Jephthah* leads out his Troops againſt Ammon. And, in the Forefront, without doubt, were thoſe faithful Bands, which he had collected and diſciplined in the Land of *Tob*.

The firſt ſtep he takes to invite Succeſs, was the making an abſurd Pagan Vow, that, if he returned with Victory, he would ſacrifice, for a burnt-offering to God, whatſoever came firſt out of the doors of his houſe ‡ to welcome his return. He came back a Conqueror; and his Daughter, impatient to celebrate his Triumph, being the firſt who met him, was, for his Oath's ſake, (though with extreme regret, becauſe, *beſides her, he had neither ſon nor daughter* §,) ſacrificed for her pains, according to the then eſtabliſhed cuſtom of *Idolatry*; which, on ſuch occaſions, required a Sacri-

* Judges xi. 23, 24.
† Judges v. 26.
‡ 31.
§ 34.

fice

fice of what was moſt dear or precious to the offerer. For, I hardly believe that *Jephthah* was, at this time, ſo learned in the LAW, as even the Poet Voltaire; or that he had proceeded, like him, ſo far in the ſacred text, as to miſunderſtand or miſinterpret this famous *twenty-ſeventh Chapter of Leviticus*, in ſupport of ſo impious an action. The unhappy father appears, at this time, to underſtand ſo little of the LAW, as not to be able to diſtinguiſh what it had in common with Paganiſm, (namely the cuſtom of offering euchariſtical Sacrifices, on every great and fortunate event) from what it had in direct oppoſition to it (viz. that dire impiety of *human Sacrifice*).

The account here given appears to be the natural explanation of a plain Story. But Commentators, full of the ideas of *Papal*, rather than of the *Moſaic* times; and paying a blind reverence to the character of a *Judge of Iſrael*, make the Daughter, to ſave her father's honour, return *vow* for *vow*; and ſo conſecrate herſelf to a Virgin State. Solutions like theſe expoſe Sacred Scripture to the ſcorn and deriſion of unbelievers.

But againſt our account of JEPHTHAH'S VOW, which makes the whole to be conceived and perpetrated on Pagan principles and practices, our adverſaries,

1. Bid us obſerve, that the action is not condemned. A cenſure, they think, it could not have eſcaped, had the Sacred Hiſtorian deemed it an impiety.

2. That the text tells us further, that *Jephthah went out in the Spirit of the Lord* *, and therefore they conclude, that he returned in the ſame *Spirit*.

3. Laſtly, that Jephthah is extolled by the Author of *the Epiſtle to the Hebrews* †, and numbered in the claſs of ſacred Heroes.

To theſe objections, in their order.

Firſt, They who lay ſo much ſtreſs on the Action's having paſſed uncenſured, conſider neither the nature of the Compoſition, nor the genius of the Hiſtorian. The narrative itſelf is a brief Compendium, or rather extract from the *Records of State*, entered as things paſſed, and then laid up in the Archives of their Scribes. In this ſpecies of Compoſition it is not the wont to dwell either on the cauſes, the qualities, or the conſequences of Actions, but ſimply to tell the naked Facts.

Nor had the Writers of thoſe times improved Hiſtory into an art. They tranſcribed or abridged, merely for the ſake of the people's information in

* Ver. 29. † xi. 32.

facts, of what they found recorded in their venerable Archives. This was the caſe in the Story of the *lying Prophet*, in the affair of the *Altar of Bethel* *. His crime is neither condemned, nor is his puniſhment recorded. Had the *Hiſtory* been a *Romance*, forged at pleaſure, both theſe particulars had aſſuredly been dwelt upon at large.

Beſides, as the nature and quality of actions are beſt ſeen by the *Laws* and *Cuſtoms* of the people concerned; and the action in queſtion was well underſtood, both by the Writer, and his Readers, to be condemned by the *Moſaic Ritual*, it leſs needed a Cenſure. The faithful Followers of the Law, for whoſe ſervice this adventure was recorded, wanted no hiſtorian of prophetic Authority to tell them, (after they had ſeen *human ſacrifices* execrated in almoſt every page of their Hiſtory) that *Jephthah's ſacrifice of his Daughter* was either an impious imitation of Pagan practices, or an ignorant preſumption in the half-paganized Votary, that he was here complying with the famous precept of the Law in Leviticus †, when indeed (as we have ſhewn at large) it related to quite another thing.

But further, it is not peculiar to this ſtory, to furniſh an objection (ſuch as it is) from the ſacred Writer's not interpoſing with his own judgment, concerning the *moral quality* of the action related. Scripture abounds with inſtances of this ſort; a ſilence occaſioned by one or other of the cauſes here explained.

2. But *Jephthah* (which is the ſecond objection) *went out in the ſpirit of the Lord*, and therefore (they conclude) he muſt needs return *in the ſame ſpirit*.

Now though, on a leſs important occaſion, I ſhould be tempted to acquieſce in the *Criticiſm*, though not in the *ſpirit*, of Spinoſa, that this expreſſion was to be put to the account of the *ſacred phraſeology* of the Jews; and to mean no more than the ſtrength, the courage, and the addreſs of a conſummate leader; yet the language being here applied to a *Judge of Iſrael*, and in the actual exerciſe of his office, I can readily allow that it ſignifies ſome *ſupernatural aſſiſtance*.

But what then? when the work committed to him, and for which he was thus qualified, was well over, we have no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the ſame ſpirit conſtantly reſted on him, but very much to conclude the contrary. One of his moſt illuſtrious ſucceſſors, Samson, had ſtill a larger ſhare of this *divine Spirit* imparted to him; yet nobody imagines that it reſted

* 1 Kings xiii. † xxvii. 29.

with

with him; when, contrary to the LAW, he chose a wife from amongst the Philistines, or revealed the secret intrusted with him to Delilah; delinquencies much less criminal than the Sacrifice of a Daughter.

3. —But then, "the Author of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* extols him; and lifts him into the number of the most distinguished of the Jewish Heroes."—But for what is he thus extolled?—For his rash *vow?* No surely. David is extolled in the same place, and in the same manner. Is it for the murder of Uriah, and adultery with his Wife? Surely neither of the Heroes are extolled for these exploits; but for their FAITH in God, and their zeal for the advancement of the THEOCRACY. So says the Writer himself; where, recapitulating the works and atchievements of FAITH, he goes on, in these words—*And what shall I more say, For the time would fail me to tell of Gideon and Barak, and of Samson and of* JEPHTHAH, *of David also and Samuel,* &c.*—This FAITH was so active and eminent in DAVID, that, notwithstanding his two gross immoralities, he is called by God himself, A MAN AFTER HIS OWN HEART. For, as this illustrious Title neither covered, nor atoned, for his crimes, so neither did his crimes hinder its being bestowed upon him, when the question only concerned his zeal for the LAW and the THEOCRACY; as I have shewn to these Philosophers, on another occasion.

To conclude with JEPHTHAH.—We know, though only in general, that he lived long enough in the exercise of his Ministry, and, consequently, under the occasional guidance of God's holy Spirit, to wipe out all the Pagan impressions of his ill education. DAVID, with a much better in his early youth, kept on improving in the knowlege of the LAW.—He was at first somewhat scandalized at the *prosperity of the wicked:* but when he *came into the sanctuary,* i. e. when he had gained a more exact and perfect knowledge of the Dispensation, *then,* as he tells us, *he understood the end of those men.* In these respects, indeed, we are left more to our conjectures concerning JEPHTHAH.—His History tells us, *he judged Israel for six years* †. We are further informed (and this is all) that he defeated the Ephraimites ‡; who had picked a groundless quarrel with him; which ended as it is fit all such quarrels shoul end.

But, though we have now done with the personal Character of *Jephthah,* and his rash Vow; we have something more to say of the general Character

* Heb. xi. 32. † Judges xii. 7. ‡ xii. 1.

of a *Judge of Iſrael*, as it holds in common with that of many other of God's *choſen ſervants:* whoſe faults and imperfections the malice of Unbelievers have carefully drawn out, and objected to us, as matter of ſcandal; tending to impeach the veracity of Sacred Hiſtory, and the Evidence that God thus interpoſed in ſupport of his revealed Will.

To clear up this matter, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that when God ſees fit, in an extraordinary way, to give a new revelation of his WILL to man, we may conclude, from the very nature of things, that he will not diſgrace his own DISPENSATION, by the uſe of unworthy Inſtruments.

Both the *dignity* and *intereſts* of Revelation require, that the *firſt Bearers* of theſe glad tidings to mankind ſhould be fully poſſeſſed of that *power* of Virtue which true religion only can beſtow.

The *dignity* of Revelation requires that ſo bright an emanation from the very ſource of light and purity ſhould not be conveyed to us through a polluted medium. The *intereſts* of it, likewiſe, reclaim againſt ſuch an unworthy Service.

A ſanctity of manners, which is ſo neceſſary to ſupport the miſſion, is the natural and inſeparable attendant on the Office. For, in the promulgation of a new Religion, beſides thoſe marks of truth ariſing from the purity and reaſonableneſs of the Doctrine, which ſhew it to be WORTHY of the Author to whom it is aſcribed, there is need, in order to prove that it ACTUALLY CAME FROM HIM, of certain MIRACULOUS powers, declarative of the nature of the *Diſpenſation*; and attendant on the ſanctification of the heart of the Meſſenger.

But the *character* of God's Inſtruments, and the *conduct* of Providence in the uſe of them, may be very different from thoſe who are only raiſed up, and employed for the *ſupport* of an eſtabliſhed *Diſpenſation*; as in the Jewiſh œconomy; or for the *reformation* of it, as in the Chriſtian: though in the Jewiſh, adminiſtered by an extraordinary Providence, theſe Inſtruments may have had *extraordinary powers* intruſted to them, which thoſe of the Chriſtian had not. Here [*i. e.* for the ſupport or reformation of things received and eſtabliſhed] the ſame concluſion, for the neceſſity of ſanctity of manners, will not hold. It being ſufficient, for this purpoſe, that God, in the ſettled courſe of his Providence, is inceſſantly producing GOOD OUT OF EVIL. And the *irregular* Inſtrument is frequently made to ſerve, without his knowlege, and even againſt his will, the great ends of piety and truth.

Of

Of the evidence of this, the Hiſtory of the Church affords us many examples.

When God had gradually prepared, and, at length, fitted his *Choſen People* for the reception of the LAW, his early Inſtruments were ſelected from the moſt virtuous amongſt men, NOAH, ABRAHAM, and MOSES:

And, again, when he firſt prepared the World for the promulgation of the GOSPEL (which was the completion of the LAW) he committed the care of it to men of the moſt unblemiſhed and exemplary characters; ſuch as John the Baptiſt, and the bleſſed Apoſtles.

But in the *Eſtabliſhment*, in the *Support*, and in the *Reformation* of Religion (the ſecond and inferior Operation of Divine Love to Man) God did not diſdain to employ leſs perfect Inſtruments, in either Diſpenſation. He ſerved himſelf of DAVID for the LAW, and of CONSTANTINE for the GOSPEL. And under the former of theſe Diſpenſations, both before and after the period here referred to, when he had decreed, either to execute vengeance on the Oppreſſors of an offending People, or to clear the Holy Land of Idolaters, he frequently availed himſelf of the Agency of wicked Kings and licentious Rulers. The ſame gracious Providence was diſplayed in the preſervation of Religion under the latter Diſpenſation. For, when the time was come that the Chriſtian Church was to be cleanſed and purified from the long pollutions of an Antichriſtian Uſurpation, God was pleaſed to make uſe of Inſtruments, who had neither motives nor manners that could do honour to the *Reformation* they were appointed to bring to paſs.

UNBELIEVERS did not ſufficiently conſider this, when they made it an objection to *revealed Religion*; nor PAPISTS, when they made the ſame objection to the *Proteſtant Reformation*. To the *Firſt* we have already ſaid enough on this head; and, to the other, ſhall only add at preſent, that we are far from being aſhamed of receiving ſpiritual benefit from men, who ſupply theſe circumſtances of reproach againſt themſelves; while we find reaſon to adore that Hand which turned the avarice (if ſuch was the caſe) of a furious Friar, and the luxury of a debauched Monarch, from their natural Miſchiefs, to become productive of the greateſt bleſſings; the Reſtoration of LETTERS and RELIGION.

But it is now time to go on with M. *Voltaire*, whoſe *Philoſophy*, being grafted on his *Poetry*, produces Fruit worthy of the Stock it comes from, viz. *Fable* and *Fiction*. So that the next inſtance he produces of the encouragement

couragement which the Law gives to *human ſacrifices*, is Saul's *abortive vow*.—The wonder is, that he did not go on with the caſes of Achan—the five Kings of the Amorites—Siſera—Agag—Adonijah—the five ſons of Saul, hung up in Gibeah—and in ſhort, all the civil and military executions recorded in the Old Teſtament. But in his rage to run down Religion, he has out-ſhot himſelf, and forgot his ſubject.—To bring him to himſelf, I will, in charity, direct him to a text, which, if he knows how to pervert with proper dexterity, may appear more to his purpoſe than any of this ſenſeleſs prate. It is in the Prophet *Micah:* who addreſſing himſelf to his corrupt and idolatrous Countrymen, amongſt his other exprobrations, ridicules, and, at the ſame time, inſtructs them, in this manner,—"Wherewith ſhall I come before the Lord? and bow myſelf "before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, "with Calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleaſed with thouſands of "Rams, or ten thouſands of rivers of Oil? SHALL I GIVE MY FIRST-"BORN FOR MY TRANSGRESSION; THE FRUIT OF MY BODY FOR THE SIN "OF MY SOUL? He hath ſhewed thee, O man! what is good. And what "doth the Lord require of thee, but to do juſtly, to love mercy, and to "walk humbly with thy God *?"

Reaſoners, like our poet, may fancy, that the Prophet is here reckoning up the moſt efficacious of the LEGAL SACRIFICES; and conſequently, that INFANTICIDE and HOMICIDE are amongſt the firſt of that number, ſince all are ſaid to be offered up to *the Lord the high God.*

To confute this groundleſs fancy, let me previouſly repeat theſe two obſervations, Firſt, that the Law of Moſes is ſo far from requiring or directing *human ſacrifices*, that it ever treats them with the utmoſt abhorrence; and therefore was very unlikely to ſpeak of them as *legal Sacrifices:* ſecondly, it hath been ſhewn that the Idolatrous Jews of theſe times, were accuſtomed to bring into the TEMPLE-SERVICE the moſt deteſted Rites of Paganiſm.

This being premiſed, let us conſider the ſeaſon in which theſe Prophecies, ſent to Micah, were delivered;—to whom they were addreſſed—and to what end, directed. They were ſent, the prophet tells us, *in the days of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah* †.

We find by the Hiſtory of theſe Kings, that, in their reign, the Houſe of Judah was ſunk into all kinds of vice and iniquity. But ſtill the leading

* vi. 6, 7, 8. † i. 1.

crime,

crime, through the bad example of theſe monarchs, was IDOLATRY; which conſiſted, ſometimes in worſhipping the God of Iſrael in the Pagan places of worſhip, called THE HIGH PLACES; at other times in worſhipping Idols in the very place of God's worſhip, THE TEMPLE. Jotham, indeed, is ſaid to have done *that which was right in the ſight of the Lord. Howbeit that the* HIGH PLACES *were not removed; the People ſacrificed and burnt incenſe ſtill in the high places* *. But his ſon, Ahaz, we are told, "did not that which was right in the ſight of the Lord his God, like "David, his Father. But he walked in the way of the Kings of Iſrael. "Yea, *and made his Sons to paſs through the* FIRE, according to the abo- "minations of the Heathen, whom the Lord caſt out from before the "Children of Iſrael †." Hezekiah ſupplied what was wanting in the Grandfather, and reformed what was amiſs, during the wicked reign of his Father.

Amongſt a people ſo corrupt, while any ſenſe of Religion ſtill remained, *Rites and Ceremonies* would always take the lead of *moral duties*. The Prophet ſeems to have availed himſelf of the good reign of Hezekiah: and to aid the reformation, which that Monarch had begun, attacks labouring Superſtition in its head quarters, amidſt the fires of *Moloch*.

But to ſtrike at the root of the evil, which was ſubſtituting *ritual* modes of Worſhip, in the place of *moral duties*, he informs them how unacceptable the external pomp and pageantry of Religion was to the God of Iſrael, when not accompanied with purity of heart, and integrity of manners. This is the general ſenſe of the Text quoted above: which, without doubt, ſhould be thus paraphraſed—*Wherewith ſhall I come before the Lord* (ſays the Prophet, perſonating an idolatrous and immoral Jew), *ſhall I bring a profuſion of Calves, and Rams, and Oil,* AS THE LAW DIRECTS; *Or if theſe be inſufficient, or unacceptable to the Deity, ſhall I ſeek, as is now the practice, for a more powerful atonement,* AMONGST THE FOREIGN RITES OF OUR PAGAN NEIGHBOURS, *who boaſt of ſomething ſtill more precious and worthy the Altars of their Gods*—MY FIRST-BORN TO BE OFFERED UP IN SACRIFICE? *Vain man, ſubjoins the Prophet, do not God and Nature proclaim, that without* VIRTUE, *Rites and Ceremonies are of no avail, whether they be ſuch as the* LAW *preſcribes, or ſuch as* IDOLATERS *(to whoſe practices thou art ſo enſlaved) impiouſly fancy to be ſtill more horribly efficacious.*

* 2 Kings xv. 34, 35. † 2 Kings xvi. 3.

And

And how, *human Sacrifices* came to be ſo eſteemed, we have ſhewn, in the courſe of this diſſertation, *concerning the riſe and progreſs of Sacrifice.*

III.

From the *Sacrifice of particular men*, charged by M. Voltaire, on the Jewiſh Law, he riſes in his impiety to accuſe it of the Sacrifice of a whole Nation. Theſe are his words—" It is ſaid in Leviticus that *none* " *devoted* which *ſhall be devoted of men* ſhall be redeemed, but ſhall *ſurely* " *be put to death.* The Jewiſh books bear evidence, that when the Iſraelites " over-ran the little country of Canaan, they maſſacred, in moſt of the " villages, men, women, and children—becauſe they had been devoted."

In theſe words are included two charges againſt the Law.—1. That this *devoting* of the Canaanites was a *religious Sacrifice.* 2. Or, at leaſt, a commanded extermination of a whole people, by the miniſtry of the Iſraelites. So that if one of them ſhould fail, the other yet may hold.

I have already acquitted it of the firſt, by an explanation of the famous miſtaken text in the xxviith chapter of Leviticus. We come now to the ſecond, the cenſure of extreme cruelty and inhumanity in executing the command. And this will bring us to the concluding head, on this ſubject.—

The Moral Governor of the Universe adminiſters his Sovereignty in two different ways: while moral Governors amongſt men can, in their ſeveral departments, adminiſter theirs only in one.

God, the Author of Nature, and Framer of its Conſtitution, hath ſo ordered and combined moral Entities, that Virtue generally, or for the moſt part, produceth happiness; while Misery is as generally attendant upon Vice. On this diſpoſition of things, the rewards and puniſhments of free Agents are firſt of all adjuſted. But this makes it neither ſuperfluous nor inexpedient for the God of the Univerſe to puniſh and reward in another manner, likewiſe. Not *ſuperfluous*; ſince this conſtitution of Nature does not always, by reaſon of certain traverſies in *free agency*, produce its deſigned effects. Not *inexpedient*; ſince, in that other manner, the *power* of the divine Adminiſtration is more ſenſibly manifeſted; as in the firſt way his *Wiſdom* may be better collected: While, both together ſerve more fully to convince us, that the first Cause is a free Agent; and that the

the conſtitution of Nature is his ordinance; and not the effect of chance or deſtiny.

On theſe accounts, a reaſonable analogy would lead us to conclude, from what paſſeth in the government of the NATURAL WORLD, that in the early ages of mankind, when an EQUAL PROVIDENCE prevailed (as it did while men retained the knowlege of their Governor and Creator; of which more in its proper place) God would frequently interpoſe, in an extraordinary manner, to prevent or redreſs thoſe irregularities which would, from time to time, ariſe, and did actually ariſe in God's *moral government*, while *ſolely* adminiſtered by that relative order of things, which his *wiſdom* had ſo beautifully connected, and ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, as to be diſordered by nothing but the traverſies of *free agency* in his Creatures.

That he did thus, in fact, interpoſe, holy Scriptures bear full evidence. The firſt account we have of it, after the DELUGE (in which, this part of God's moral adminiſtration was ſo ſignally diſplayed) is in the fate of *Sodom and Gomorrah:* And afterwards, in the EXTERMINATION OF THE CANAANITES: both theſe nations having, by the ſame unnatural crimes, *filled up the meaſure of their iniquities.*

In the caſe of *Sodom and Gomorrah*, the enormity of their vices, and the total depravity of their manners, impoſe ſilence on the moſt profligate oppoſers of Religion, however clamorous they may be in the Patronage of the *Canaanites.* Their Plea, in favour of theſe, ariſes from the Choice God is ſaid to have made of the INSTRUMENTS of his Vengeance. *Fire and Brimſtone* they eaſily ſubmit to: but *Fire and Sword* revolts their humanity.

They can never (they tell us) be brought to believe that the common Father of All would employ ſome of his reaſonable Creatures to execute his vengeance upon others of the ſame ſpecies, even though theſe others had been juſtly ſentenced to perdition for their beaſtly and inhuman Vices.

They pretend to ſay, "that God could not, conſiſtently with his nature and attributes, put fellow-creatures on ſuch an employment." They have offered no reaſons for this bold aſſertion: and I can find none. In the mean time, we muſt needs be much edified with the modeſty of theſe men; who deny that liberty to God, which they are not backward to allow to their earthly Sovereigns: Amongſt whom, the right of employing *one* part of their Subjects to execute their Sentence on *another*, is every where practiſed, without cenſure or controll.

But they ſay further, "that although God *might*, yet he certainly *would not* have recourſe to *human agency* in this matter, on account of the miſchiefs which ſuch agency was likely to produce.

Firſt, as it is extremely liable to abuſe. Every Pretender to a divine command, whether feigned by an Impoſtor, or fancied by an Enthuſiaſt, would, when ſupported by this example, never ſuffer their Neighbours to live in peace. And Saracen armies and Popiſh Cruſades would be always at hand to carry on deſolation in the name of God."

Secondly, "this *inſtrumentality* muſt have an ill effect on the MANNERS of the Iſraelites, by making their hearts callous, and inſenſible to the calamities of their Fellow-Creatures." Theſe are the objections of our PHILOSOPHERS. But before they give us time to reply, they kindly take the trouble off our hands, and will needs anſwer for us, themſelves. This is one of their uſual tricks, to ſtop or cover the diſgrace of a fooliſh Sophiſm, by a ſhew of candour. But, indeed, their aim is to draw the Advocate of religion from ſolid ground, which is fairly and ſteadily to confute infidelity, ON ITS OWN PRINCIPLES. Of this ſlight of hand, the Poet Voltaire has here given us an example moſt worthy of him.—*This* [the extermination of the Canaanites] *had been an enormous crime, had not God himſelf,* THE SOVEREIGN ARBITER OF LIFE AND DEATH, *of whoſe conduct we are not to aſk a reaſon, ſo ordained, in the impenetrable depths of his juſtice.*—Indeed! But we will be bold to bring him back to the ſtate of the queſtion.—"God the MORAL GOVERNOR of the World could not or would not (ſay unbelievers) make uſe of *human Inſtruments* for the deſtruction of the Canaanites." This is the objection. But to keep us from anſwering, they take the buſineſs into their own hands—*God* (ſays this prince of Philoſophers) *the* CREATOR, *the ſovereign arbiter of life and death, of whoſe conduct we are not to aſk, what doeſt thou? hath foreclоſed all reaſoning, in the impenetrable depths of his Juſtice.*"

Thus they raiſe their objection againſt a command of God, as MORAL GOVERNOR of the Univerſe, (and ſuch he is always repreſented in Scripture) and then, to ſtop our mouths with a Flamm, anſwer the objection themſelves, by putting a PHYSICAL CREATOR in his place.

Now, of the actions of a MORAL GOVERNOR, we may, with due modeſty and humility, aſk the reaſon;—*Shall not* THE JUDGE OF ALL THE EARTH

EARTH *do right?* was aſked * in a ſimilar caſe, by the *Father of the Faithful.* But, to the PHYSICAL CREATOR *of the Univerſe*, who will venture to ſay, *what doeſt thou* † *?*—Illuſtrious Philoſopher! permit us therefore to anſwer for ourſelves. We ſay, that the *moral Governor* of the World can never be debarred from carrying on his Adminiſtration in ſuch a way as may beſt ſuit the ends of divine Wiſdom, becauſe human folly may encourage itſelf to raiſe, on that ground, an impious and abuſive imitation. And, neither under *natural*, nor under *revealed Religion*, hath God thought fit to exempt or ſecure his *Laws* from ſuch abuſes.

God, under *natural Religion*, in the ordinary courſe of his Providence, hath, by annexing evil to Vice, made that Conſtitution of things the *Inſtrument* of puniſhment; but how hath this Diſpenſation been diſhonoured, and even to the diſturbance of Society itſelf, when theſe puniſhments, interpreted by ignorant or uncharitable men, have been turned into EXTRAORDINARY JUDGMENTS?—Again, *Peter* and *John* ſaid, what every honeſt Deiſt is ready to ſay,—*We muſt obey God rather than Man* ‡. Yet how perpetually has this truth been abuſed by Rebels and Fanatics.

Under *Revealed Religion*, MIRACLES, (the neceſſary Credential of thoſe intruſted with its promulgation) by which Power, both the phyſical and intellectual Syſtems were controlled, have yet occaſioned innumerable abuſes, defiling every age of the Church with fantaſtic Prodigies, and lying Wonders.

But why do I ſpeak of theſe ſanctions of Revelation, (the Credentials of God's Meſſengers) when the very Communication of his Will to Man, REVELATION itſelf, hath filled all ages and nations with Impoſtors, pretending to a divine Commiſſion?

But our *Philoſophers* go on; and ſay, "That this office of deſtruction, impoſed upon the Iſraelites, muſt have produced an ill effect on their *Moral Character*, by giving them wrong notions of the *divine Nature*; and by vitiating *their own*; as it had a tendency to deſtroy or to weaken the Social paſſions and affections."

Nay, further, they pretend to ſee the marks of theſe evils in the Character of the *choſen People:* whom, therefore, inſtead of pitying, (and if the evils aroſe from the cauſe they aſſign, were moſt deſerving of pity) they have moſt mercileſsly abuſed and miſrepreſented. But to anſwer to the

* Gen. xviii. 25. † Job ix. 12. ‡ Acts v. 29.

FIRST PART of this infidel objection, which pretends that the Jews were brought, by this employment, to entertain *wrong ideas of the Divine Nature*, I reply,—The moſt adorable attribute of God, the *moral Governor* of the world, is his LONG-SUFFERING, by which he bears with the crimes and follies of men, in order to bring them to repentance: Now this attribute he hath made manifeſt to all: but more fully to his *choſen People*; even in the very caſe of theſe devoted Canaanites. For when their crimes were arrived at the height of human depravity, He ſtill withheld his hand, and, by divers awakening Judgments, gave them time and invitation for repentance. But on their neglect and contempt of his repeated warnings, He, at length, was *forced*, as it were, to pour out his full vengeance upon them.

The Author of the Apocryphal Book, of *the Wiſdom of Solomon*, thus graphically paints their caſe, in an Addreſs to the Almighty.—"Thou haſt "mercy upon all—thou winkeſt at the Sins of Men, becauſe they ſhould "amend—Thou ſpareſt all; for they are thine, thou Lover of Souls!— "Therefore thou chaſteneſt them, by little and little, that offend; and "warneſt them by putting them in remembrance wherein they have of- "fended; that leaving their wickedneſs, they may believe in thee, O "Lord! For IT WAS THY WILL TO DESTROY BY THE HANDS OF OUR "FATHERS, THOSE OLD INHABITANTS OF THY HOLY LAND; whom thou "hateſt for doing moſt odious works of Sorceries, and WICKED SACRI- "FICES—*mercileſs murderers of children, and devourers of man's fleſh, and the "feaſts of blood*—Nevertheleſs even thoſe thou ſpared'ſt *as Men* *, and didſt "*ſend Waſps*, forerunners of thine hoſt, to deſtroy them by little and "little—executing thy judgments upon them by little and little, THOU "GAVEST THEM PLACE OF REPENTANCE; not being ignorant that "they were a naughty Generation—and their cogitations would never be "changed †."

The Canonical Books of Scripture authenticate what this Sage Writer of after-times, here delivers, concerning God's dealing with theſe *devoted Nations*.

* i. e. for the ſake of their rational nature, though by their unnatural vices they had forfeited all the prerogatives of humanity.

† xi. 23 & ſeq. xii. 2 & ſeq.

Moſes,

Moſes, on the egreſſion of the Iſraelites from Egypt, ſpeaks thus to them, in the Perſon of the Almighty—" I will ſend *Hornets* before thee, " which ſhall drive out the Hivite, the Canaanite, and the Hittite from " before thee. I will not drive them out from before thee in one year, " leſt the land become deſolate; but by *little and little* will I drive them " out from before thee *." And again in his laſt exhortation to his People,— " Behold the Lord, thy God, will ſend the *Hornet* amongſt them, until " they that are left, and hide themſelves from thee, be deſtroyed †." And Joſhua, on the like occaſion, tells the People that what Moſes had promiſed, in the name of the God of Iſrael, God had fulfilled—*I ſent the* HORNET before you, which drove them out from before you, even the two Kings of the Amorites ‡.

Here, the Reader may obſerve, that the *Apocryphal* Writer gives *one* reaſon for the *temporary* plagues, which forerun the total deſtruction of the Canaanites; and the Authentic Text gives another; nor will the learned Reader be at a loſs to account for this difference.

The Iſraelites, under their Leader, *Moſes*, did not want to be told, that thoſe *temporary Plagues* were ſent *in mercy*. They had, on the firſt opening of his Commiſſion, been inſtructed by him, in the attributes of the true God, *his long ſuffering and bearing with the contradiction of Sinners*; and his merciful acceptance even of a late-delayed Repentance. They had experienced the unwearied exertion of this attribute, even in their own caſe, when their repeated perverſities, which would have tired out every thing but *infinite Goodneſs*, were as often pardoned as they were committed. So that *they* were not ignorant, though their degenerate Poſterity, in the time of this Apocryptical Writer, might want to be informed of the gracious purpoſe, in thoſe warnings to a devoted People.

And as there was another uſe in theſe probationary plagues, viz. the waſting the Inhabitants of Canaan, this was the deſign which Moſes and Joſhua principally inſiſt on, as it was the greateſt encouragement to a daſtardly People. *Moſes*, in the name of his Maſter, promiſeth *to ſend* HORNETS *before them, which* SHOULD DRIVE OUT *the Hivite, &c.* And *Joſhua* reminds his People how the promiſe had been performed—*God ſent the* HORNET *before you, which drove them out from before you,* &c.

* Exod. xxiii. 28. † Deut. vii. 20. ‡ Joſh. xxiv. 12.

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This aſſurance was no more than needed. The cowardice contracted in a long ſtate of Slavery; (a State fairly recorded, and deeply lamented by their Leader) required the aſſiſtance of all NATURE in their ſupport.

"O nimium dilecte Deo—cui militat Æther,
"Et conjurati veniunt ad Claſſica venti."

But though theſe *warning Judgments*, theſe *chaſtiſements of mercy*, were loſt on thoſe to whom they were ſent, yet they were not caſt away; for, in aggravating the Crimes of the *Canaanites*, they ſerved, at the ſame time, to promote their ſpeedier extermination. So admirably is the moral government of God adminiſtered, that it's acts, directed to various purpoſes, are never iſſued in vain.—But what is ſaid in holy Writ, of the previous puniſhments on the Canaanites, in mercy, is given only as a ſpecimen of them, and not for a complete liſt, as in the record of the *trying* plagues of Egypt. So that we are not to conclude, that the deſtructive Animals, ſent amongſt thoſe miſcreants, were only waſps and hornets; or that, amongſt the awakening puniſhments, DISEASE was not one. When God was pleaſed, in after-times, to puniſh their Deſcendants, the *Philiſtines*, for their profanation of the ARK; (which, for the ſins of his people, he ſuffered to fall into their hands) the ſacred writers tell us, that they, who ſo profaned it, *were ſmitten with emerods in their ſecret parts* *. This is the only puniſhment there mentioned. Yet, by the account of the atonement, or *treſpaſs-offering*, it appears that there was *another*.—The Philiſtines ſent back with the Ark, which they reſtored, *the images of five emerods*, and FIVE MICE IN GOLD †. Who can doubt, but that, in this addition to the atonement, another puniſhment was intimated, viz. the *devaſtation of their Lands by mice?* But the ſacred Writer does not leave us to mere conjecture. In ſpeaking of theſe mice, he thus qualifies them,—*Mice that* MARR THE LAND. But this is not all. The text here acquaints us, though occaſionally, with two puniſhments, inflicted on the *Canaanites*; which the hiſtory of their expulſion does not particularly mention.—We underſtand how fit Inſtruments of general devaſtation MICE muſt needs be: and we may gueſs how well ſuited the *other puniſhment* was for their unnatural Crimes; nor would either one, or the other, ceaſe to remind them of the vices or puniſhments of their Anceſtors, the Canaanites, ſo that, avoiding

* 1 Sam. v. 6. † Chap. vi. 4, 5.

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the manners of their anceſtors, they might (if poſſible) eſcape their total deſtruction.

I ſhall conclude this point with an obſervation which naturally leads to the next, that is to ſay, to the SECOND PART of this infidel objection, viz. "the EFFECT which the deſtruction of the Canaanites muſt be ſuppoſed to have on the minds of the MORAL INSTRUMENTS of their puniſhment." A matter moſt deſerving our attention.

It cannot be doubted but that the Almighty diſplayed his mercy and long ſuffering on *Sodom and Gomorrah*, in ſome way analogous to what he practiſed in the Land of *Canaan*, (and how gracious he was in the extent of that mercy, we learn from Abraham's interceſſion for thoſe Cities *) though the particulars of it be not recorded by the ſacred hiſtorian: Whoſe ſilence in the one caſe, and not in the other, may be clearly underſtood. Thoſe execrable Cities were deſtroyed *immediately* by God's own hand, in letting looſe the *Elements* (the treaſurers of his wrath) upon them.—In the deletion of the Canaanites he was pleaſed to employ HUMAN INSTRUMENTS. Theſe were to be uſed according to their nature; not as Entities merely *Phyſical*, but as *moral agents* likewiſe: Beings not only endowed with *Senſe*, but *Sentiment*. Now it ſeemed but fit that ſuch *agents* ſhould be inſtructed in the reaſon and occaſion of their Commiſſion; eſpecially as it was a matter of high importance; no leſs than to preſerve them from judging perverſely of the divine attributes. Accordingly Moſes obviated this miſchief by a detail of the abominable manners of this devoted People: together with a memorial of the ineffectual iſſue of their many *chaſtiſements in mercy* to bring them to repentance, and to ſave them from utter deletion.

As the miſchief was thus effectually obviated, the *Iſraelites* were, at the ſame time, ſecured from that other, (which is the ſecond point objected to their Commiſſion) it's tendency to viciate the moſt amiable paſſion of our nature, by deſtroying or weakening the benign and ſocial feelings for the miſeries of our fellow creatures. For what could God's gracious dealing with theſe incorrigible Miſcreants teach all, who (like the Iſraelites) were intimately informed of their crimes, and long delayed puniſhment, but, in imitation of God's long forbearance, to ſhew mercy and compaſſion to their offending Brethren in diſtreſs. Nor, in fact, do we find that the *Jews* were more ſteeled to, or inſenſible of, the calamities of humanity

* Gen. xviii.

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(bating thoſe of this devoted People) than other men, in the early Ages of ſociety, were wont to be. And if they were not much more humanized, by being *better taught, as well as fed*, than the reſt of mankind, it muſt be aſcribed, not to this *Commiſſion*, but to a certain *native perverſity*, which (as ſtrange as it may at firſt ſight appear) might be one, amongſt the very many reaſons of God's choice of them, for his PECULIAR, as it made them the propereſt ſubjects to work upon, for a fuller manifeſtation, of his infinite mercy towards the Sons of Men. Where it might be ſeen, in the *deviations* from right of two People thus connected and related, that the *one* was deſtroyed, after all means had been employed, without effect, to bring them to REPENTANCE; and the *other* pardoned and highly favoured, when the ſame merciful forbearance had produced it's fruit of a timely REPENTANCE, and return to GOD, after every tranſgreſſion; and, at length, a determined perſeverance in this their capital duty (adherence to the true God) for many ages, even to the preſent time.

But it may ſtill be aſked, though no miſchief was derived towards the *Inſtruments* of this extraordinary Commiſſion, yet what good could ſuch a *commiſſion* produce? I anſwer, much, and conſtant; for beſides a *political* benefit to an abject unwarlike people, in teaching them the uſe of arms; who were to make their deſtined way to Empire, as well by their own power, as by the extraordinary aid of the Almighty; in order to avoid a laviſh waſte of miracles: beſides this, (I ſay) there were *moral advantages*, great and laſting, derived to this Inſtrumentality. Horror and averſion in the *Iſraelites* to thoſe unnatural Crimes which had occaſioned the deletion of the *Canaanites*; whoſe puniſhment muſt be intimately impreſſed on the minds of the *choſen People*, by their being appointed the executioners of God's vengeance. To confirm this, we may obſerve, that both *Moſes* and *Joſhua*, by inceſſantly reminding them of the horrid depravity of that devoted People, had their eyes always intent upon this good effect.

P. 676. [H]. The eloquent *Boſſuet* ſaith rightly, that *Proteſtants* have but lamely ſupported the FIGURE, *of* THIS IS MY BODY, &c. by thoſe — *I am the vine* — *I am the door*. — And the reaſon he gives has it's weight. — *Jeſus* (ſays he) *in the inſtitution of the Lord's Supper, was neither propounding a parable, nor explaining an allegory* *. — But when the learned Writer would

* — quand les uns oppoſoient, *ceci eſt mon corps*, les autres repondoient, *Je ſuis le vigne* — *Je ſuis la porte* — *le pierre etoit Chriſt* — Il eſt vrai que ces examples n'etoient pas ſemblables. Ce n'etoit ni en propoſant une parabole, ni en expliquant une allegorie.

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have us infer from this, that there could be no other occaſion for the uſe of a FIGURE, he impoſes his uſual artifice upon us; which was always to keep out of ſight what would have detected his ſlight of hand. He knew there were other occaſions, of employing *figurative* expreſſions, ſuch as *fixing and declaring the* NATURE OF A RITE.—And this was the *occaſion* here.—But then, ſays he, the words are detached and ſeparated from all other diſcourſe—there is no leading preparation *.—So ſay the *Socinians* likewiſe; in order to infer a contrary concluſion. But we have already ſhewn, that they are both miſtaken.

There was a *leading preparation*; and that, a plain one, namely, the celebration of the paſchal Supper. And we have ſhewn, it was the cuſtom of our Lord to be *led* by what paſſed before him, to regulate his language on ideas thus prepared.—Nor was the *conſecration* of the Elements in the SUPPER OF OUR LORD SEPARATE *from all other diſcourſe*. It was preceded by, and connected with, a moſt affecting *diſcourſe* on the *death and ſufferings* of our *Redeemer*. Therefore the words of the Conſecration do not, as M. Boſſuet pretends, *carry their whole meaning within themſelves*; but refer to things preceding and exterior. So that the Biſhop's triumphant concluſion loſes much of it's luſtre, when he ſays, *what I pretend to evince is, the embarras into which theſe words*—THIS IS MY BODY, *throws all the Proteſtant party—there was no reaſon for uſing theſe* STRONG TERMS *for the Inſtitution of the Euchariſt rather than for Baptiſm.—This place I foretell ſhall be the eternal and inevitable confuſion of the defenders of the* FIGURATIVE SENSE †. *There was no more reaſon, on the Proteſtant principles*, (ſays he) *for chuſing theſe* STRONG TERMS *here, than in the rite of Baptiſm.*—Surely, there was a very good one. For if it was the purpoſe of divine Wiſdom to explain the nature of the Rite, *only by the words of the Conſecration*, which it is agreed it was, as well by him who holds it to be a *real Sacrifice*, as by us who hold it is only a *feaſt upon Sacrifice*, there was a neceſſity for the uſe of theſe terms. This was not the caſe in inſtituting the Rite of Baptiſm, whoſe nature is *expreſsly* defined. Beſides, here the matter, adminiſtered, was WATER, an element always at hand, and therefore fitly called by it's *proper name*. But the FLESH and BLOOD of the Sacrifice, of which the *Lord's ſupper* was a feſtive commemoration, not being then at hand, as Chriſt was not yet offered on the

* Ces paroles [ceci eſt mon Corps, &c.] detachées de tout autre diſcours, portent tout leur ſens en elles-mêmes.

† Cet endroit ſera l'eternelle et inevitable confuſion des Defenſeurs du SENS FIGURE. Hiſt des Var. Tom. i. p. 477. 8vo.

Croſs, the Elements of *Bread and Wine*, ſubſtituted in their place, were, by an elegant and neceſſary converſion, called the *body* and *blood*, as theſe elements only were declarative of the nature of the Rite, viz. a *feaſt upon Sacrifice*.—To ſupport this reaſoning ſtill further. Another ſacred Rite, that of the *impoſition of hands*, in procuring the deſcent of the HOLY SPIRIT, is called the BAPTISM BY FIRE; in which, both the terms are *figurative*, as, in the *Baptiſm by Water*, both are literal. And why this difference? Becauſe the Agent or Inſtrument of this *Baptiſm by fire* being *ſpiritual*, there was need of *figurative terms*, taken from material things, to aid the groſſneſs of our conceptions, concerning the manner of the operation. So that all the myſtery in this affair, (I mean, ſo far forth as concerns the *terms of the inſtitution*) is no more than this; when the things communicated are of a ſpiritual nature, as the gifts of the holy Spirit; or of a material nature not yet *in eſſe*, as the fleſh of a Sacrifice, not yet offered up, and therefore needing another body to be ſubſtituted in its place, there, the employing *figurative terms* becomes neceſſary. But when the thing communicated is a material Subſtance, at hand, and actually capable of being employed, as *Water in Baptiſm*, it would rather confound, than aid our conceptions, to uſe *improper*, that is, *figurative* terms.

P. 681. [I]. They had one *common nature* ſo far as they really conveyed, or were fooliſhly imagined to convey, benefits to the Participants. But St. Paul joining to the *Chriſtian* and the *Jewiſh*, the *Gentile* ſacrificial Feaſts, he thought it *logically* neceſſary to make a diſtinction between the *real* and the *imaginary* benefits; which he does in this manner—*What ſay I then? that an* IDOL *is any thing; or that which is offered to Idols is any thing? No*, (ſays he) *both are nothing*, i. e. are equally incapable of conveying benefits. That this muſt be his meaning, appears from his predicating the ſame thing both of the *Idol* and the *offering*. Now, as the *offering* had a PHYSICAL exiſtence, what hindered but that, in his opinion, the *Idol* might have a METAPHYSICAL? Though in an efficacious and MORAL ſenſe, Both were *nothing*. This interpretation ſhews that the Apoſtle was perfectly conſiſtent, when juſt before he calls theſe *Idols* NOTHING, and yet, preſently after, ſays they were DEVILS, whom, we know, in his opinion, were SOMETHING. The calling theſe *Idols*, *Devils*, ſerved to explain his meaning when he ſaid *Idols* were *nothing*, to be this, that no *benefit* was to be expected from them. And to intimate yet further, that ſo far from receiving benefit from *Idols*, their Worſhippers, by this intercourſe with them, were ſubject to great harm and miſchief.

chief. In order to infinuate this latter aſſertion, the Apoſtle changes his *firſt* idea of an *Idol*, which he uſed in common with the Gentiles, to this *ſecond*, which he, and all the Chriſtians of that time, had of them.—The *Idols*, to whom the Gentiles intentionally ſacrificed, were their national Gods, the *celeſtial Bodies*, their *dead Anceſtors*; their *Kings and Benefactors*; all of them, long ago, engrafted into the public worſhip. From ſuch, the Apoſtle owns, they could receive neither good nor harm; theſe being only IDOLS OF THE BRAIN.—But SATAN or the DEVIL, as the Original Author and ſtill the fomenter of Idolatry, makes him properly and peculiarly the IDOL OF THE ALTAR. From ſuch an *Idol*, they, to whom the Apoſtle writes, muſt readily confeſs, much harm would ariſe from communicating with him, in a *Sacrificial* or ſacramental feaſt.

Of this capital Enemy of Mankind the Gentiles themſelves had, ſomehow or other, received an obſcure tradition; plentifully, indeed, contaminated with fable; which they ſtill further polluted with new-invented Superſtitions. Yet theſe ſtill preſerving a few traces of reſemblance to the *Moſaic Hiſtory*, and occaſioning ſome conformity between the languages of error and revelation, have drawn unwary men into ſome dangerous concluſions, as if the Founders of our holy Religion had taken advantage of Pagan follies to form a ſyſtem of DEMONOLOGY, agreeable to the preconceived fancies of their CONVERTS.—But of this more, in it's place. The preſent occaſion rather leads us to admire the Art by which the Sacred Writer has conducted his argument.

P. 703. [K]. It ſhould ſeem moſt probable that the *miraculous powers* were, in general, occaſional and temporary. But a learned Writer, who has declared himſelf of this opinion, hath unwarily put the *gift of tongues* into the number—"The Gift of Tongues upon the day of Pentecoſt (ſays "he) *was not laſting, but inſtantaneous and tranſitory*; not beſtowed upon "them for the conſtant work of the Miniſtry, but as an *occaſional ſign only*, "that a perſon endowed with it was a choſen miniſter of the Goſpel: "which ſign, as ſoon as it had ſerved that particular purpoſe, ſeems to "have ceaſed, and totally to have vaniſhed *."

Would reaſon, or the truth of things, ſuffer us to be thus compliant, we might concede to Unbelievers all which they fancy the Learned Writer hath procured for them, "that the power of tongues was temporary, and "like the power of *healing*, poſſeſſed occaſionally," without being alarmed

* Dr. Middleton's Eſſay on the Gift of Tongues, vol. II. of his Works, p. 79.

at any conſequence they will be able to deduce from it. For let it be granted, that the gift of tongues returned as often as they had occaſion for it's uſe, and it is no great matter *where* it reſided in the interim.

But neither reaſon, nor the truth of things, will ſuffer us to be thus complaiſant. The power of *healing the diſeaſed* (to which Dr. M. compares the *gift of tongues)* is, during the whole courſe of its operation, one continued arreſt or diverſion of the general laws of matter and motion; it was therefore very fitting that this power ſhould be imparted *occaſionally*. But the *gift of tongues*, when once it was conferred, became, from thenceforth, a natural power; juſt as the free and perfect uſe of the members of the Body, after they had been reſtored, by miracle, to the exerciſe of their natural functions. Indeed, the loſs of this *gift of tongues*, after the temporary uſe of it, would imply *other* miracles, as oft as there was occaſion to reſtore what was loſt by actual deprivation. Unleſs we can ſuppoſe that the Apoſtles, in the exerciſe of this gift, were merely irrational organs, *Automati*, through which certain ſounds were conveyed. In a word, it was as much in the courſe of nature for an Apoſtle, when the holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecoſt had enabled him to ſpeak a ſtrange language, ever afterwards to have the uſe of that language, as it was for the Cripple, whom Jeſus had reſtored to the uſe of his limbs on the ſabbath-day, ever afterwards to walk, to run, and perform all the functions of a man perfectly ſound and entire.

In one thing, indeed, the power of *healing the diſeaſed*, and of *ſpeaking with ſtrange tongues*, agreed.— As the Diſciples could not heal at all times, and when they would; ſo neither could they ſpeak when they would, in an unknown tongue, when it was firſt eſſayed. Yet when the holy ſpirit had once enabled them to ſpeak and underſtand a Language till then unknown to them, I conceive they muſt retain the uſe of it with the ſame facility as if they had acquired it in the ordinary way of inſtruction.

But the confuſion in this matter, and the embarras which follows it, in the Doctor's ſtating the Queſtion, ariſe from not diſtinguiſhing between the *active power* and the *paſſive gift*. In healing the diſeaſed, the Apoſtles are to be conſidered as the *Workers of a Miracle*; in ſpeaking a ſtrange tongue, as *Subjects of a miracle performed* *.

* He who would ſee a more complete account of this whole affair and its dependencies, is recommended to the First Book *of the Doctrine of Grace, or the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit*, 3d Edition, Lond. 1763.

P. 721. [L]. The ſerious Reader will be ready to aſk, what learned diſcoveries they are which have encouraged theſe men to innovate from the common opinion concerning the Goſpel Demoniacs? Have they found in the Scripture hiſtory of the *Demoniacs* any thing either *hurtful to morals*, or *falſe in Phyſics?* Nothing of either. And yet whatever is found there, they are not the finders.

An excellent Divine of the laſt age had, in his extenſive reſearches into antiquity, collected, that both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, at and before the time of *Chriſt*, were infected with one common Superſtition, that *Demons* and the *Souls of wicked men deceaſed* frequently ſeized upon the *bodies of the living*, and tormented them in various ways. Hence he too haſtily, yet with his uſual modeſty, inſinuated, that the *Poſſeſſions* recorded in the Goſpel, and called *demoniacal*, might be of that imaginary ſort; and no other in reality than OCCULT DISEASES; which being intractable by the art of medicine, were ſuppoſed to be *ſupernatural* (as if a good Phyſician was a match for any thing but the *Devil*).—To the unhappy wretches ſo afflicted, he ſuppoſed that Jeſus might apply his ſalutary hands: and that to this malady, ſo relieved, the People gave the *faſhionable* name by which, at that time, it was commonly diſtinguiſhed.

Without doubt this truly learned Divine went the more readily into this bold opinion, as he had obſerved it to have been God's gracious method, in the courſe of his DISPENSATIONS, to take advantage of men's habitual prejudices, towards the ſupport of his Revelation, by keeping his ſervants attached to his Ordinances.

But, here, the excellent perſon ſhould have diſtinguiſhed (as his Followers * were not likely to do it for him) between RITES and DOCTRINES. As they were RITES only, of which God was pleaſed to avail himſelf, for the benefit of his People, in order to combat, or to elude, their fondneſs for Pagan uſages—In matters of DOCTRINE, the like compliance was not, nor could be, ſafely indulged to them, without violating the truth of things; and therefore Sacred Scripture affords us no example of ſuch a condeſcenſion. In things pertaining only to *Rites* we have, indeed, many inſtances. Thus the uſe of *linen-garments*, *lights & lamps*, *luſtrations*, and a multitude of other uſages, in themſelves indifferent, were brought out of *falſe* Religions into the *true:* and this, with high propriety and wiſdom, while their new deſtination ſanctified their uſe; and their uſe ſerved to the

* Dr. Sykes—Dr. Lardner, &c. &c.

eaſier

eaſier introduction of the *new eſtabliſhment*.—But to aſſert and ſupport a groundleſs, ſuperſtitious *opinion* (if ſuch it were) of *Diabolical poſſeſſions*, would be the infecting and contaminating the Chriſtian Faith.

However, if the admirable Author of this hurtful Novelty did himſelf miſs of ſo juſt and obvious a diſtinction, we have leſs reaſon to wonder that thoſe of his Followers, who only aimed at ſomething, by a faint reflection from the other's learning, ſhould not hit (as we have ſaid) upon what their Maſter had overlooked.

A late eminent Phyſician, who hath borrowed this notion profeſſedly from this great man, acted a more modeſt and becoming part. He might pretend, by virtue of his Profeſſion, and ſtill more by his ſuperior ſkill in it, to a profounder inſight into *Nature:* At the ſame time, *Theology* being in another department, he was the more excuſable, if he did not ſee all that this *Divine* Science oppoſed to the Opinion; an Opinion, which might be ſaid to deſcend to him, by inheritance from his great name-ſake and relation: whoſe conciſeneſs, ſtrength, and modeſty of reaſoning, he hath ſo well copied, that to confute objections ſo borrowed, will be to overthrow the whole Syſtem of the *Antidemoniac* Party *.

In his *Medica Sacra*, he hath a chapter *de dæmoniacis*; in which he hath treated the Evangelic Hiſtory with all that decency and reverence which becomes a true Scholar and a ſerious Profeſſor of the Chriſtian Faith.

The firſt obſervation I ſhall make, in the entrance on his argument, is general; and will ſerve to confute all who have written on the Queſtion. It is this—Our Antidemoniaſts reaſon upon the caſe, not as they find it recorded by the *Evangeliſts*, but as they ſee it deſcribed only in a treatiſe of Medicine, by Aretæus, Fernelius, or any other of the faculty, where it ſtands unconnected with all *moral* as well as *religious* inquiries. But it hath been ſhewn at large, that theſe *demoniacal poſſeſſions* have a cloſe relation to the Doctrine of Redemption; and were therefore reaſonably to be expected at the firſt promulgation of the Gospel. This ſets the matter on quite another footing: and that plauſible reaſoning, which attends the

* "Ut redeam autem ad Dæmoniacos; non mea eſt, profecto, ſed aliorum ante me pietate & doctrina preſtantium virorum ſententia quam hic propono. Et proximo quidem ſæculo, inter noſtrates etiam Josephus Meadus, Theologus, rerum ſacrarum cognitione, nulli ſecundus, luculenta diſſertatione eam propugnabit. *Cum ex eadem, igitur ac ille, familia ſim oriundus*, &c."—Præf. in Med. Sacr. p. ix. Authore Richardo Mead.

learned

learned perſon's repreſentation, entirely diſappears, when we put the caſe as it was in fact.

1. This proper precaution, againſt ſo defective and foreign a repreſentation of the caſe, being premiſed, I now proceed to the reaſoning employed by our learned Phyſician to diſcredit the common Opinion of a *real poſſeſſion*.

His firſt argument ſtands on the extent of the Superſtition, which gave birth to ſo many *imaginary poſſeſſions*. " * It had not only infected the " *Moſaic* Religion in particular, but had over-run *paganiſm* in general." " As to the Jews, who were wont to aſcribe whatever there was of pro- " digious in *nature*, to the MINISTRY OF ANGELS, they were eaſily brought " to believe, that thoſe dire diſeaſes, which infected the Mind and Body " equally and at once, and whoſe cauſes were unknown, could be no " other than the work of the DEVIL †."—Let us allow all this—Let us allow that the Jews, at the time of Chriſt, were very ſuperſtitious in this matter. But then the learned Doctor, in his turn, will allow, that the Teachers of the Goſpel, in the fulneſs of their inſpiration, muſt needs be ſecure from an error, which ſo dreadfully affected the Religion they were intruſted to propagate, as *Demonianiſm* did, if it were an error. And if ſo, they *knowingly* and deſignedly gave it countenance and ſupport. But how that will agree with their character and office, we ſhall ſee, as we go along.

Our Learned Doctor tells us further, " that the Jews not only gave credit to the works of the *Devil*, but believed in the *miniſtry* of ANGELS likewiſe."—This ſeems to be one of thoſe ſlips of the pen, to which Truth ſometimes betrays thoſe who write moſt cautiouſly againſt her; eſpecially when they act the part of Believers; which, however, I will not ſuſpect was the caſe here. For the *Old Teſtament*, which the learned Doctor reverences equally with the *New*, bears ample teſtimony to the *real miniſtry of*

* At non Judæi tantum, ſed et aliis etiam gentibus in uſu fuit inſanos pro demoniacis habere, p. 76. A Chaldæis quidem ad Phœnices, poſtea ad Egyptios propagata, ad Græcos deinde, hinc ad Romanos aliaſque demum gentes temporis progreſſu Damoniaca iſta Religio pervenit, p. 74.

— † Judæi autem, ſiquid faceret *Natura*, ad ANGELORUM *ſupremi Dei Miniſtrorum* operam referri ſoliti, facile in animum ſibi inducere poterant, ut diras quaſdam crederent ægritudines quæ mentem ſimul et corpus læderent, et quarum cauſas cognoſcere nequirent, ab angelorum malorum ἐνεργείαις exoriri, p. 74.

Angels;

Angels; and with ſuch circumſtances attending it, as will not permit a Believing Caviller to evade it, by having recourſe to *viſion*, *figure*, or *accommodation*. For if the *Angel* who waylaid Balaam may be reduced to a duſky dream, thoſe whom Abraham entertained in Broad daylight were more ſubſtantial. When, therefore, the learned Perſon puts the miniſtry and malice of good and bad angels on the ſame footing, he muſt confeſs that, if the *reality* of the former be proved, the *reality* of the latter will follow.

As to the abounding Superſtition, in this matter, both amongſt *Jews* and *Gentiles*, I do not ſee how that, in the leaſt, alters the caſe. The *Jews*, of this time, by a more enlarged and unreſtrained Commerce with their Pagan neighbours, had defiled the purity of their holy Religion by many opinions borrowed from the Gentile *Philoſophers*. Thus they took, we may well ſuppoſe, the *Doctrine of Demons* from Plato, and the pre-exiſtence (if not a *future ſtate*) from Pythagoras. Notwithſtanding, it is certain, that both *Demoniacal poſſeſſions* and *future rewards and puniſhments* are equally ſupported by the acts and doctrine of Jeſus and his Diſciples.

This too, let me obſerve—The Doctrines of the Fall and of the Redemption (the two principles on which our holy religion riſes) are interwoven into the ſubſtance of the Chriſtian Faith. If therefore we can ſuppoſe *Demonianiſm* to be only a thread-bare fable, new-dreſſed, and offered, by way of *accommodation*, to amuſe the followers of the *Goſpel*, I cannot ſee what hinders our ſuppoſing, with Synesius, a *future ſtate* itſelf to be no more. Both Opinions had the advantage of old prejudice in their favour. Yet if only one of them were true (namely, that of a *future ſtate*), and the other of *Demonianiſm*, taught but by way of *accommodation*, we ſee, it could hold its ground no otherwiſe than from the *difficulty* of erafing it from the popular belief: yet ſo uncomfortable a doctrine, one ſhould think, might be removed with very little trouble.

Nay, Jeſus was even invited to help forward, as it were, its diſcredit, had it been only a deluſion. A Father * miſtook his Son's diſorder to be Lunacy, when, according to the Hiſtorian, it was a diabolic poſſession. And as ſuch, Jeſus treats it. *He rebukes the* Devil, *who departed out of the Child, and he was cured from that very hour.* And to prevent all miſtake in this matter, when the Father had told Jeſus that his Diſciples could not cure the *Child*, our Lord, after upbraiding his followers for their *want of*

* Matt. xvii. 15.

faith,

faith, tells them, however, that this *miracle* of *diſpoſſeſſion*, the moſt difficult of all, required a more extraordinary preparation for the work, than any other, by acts of piety and humiliation. For which aſſertion an obvious reaſon may be aſſigned, this *victory* over *Satan* being a certain mark, that the *Redemption* was compleated and accompliſhed, this evidence of it was fitly reſerved to be beſtowed on the moſt perfect of the followers of Chriſt. Yet had the Satanic part been only a popular fancy, Jeſus here might have decried it with advantage, while he had the Father of the ſufferer on his ſide; who conſidered his Son's diſeaſe as a *Lunacy* only.

It may be ſaid, perhaps, that the Doctrines of a *future ſtate*, and that of *Demoniacal poſſeſſions*, which I put upon the ſame footing of Credibility (becauſe the Goſpel hath ſo put them), differ in this, that a *future ſtate* may be proved by natural reaſon, which *Demoniacal poſſeſſions* cannot.—But what doth this objection infer more than this? that a *future ſtate* makes part of NATURAL RELIGION; and *Demoniacal poſſeſſions*, a part of the REVEALED.

2. The ingenuous Diſcourſer brings another objection to theſe *poſſeſſions*—Having collected together all the SYMPTOMS of this diſorder, from *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke*, he concludes thus—"All theſe are the *Symptoms* of a "natural diſorder. They are more ſurpriſing, indeed, than thoſe of other "diſorders, yet nothing ſupernatural *."—His learned Fellow Collegiate, Dr. *J. Freind*, treating the ſame ſubject, after he hath given us, from Ætius and Oribaſius, a deſcription of the madneſs called *Lycanthropy*, of which, one of the moſt ſtriking SYMPTOMS was a fondneſs to *wander amongſt the Sepulchres of the dead*, adds—*the Dæmoniac in the Scriptures, who was* POSSESSED WITH A LIKE SORT OF MADNESS, *is repreſented as having his dwelling amongſt the Tombs* †.

The opinion of theſe two learned Naturaliſts is founded, we ſee, in this circumſtance—"that the *Symptoms* of a demoniacal poſſeſſion are the ſame "with thoſe of ſome natural diſorders."—But now, if *evil ſpirits* were permitted to diſturb the vital functions of the human frame, whether in the ſolids, the fluids, or in both together; can we have any conception how this could be effected without cauſing or occaſioning, in *ſupernatural diſor-*

* —Inſanorum ſunt hæc omnia; utrum vero a Dæmoniis, an vi morbi provenerint, diſceptatur—neque enim alius quiſquam inter omnes, qui humanum genus infeſtant, morbus tam naturæ vim excedere videtur, p. 66.

† Hiſt. of Phyſic, Part I. p. 16—21.

ders, the very ſame SYMPTOMS which accompany *natural maladies?* Theſe Symptoms, in both caſes, muſt ariſe from the diſturbance of the material Frame, and can ariſe no otherwiſe; and thoſe diſturbances, whether produced by a ſpiritual Agent, or by material cauſes, muſt produce the ſame *ſenſible* effects. *Madneſs*, for inſtance, whether occaſioned by the malignity of an intelligent Agent *ab extra*, or by diſcordant humours *ab intra*, will be ſtill *madneſs*, and accompanied with the ſame Symptoms. That appearance, therefore, which muſt accompany a *Demoniacal poſſeſſion*, IF REAL, can never by any rules of logic be converted into a reaſonable argument for the falſehood of ſuch a poſſeſſion.

It is worth obſervation, that one of the *Evangeliſts* being a Phyſician, our learned Critic, by a very becoming partiality, prefers him to the reſt. St. LUKE (he tells us) being ſuperior to them *for the purity and accuracy of his expreſſion, when there is occaſion to ſpeak of diſtempers, or of the cure of them; and is more particular in reciting all the miracles of our Saviour in relation to healing, than the other Evangeliſts are* *.

All this is true; and yet St. Luke ſpeaks the very ſame language with the reſt concerning *demoniacal poſſeſſions*. Now if the *Goſpel Demoniacs* were men only labouring under natural diſorders, a Phyſician, by his deeper inſight into Nature, with the aſſiſtance of inſpiration to boot, was very likely to have diſcovered the miſtake; and for the glory of his art as likely to have recorded it: eſpecially as the detection of it was the overturning a hurtful Superſtition. And we know how ready theſe benevolent Gentlemen have ever been to detect VULGAR ERRORS.—Not to inſiſt, at preſent, that St. Luke was guided, in ſo good a work, by a ſtronger paſſion than *honour for his profeſſion*, as a Phyſician, that is, *a love for truth*, as an Evangeliſt.

This, as we ſay, muſt have been the caſe in *diabolic poſſeſſions*, where the *Body only* was thus ſupernaturally affected. Yet in thoſe, where the *mind* alone, or equally with the *body*, ſuffered by theſe diſorders, I confeſs, we might expect ſome extraordinary marks or ſymptoms of ſupernatural Agency, when it was for the purpoſe of the EVIL SPIRIT to diſplay his Power. Here the *immaterial* principle within us affords larger room, and more conveniences to be acted upon, by an exterior agent: although the irregular efforts of the mind itſelf are ſo wonderful as to be frequently miſtaken for a foreign agency.

* Hiſt. Phyſ. Part I. p. 223—225.

Yet

Yet this notwithſtanding, there are, in theſe mental diſorders, powers exhibited, that can never be miſtaken, by a careful obſerver, for *its own*.

Some of which are, in fact, recorded to have been exerted; in order, as it were, to confute theſe learned men, who ſeem to think we ought to reject all *diabolic poſſeſſions* but ſuch as are aſcertained by Symptoms ſupernatural.

An inſtance of ſuch we have in * the *Damſel poſſeſſed with the Spirit of* DIVINATION, *who brought her Maſter much gain* by SOOTHSAYING. This Woman, Paul diſpoſſeſſed, and ſo ſpoiled her Maſter's trade; who thereupon raiſed a fierce perſecution againſt the Apoſtle.

The *ſymptoms* of *Divination* and *Soothſaying*, that is, telling of things abſent, and foretelling things future, were certainly ſupernatural; and, for ſuch, muſt be acknowledged by the Objectors; who I hope will not yet forget the Perſonages, they have aſſumed, of Believers: againſt whom only this reaſoning on the *Demoniacs* is directed and addreſſed.

Having now ſeen what theſe learned Writers have to oppoſe to *my* Syſtem of the Goſpel-Demoniacs:

I crave leave, in the next place, to beſpeak their attention to what I have to urge againſt *theirs*. Enough hath been ſaid to ſhew that this is no trifling or unimportant Queſtion.

The untoward conſequences being theſe, which unavoidably follow the Conceſſion, that Jeſus and his Diſciples did only *accommodate* themſelves to the fanciful and ſuperſtitious opinions of the times, in placing natural diſtempers in the viſionary Claſs of *Supernatural*.

1. Unbelievers may conclude (and by too many they will be ſuppoſed not to conclude amiſs) that much advantage is hereby gained over the Evidences of our Faith.—While it is believed, from the teſtimony of the Evangeliſts, that *Jeſus caſt out Devils, and healed ſuch as were poſſeſſed with them*, that plauſible ſubterfuge againſt his miraculous cures, which pretends that the relief afforded † . . . . .

* Acts xvi. 16, & ſeq.

† See Sermon *On the Fall of Satan*, which completes this Note.

INDEX

TO THE

DIVINE LEGATION.

ABIMELECH, account of him, vol. ii. p. 357.
Abraham, a brief hiſtorical view of the call of God to him and his family, ii. 230.
——— by ſome authors taken for Zoroaſter, ii. 654.
——— ſuppoſed by M. Fourmont to be Cronon, ii. 717.
——— the true meaning of the bleſſing pronounced on him, pointed out, iii. 375.
——— expoſition of the hiſtory of the command to ſacrifice his ſon Iſaac, iii. 371, 391.
——— explanation of "*Our Father Abraham wiſhed to ſee my day*," iii. 374.
——— ſummary of his hiſtory, iii. 378.
——— the import of God's revelation to him explained, iii. 381, 384.
——— in what ſenſe ſaid by Chriſt to have ſeen his day, iii. 390, 398.
——— reply to objections againſt the hiſtorical truth of his relation, iii. 397.
——— three diſtinct periods of his hiſtory pointed out, iii. 399.
——— an advocate for toleration, iii. 509.
——— ſummary of his hiſtory, iii. 566.
Abraxas, (Egyptian Amulet) deſcribed, ii. 450.
Academics and Pyrrhonians, their principles compared, ii. 31.
Academies, Greek, their founders and various ſects, ii. 31.
——— on what principles erected, ii. 36.
Academy Old and Peripatetics, their conformity, ii. 95.
Academy, old and new, their conformity, i. 244.
Actions, ſignal inſtance of divine inſtruction conveyed by them in the caſe of Abraham, iii. 371.
——— typical and ſignificative diſtinguiſhed, iii. 412.
——— their eloquence illuſtrated by an anecdote from the Spartan hiſtory, iii. 554.
——— and by another from the Roman hiſtory, iii. 555.
Adoption, account of the practice of, in antient and modern times, i. 240.
Adoration, Prideaux's account of the antient form of, ii. 475.
Æmilianus, character of, i. 308.
Æneas, expoſition of the ſtory of his deſcent into hell, i. 228.
—— enquiry into the nature of the poem of the Æneid, i. 229.
—— the image of a perfect lawgiver conveyed in him, i. 234.
—— perſonally alludes to Auguſtus, i. 244.
—— deſcription of his ſhield, i. 296.
Æſculapius, obſervation on the antient ſtory and character of, i. 306.
Africans, deductions from their knowledge of a future ſtate notwithſtanding their barbariſm, i. 336.
Alcæus, why confounded with Hercules, ii. 508.

Alexander the Great, the probable motive of his communication to his mother the ſecrets of the myſteries, i. 187.
Alexander the Great, the ſtories of the exploits of Bacchus and Hercules in the Indies deſigned to aggrandize him, ii. 506.
Allegories, often imputed when never intended, i. 333.
—— —— for what purpoſe introduced in the antient Paganiſm, ii. 196.
—— —— adopted by Chriſtians in the interpretation of ſcripture, ii. 199.
—— —— religious, diſtinguiſhed, iii. 415.
—— —— argument deduced from the general paſſion for, iii. 465.
—— —— controverſial reflections on their nature with reference to Job, and the Ode of Horace, "*O Naves referunt*," iii. 517.
Alliance of Church and State, mutual inducements to enter into, i. 406.
—— —— fundamental articles in, i. 413.
Alphabets, origin of, accounted for, ii. 403, 427.
—— —— political, ii. 427.
—— —— ſacred, ii. 430.
—— —— reaſon for diſcrediting the notion of their invention by the Iſraelites, ii. 436.
—— —— invention of, prior to the time of Moſes, ii. 436.
—— —— Hebrew, formed by Moſes from an improvement on the Egyptian, ii. 437.
America, remarks on the religion of the natives of, i. 132.
—— the foreſts of, a good nurſery for philoſophers and free-thinkers, i. 454.
—— remarks on the language of, ii. 695.
Amos, a clear deſcription of a particular providence quoted from the book of, iii. 114.
Anatomy, practiſed and ſtudied by the antient Egyptians, ii. 374.
Animal food, Sir Iſaac Newton's opinion of the introduction of it into Egypt refuted, ii. 548.
Animal worſhip, origin of, accounted for, ii. 190.
—— —— true origin of, amongſt the Egyptians, ii. 459—486.
—— —— images of animals firſt worſhipped, ii. 461.
—— —— afterwards the animals themſelves, ii. 463.
—— —— various opinions of the antients of its origin, ii. 469.
Anſcharius, St. anecdote of, i. 463.
Antients, enquiry into their opinions concerning the immortality of the ſoul, ii. 101.
Antoninus, Emperor, motives on which he was deſirous of initiation in the Eleucinian myſteries, i. 174.
—— —— obſervations on his reflections on the Chriſtians, i. 441.
—— —— his reflections on death, ii. 70.
—— —— his notion of the human ſoul, ii. 114.
Apis, the ſymbol of the Egyptian God Oſiris, ii. 461.
Apollo, explanation of thoſe oracles of his which were quoted by Euſebius from Porphyry, i. 195.
Apollo Pythian, his oracles paralleled with the prophecies of ſcripture, by Middleton, iii. 420.
—— —— Dr. Middleton's opinion expoſed, iii. 420.
Apologue or *Fable*, its uſe in oratory, ii. 409.
—— its analogy to hieroglyphic writing, ii. 409.
—— its improvement and contraction in ſimile and metaphor, ii. 411.
—— its change to parable. ii. 441.
Apotheoſis, Civil, the origin of, i. 134, 192.
—— when beſtowed on deceaſed heroes among the Egyptians, ii. 484.
Apuleius, general intention of his metamorphoſis, i. 299.
—— —— his perſonal character, i. 304.
—— enquiry into his prejudices againſt Chriſtianity, i. 307.
—— his motives for defending Paganiſm and myſteries, i. 361.
—— —— foundation of his allegory of the golden aſs, i. 313.
—— the corrupt ſtate of the myſteries in his time, i. 329.
—— ſtory of, i. 314.
—— moral of his ſtory, i. 325.
Arbitrary will, Zeno the patron of, i. 81.
Areopagus, practice of that court, i. xi.
—— remarks on the nature of that juriſdiction, i. 409.
—— conjectures on the firſt founding of that court, i. 444.
Argument internal, defined, iii. 130.
Ariſtophanes, review of the diſpute between him and Socrates, i. xvi.
Ariſtotle, character of him and his philoſophy, ii. 68.
—— his opinion of the human ſoul, ii. 111.
—— his diſtinction between mind and intellect, ii. 112.
Ark, the fatal effects of amongſt the Philiſtines, iii. 55.

Arthur, King, and William the Conqueror, the ſimilar outlines of their characters, ii. 499.
Article, ſeven, of the Church of England, an expoſition of, iii. 369.
——— directed againſt the Manichean error, iii. 369.
Arts, the inventors of, where placed in Elyſium, by Virgil, i. 286.
Aſs carries myſteries, origin of that proverb, i. 247.
Aſtronomy Jewiſh, obſervations on, iii. 297.
Atheiſm, examination of Bayle's arguments for, i 75.
——— an examination of Plutarch's account of the origin of, ii. 155.
——— Plutarch's parallel between it and ſuperſtition, ii. 156.
——— Lord Bacon's parallel between it and ſuperſtition, ii. 172.
Atheiſts, whether capable of diſtinguiſhing the moral difference of good and evil, i. 75.
——— whether deſerving puniſhment from the hand of God, i. 93
——— the effect of his principles on his conduct compared with the fataliſt, i. 104.
——— their moral conduct accounted for, i. 105.
——— ſummary of their diſpute with the divines, i. 124.
——— their opinion of the human ſoul, ii. 101.
Athenians, the moſt religious people of Greece, i. 171, 176.
——— copy of their teſt oath, i. 222.
——— law relating to the introduction of foreign worſhip, i. 444.
——— their behaviour and proſperity and adverſity, iii. 278.
Atomic theory, a Greek invention, ii. 120, 145.
Atoſſa, her invention of letters fabulous, ii. 692.
Attributes Divine, examination of Lord Bolingbroke's notions of, i. 338.
Augury of Safety, Dion Caſſius's account of, ii. 251.
Aurelius, Emperor, his opinion of the firmneſs of the Chriſtians, ii. 302.
Auſtin, St. his ingenious definition of language and letters, ii. 405.
Author, the proper objects of his writings, i. xxvii.
——— on the knowledge of old ones from the phraſes they make uſe of, iii. 251.
——— from the ſcenery introduced, iii. 253.

B.

Bacchanalian Rites, origin of the impieties committed in them, i. 215.
——— repreſentation of them in Virgil's, i. 299.
——— Plutarch's account of their Vigils, i. 300.
——— the Romans in their edicts againſt them careful not to violate the rights of toleration, i. 447.
Bacchus, oath of the prieſteſſes of, i. 443.
——— his exploits in the Indies invented to aggrandize the glory of Alexander, ii. 506.
——— his identity confounded with Oſiris, ii. 511.
——— reaſons for proving him to be Noah, ii. 712.
Bacon, Lord Chancellor, examination of his parallel between atheiſm and ſuperſtition, ii. 172.
Balaam, his prophecy, Numb. xxvi. 17, expounded, ii. 446.
——— obſervation on the ſtory of his aſs, ii. 680.
——— his wiſh *to die the death of the righteous* explained, iii. 330.
Baniſhment, how far a puniſhment for offences committed againſt ſociety, i. 59.
Baptiſm, the importance of, eſtabliſhed, iii. 235.
Baucis and Philemon, whence that fable derived, i. 45.
Bayle, his character as a writer, i. 74.
—— examination of his arguments to prove Atheiſm not deſtructive to ſociety, i 75.
—— his reflections on toleration, iii. 20.
Bembine Table, a deſcription of it, contained in Ezekiel's viſions, ii. 579.
Bennet, ſecretary, how brought into diſgrace. i xvii
Bentley, the real exiſtence of Zaleucus, and the authenticity of his remains defended againſt him, i. 118.
Bible, how differently repreſented by Free thinkers, i. xxxii.
—— ſummary view of, iii. 145.
—— ſee *Scriptures*,
Bolingbroke, Lord, vindication of divines from his charge of confederating with Atheiſts, i. 120.
——— examination of ſome of the principles of his firſt philoſophy, i 338.
——— Monteſquieu's letter to him, ii. 237.

Bolingbroke, his obſervation on the inſufficiency of the Moſaic law to reſtrain the people, anſwered, iii. 54.
——— conſequences of a law upon his principles, iii. 56.
——— examination of his notion concerning the omiſſion of the doctrine of a future ſtate in the Moſaic diſpenſation, iii. 168.
Bond, humorous anecdote of a forged one, ii. 130.
Brute-worſhip, its ſymbolical nature explained, ii. 461.
——— opinions of the antients of the origin of it in Egypt, ii. 469.
Bryant, his opinion of the origin of human ſacrifices, exploded, iii. 739.
Buffoonry, obſervation on the tendency of it, illuſtrated in the inſtances of Socrates and Lord Chancellor Hyde, i. xvi.
Butler, ill effects reſulting from his ſatire againſt fanaticiſm, i. xvi.

C.

Cadmus, whence he obtained his alphabet, ii. 437.
Cæſar, Julius, his diſavowal of the belief of a future ſtate, in the ſenate, ii. 28.
—— his account of the religion of antient Gaul, ii. 709.
—— ——— of antient Germany, ii. 711.
Calf, Golden, what divinity repreſented by it ii. 573.
Calves of Dan and Bethel, why the Jews were ſo invincibly attached to them, ii. 575.
—— why two of them erected by Jeroboam, ii. 580.
Canaanites, why ordered to be exterminated, ii. 566,
Canadians, remarks on their religion, i. 132.
Cardan, his argument to prove the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul deſtructive to ſociety, i. 72.
Caſaubon, his account of the tranſlation of the Pagan myſteries into the Chriſtian religion, i. 226.
Cato, mentioned in the Æneis, enquiry whether the Cenſor or of Utica, i. 298.
—— his reply to Cæſar's diſavowal of the belief of a future ſtate, in the ſenate, ii. 28.
Cavalry, the ſituations, proper and improper for the uſe of, ii. 544.
Caylus, Count, his opinions relating to the Egyptian characters, ii. 672.
Celſus, his character compared with that of Origen, i. 169.
—— his remark on Plato's doctrine of a future ſtate, ii. 66.
Cerberus, in the Æneis, explained, i. 265.
Ceres, Eleuſinian, her temple deſcribed, i. 294.
—— her ſtory, i. 295.
Cervantes, ill conſequence reſulting from his ſatire againſt Knight Errantry, i. xvi.
Chaos, a deſcription of, from Beroſus, i. 259.
Charlevoix, F. his ſentiments reſpecting the civilization of the North American Indians, i. 470.
Charon, expoſition of the character of, in the Æneis, i. 264.
Cheops king of Egypt, how he raiſed money for the erection of his Pyramids explained, ii. 713.
Children, the puniſhment of for the crimes of their parents, on what principle only to be vindicated, ii. 283.
Chineſe language, an improvement of the antient Egyptian hieroglyphics, ii. 395.
——— improvement of, to its preſent ſtate, ii. 396.
——— its oppoſite progreſs from that of the Egyptian hieroglyphical writing, to what owing, ii. 399.
——— to what the different accounts we have received of it is owing, ii. 400.
——— account of, by Mr. Freret, ii. 401.
——— —— by P. Parennin, ii. 401.
——— —— by M. Gaubil, ii. 401.
——— —— by P. Magaillans, ii. 402.
——— why not further improved, ii. 404.
——— hieroglyphical marks not for words but things, ii. 417.
——— Du Halde's obſervations on, ii. 449.
——— the reverence of the natives for their ancient characters, ii. 454.
——— the ancient characters of greatly venerated by the natives, ii 668.
Chineſe printing, Voltaire's account of, ii. 674.
Chriſt, remarks on the uſe he made of his two-fold credentials, ſcripture and miracles, iii. 377.
—— made no uſe of traditions, iii. 377.
—— important argument drawn from his converſation with two diſciples in their journey to Emmaus after his reſurrection, iii. 406.
—— an expoſition of his prophecy of his firſt and ſecond coming, iii. 425.
—— the uſe to be made of miracles and prophecies in proof of his being the Meſſiah, iii. 582.

Chriſt, the light in which he was held by Pilate, iii. 591.
—— redemption by, had a retroſpect from the fall, iii. 649.
—— an act of grace, not of debt, iii. 650.
—— the means employed in that great work enquired into, iii. 652.
—— his ſacrifice on the croſs conſidered, iii. 669.
—— the Socinians opinion of the death of Chriſt examined, iii. 683.
—— his account of the laſt judgment examined, iii. 697.
—— the miracle of his reſurrection conſidered, iii. 711.
—— his miracles of caſting out devils or evil ſpirits, conſidered, iii. 714.
—— his miracles of healing natural diſeaſes conſidered, iii. 716.
—— his temptation conſidered, iii. 717.
Chriſtian religion, how eſteemed by the antient Pagans, i. 308.
———— how the evils of perſecution aroſe in it, i. 437.
———— firſt received with complaceney by the Pagans, i. 438.
———— firſt incurred hatred by claiming to be the only true religion, i. 439
———— character of by Tacitus, i. 440.
———— occaſion of its being perſecuted, i. 440.
———— perſecuted both by good and bad princes, i. 464.
———— the views and conſequences of bringing in Pagan antiquity to aſſiſt in defending it, ii. 14..
———— their nocturnal aſſemblies vindicated from the miſrepreſentations of Dr. Taylor, chancellor of Lincoln. ii 301.
———— firſt occaſion of the nocturnal aſſemblies of Chriſtians, ii. 304.
———— Pliny's doubts of the manner of, proceeding againſt Chriſtians, ii. 310.
———— an enquiry into the methods taken by Providence to propagate it, ii. 599.
———— the ignorance of the propagators, the means of advancing it, ii. 600.
———— its doctrine ſhadowed under the rites of the Moſaic law, iii. 238.
———— its evidences why not at all diſcloſed by Providence, iii. 407.
———— and Judaiſm inſeparable, iii. 407.
———— the ultimate end of Judaiſm, iii. 417.
———— its nature and genius explained, iii. 589.
Chronology, *Egyptian*, a miſtake of Sir Iſaac Newton illuſtrated by a caſe ſtated in ſimilar circumſtances, ii. 499.
Church, its inducements for accepting an alliance with the ſtate, i. 410.
———— what it receives from the ſtate, i. 414.
———— what it communicates to the ſtate, i. 416.
Cicero, his opinion of the end of the law, i. 162.
———— his expoſition of the Pagan theology, i. 188, 190.
———— his teſtimony in favour of the Eleuſinian myſteries, i. 211.
———— his reply to Cæſar's diſavowment of a belief of a future ſtate, in the ſenate, ii. 28.
———— his opinion of academics, ii. 33.
———— his remark on the Phædo of Plato, ii. 61.
———— the difficulties in coming to the knowledge of his real ſentiments of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, ii. 72.
———— the various characters he ſuſtained in his life and writings, ii. 75.
———— where his true ſentiments are to be expected, ii. 77.
———— his idea of the human ſoul, ii. 78.
———— his opinion of the obligation of an oath, under the belief of the immutability of the divine nature, ii. 87.
———— his account of the firſt advancer of the notion of τὸ ἓν, ii. 122.
———— accuſed by Lactantius of duplicity, ii. 240
———— remarks on Middleton's life of, ii. 249
———— his account of the origin of brute worſhip controverted, ii. 469.
Circumciſion, a patriarchal inſtitution, ii. 586.
———— why appointed, ii. 615.
———— when firſt enjoined, iii. 380.
Citizen, how man ought to be educated to make a good one, i. 455.
Claim of right and freegift, the difference, iii. 650.
Clemens Alexandrinus, his account of the Egyptian characters and writing compared with that of Porphyry, ii. 112.
———— his account of a remarkable ſymbolical meſſage ſent to Darius ii. 129.
Clerc le, his notions of the Pythagorean metempſychoſis proved erroneous, ii. 55.
———— his opinion of the theocratic government of the Jews confuted, iii. 71.
Clergy, abuſed by the Freethinkers, i. xx.
———— the abuſe of, an inſult upon civil ſociety, i xxiii.
———— the abuſe of, an evidence of a weak cauſe, i. xxiv.

Clergy, vindicated againſt Lord Belingbroke, i. 120.
——— their hard luck amongſt modern Freethinkers, i. 340.
Collins, his ill treatment of his friend Locke, i. xxi.
——— inconſiſtencies in his writings, i. xxx.
——— the validity of his aſſertions, that new religions are always grafted on old ones, &c. examined into, iii. 32.
——— characteriſed as a writer, iii. 413.
——— an examination of his diſcourſe on the ground and reaſons of the Chriſtian religion, iii. 413.
——— his obſervations on the allegorical writings of the antients, iii. 458.
——— theſe obſervations ſhewn to refute his objections againſt Chriſtianity, iii. 460.
Comets, their theory known by the ancient Egyptians, ii. 119.
Commentators on ſcripture, points recommended to their attention, iii. 343.
Condamine, his remarks on the Indians of America, i. 454.
Controverſy, the arts of Freethinkers in, i. ix.
——— the miſchief ariſing from carrying it on under aſſumed characters, i. xxviii.
——— when this practice may be juſtifiable, i. xxix.
Cretans, celebrate their myſteries openly, i. 207.
——— boaſt of Jupiter and other Gods being born amongſt them, i. 207.
——— the cuſtom of adopting youth among, i. 240.
Critias of Athens, ſome account of, and a tranſlation of his Iambics, ii, 148.
Crocodile, why worſhipped by the Egyptians, ii. 461.
Cromwell, his character contraſted with thoſe of his aſſociates, Fleetwood, Lambert, and Vane, ii. 178.
Cudworth, his teſtimony as to the ancient opinion of the ſoul's immortality, ii. 104.
——— corrected as to his obſervation on Plutarch, ii. 115.
——— the hiſtory of his intellectual ſyſtem, ii. 295.
Cupid and Pſyche, expoſition of the fable of, i. 328.
Cuſtom, remarkable inſtance from antiquity, of its power to erase the ſtrongeſt impreſſions of nature, i. 95.
Cuſtoms, a ſimilarity of, obſervable among diſtant nations, no argument of an actual communication between them, ii. 671.
Cuſtoms traductive, an enquiry into, ii. 652.

D.

Dacier, his notion of the Pythagorean metempſychoſis erroneous, ii. 56.
Darius, Cyrus's dream reſpecting him, ii. 457.
Dark ſayings, what that expreſſion imports in ſcripture, ii. 442.
David, why appointed to ſucceed Saul, ii. 595.
——— his title of *man after God's own heart* explained, ii. 595.
——— the chronology of facts relating to his introduction to Saul rectified, ii. 724.
Dead men, origin of the worſhip of traced, ii. 183.
Death, citations from the Stoics, ſhewing their notions concerning it, ii. 70.
Debtors, antient and modern treatment of, compared, i. 263.
——— the funeral rights denied to the antient whilſt the modern are buried alive, i. 263.
Dedication, of the ſecond edition of the books 1, 2, 3, of the Divine Legation, to the Earl of Hardwick, i. 1.
——— to the Free-thinkers, i. v.
——— of books 4, 5, 6, to Lord Mansfield, ii. 263.
——— of books 4, 5, 6, to the Jews, ii. 276.
Dedications, abſurdity of addreſſing them unſuitably, i. v.
Deification, when beſtowed on any hero of the Egyptians, ii. 480.
Deities, Pagan, whence derived, ii. 195. form of the antient ſtatues of, accounted for, ii. 194.
——— their ſpurious offspring accounted for, ii. 531.
——— local and tutelary, their worſhip always maintained even by ſojourners and conquerors, iii. 40.
Democritus and Epicurus, their doctrine of matter compared, ii. 253.
Demoniacs, the miracles of caſting out devils or evil ſpirits conſidered, iii. 714.
——— various opinions concerning them examined, iii. 773.
Demons, whence the doctrine of the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts ſo full of, ii. 97.
——— Apuleius's account of, ii. 98.
Deſcartes, not the inventor of the atomic philoſophy, ii. 121, 145.
Devoted, the command that *none devoted ſhall*

ſhall be redeemed, examined, iii. 747.
Diagoras, conſequence of his revealing the Orphic and Eleuſinian myſteries, i. 205.
Dido, remarks on her character in the Æneis, i. 256.
Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus, his diſtinction between eſtabliſhed and tolerated religions among the antients, i. 428.
Drama, its obligation to conform to nature in the delineation of characters, ii. 260.
Drama, writing remarks on, with reference to the book of Job, iii. 245, 249.
Dreams, Artemidorus's diviſion of, into ſpeculative and allegorical, ii. 455.
——— ſuperſtitious interpretation of, ii. 455.
——— grounds of this ſpecies of divination, ii. 456.

E.

Earthquakes ſaid by Pythagoras to be occaſioned by a ſynod of Ghoſts, ii. 25.
——— predicted by the taſte of well water, ii. 25.
——— on the predicting of, ii. 241.
Egypt, the myſteries firſt inſtituted there, i. 223.
—— by whom carried abroad, i. 223.
—— a religious war in, and the occaſion of it, i. 433.
—— original of animal worſhip in, i. 433.
—— the place whence the Grecian legiſlators, naturaliſts, and philoſophers, derived their knowledge, ii. 21.
—— an inquiry into the ſtate of the learning and ſuperſtition of, in the time of Moſes, ii. 349.
—— why intitled to priority among civilized nations, ii. 356.
—— ſcripture account of, ii. 357.
—— the antiquity and power of, as delivered in the Grecian writers, confirmed by ſcripture, ii. 359.
—— civil arts of, ii. 365.
—— a critical inquiry into the military uſages of, at the time of the Trojan war, ii. 538.
—— abounding in horſes before the conqueſt of Lybia, ii. 540.
—— why the Iſraelites were prohibited carrying horſes from, ii. 542.
—— the laws of Moſes why accommodated to the prejudices of the Jews, in favour of, ii. 583.
—— the ancient ſchool of legiſlation, ii. 642.
—— fundamental maxims in the religious policy of, ii. 643.
—— hereditary deſpotiſm preferred there, ii. 644.
—— the government not rendered deſpotic by Joſeph, ii. 660.
Egyptian characters, Kircher and Count Caylus, their opinions concerning, ii. 420, 672.
Egyptian heroes, the reaſon why the later obtained the names of their earlier Gods explained, ii. 501.
Egyptian hieroglyphics, how they came to be, and to conceal their learning, ii. 414, 418.
——— curiological and tropical, ii. 418.
——— ſymbolic, ii. 421.
——— their change of their ſtyle effected by this latter application of them, ii. 422.
Egyptian huſbandry, anecdote of, i. xxxiv.
Egyptian idolatry, deſcribed in Ezekiel's viſions, ii. 577.
Egyptian learning, that mentioned in ſcripture, and that mentioned in a correſponding manner by the Greek writers, the ſame, ii. 354.
——— no diſtinct diviſion of the ſciences in, ii. 375.
——— how preſerved from the knowledge of the people by the prieſts, ii. 440.
——— ſummary of, ii. 452.
Egyptian phyſicians, confined to diſtinct branches of the medical art, ii. 365.
——— their preventive method of practice, ii. 366.
——— their number accounted for, ii. 367.
——— confined to diſtinct branches of the medical art, ii. 371.
——— proved to compoſe an order of the prieſthood, ii. 374.
Egyptian prieſthood, account of, from Diodorus Siculus ii. 360.
——— confirmed by Moſes, ii. 361.
——— their rites, ii. 364.
Egyptian writing, the four kinds of, ii. 414.
Egyptians, a people moſt celebrated for the cultivation of religion, i. 131.
——— celebrated for religion in the moſt early times, their prieſts alſo their judges and magiſtrates, ii. 20.
——— examination into the degree of their ſcientific knowledge, ii. 118.
——— in what their wiſdom more eſpecially conſiſted, ii. 120.
——— among the firſt who taught the immortality of the ſoul, ii. 125.
——— why ſubject to incurable diſeaſes, ii. 367.

Egyptians, their funeral rites, ii. 384.
——— their ſacred dialect, ii. 439.
——— origin of animal worſhip among, ii. 459.
——— worſhippers of plants, ii. 459.
——— of chimerical beings, ii. 460.
——— local animal deities among, ii. 461.
——— their charge againſt the Grecians of ſtealing their Gods, with their mutual recriminations, ii. 529.
Eleuſinian myſteries, the general purpoſe of their inſtitution, i. 171.
——— requiſites for initiation into them, i. 173.
——— initiation into, deemed as neceſſary among the Pagans, as baptiſm among Chriſtians, i. 176.
——— why kept ſecret, i. 177.
——— the greater and the leſs, i. 179.
——— enquiry into the doctrines taught in the greater, i. 179.
——— negatively, i. 180.
——— poſitively, i. 182.
——— why aſpired to, by conſiderable perſonages, i. 184.
——— a detection of Polytheiſm, i. 185.
——— why the unity of deity concealed in them, i. 186.
——— the hiſtory narrated in them, what, i. 200.
——— the hymn ſung at, i. 202.
——— how they became corrupted, i. 212.
——— why abuſed by the fathers, i. 218.
——— under the inſpection of the civil magiſtrate, i. 219.
——— transferred into the Chriſtian religion, i. 221.
——— of the Egyptians and Grecians, the ſame, i. 223.
——— where invented, i 223.
——— by whom, i. 223.
——— offices in the celebration of, i. 224.
——— taught a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, i. 227.
——— initiation into, repreſented by poets allegorically, by deſcent into Hell, i. 243.
——— initiation into, compared with death, i. 289
——— alluded to by Solomon in Eccluſ. ch. iv. 17 18, i. 290.
——— the celebration of, a drama of the hiſtory of Ceres, i. 294.
——— the rites of contained in the Golden Aſs of Apuleius, i. 321.
——— magic rights in the corrupt ſtate of, i. 329.
Elias, the ſenſe in which he was predicted to come before the day of the Meſſiah aſcertained, iii. 443.
Elihu, why diſtinguiſhed from the other friends of Job, iii. 298.
——— his character, iii. 301.
Elijah, the difference of the account of his tranſlation and Enoch's accounted for, iii. 135.
Eliſha, expoſition of the adventure between him and Joaſh, iii. 573.
Eloquence, defined by Milton, ii. 264.
Elyſium, the deſcription of, in Virgil preferred to that in Homer, i. 284.
——— the ſeveral ſtations allotted to the happy by Virgil, i. 85.
Embalming, the Egyptian method of, ii. 371, 384.
——— this operation performed by the phyſicians, and the reaſon, ii. 372.
——— the antiquity of the general practice of proved, ii. 386.
Enigmas, required in the nature of God's diſpenſation to the Jews, ii. 442.
Enoch, the difference between the account of his tranſlation and that of Elijah accounted for, iii. 135.
Enthuſiaſm and fraud, the union of accounted for, ii. 176.
Epic poetry, Homer, Virgil, and Milton, the triumvirate of, i. 242.
Epictetus, his notion of death, ii. 70.
Epicurus, his doctrine of matter compared with that of Democritus, ii. 253.
Epiſtolic writing, account of the origin of, ii. 427.
Error, ridicule the proper means of detecting, i. xxxix.
Eſſential differences, Ariſtotle the patron of, i. 81.
Eſtabliſhments in religion, advantages of, ii. 269.
Euchariſtical ſacrifice, origin and nature of it explained, iii. 656.
Euhemerus, how ſubjected to the imputation of Atheiſm, i. 206.
——— examination of his conduct in diſcloſing the ſecrets of the myſteries, ii. 195.
Evander, obſervation on Virgil's account of his court, i. 238.
Eve, the creation of enquired into, iii. 615.
Evremond, St. examination of his remarks on the characters in the Æneis, i. 234.
Exodus, iii. 14, and vi. 3, expounded, ii. 568.
Expiatory ſacrifice, origin and nature of it explained, iii. 657.

Ezra,

Ezra, his writings pointed out, iii. 304.
——— ſuppoſed to be the writer of the book of Job, iii. 304.
——— alſo the books of Chronicles and Eſther, iii. 305.
——— by tradition among the Jews, the ſame perſon as Malachi, iii. 305.
——— enquiry who he was, iii. 512.
——— ſuppoſed to be the writer of the book of Job, iii. 512.
Ezekiel, and Jeremiah, the actions recorded to be performed by them to illuſtrate their prophecies accounted for, ii. 406.
——— his famous viſions, chap. 8, relating to the Jewiſh idolatry expounded, ii. 577.
——— God's reproaches to the Jews for their perverſeneſs and diſobedience, delivered by him, ii. 617.
——— the celebrated prophecy in his 20th chapter explained, ii 621.
——— his repreſentation of the Jewiſh idolatry, iii. 47, 50.
——— quotations from, in confirmation of a particular providence, iii. 114.
——— a paſſage in, predictive of the new diſpenſation, iii. 138.
——— his viſion of the dry bones explained, iii. 314.

F.

Fables, antient, an enquiry into the origin of, ii. 43.
Faith, ſummary view of the diſputes between it and morality, ii. 255.
—— defined from St. Paul, iii. 356.
—— the condition of the new covenant conſidered, iii. 688.
—— St. Paul and St. James's accounts reconciled, iii. 695.
Fall, inquired into, iii. 634.
Falſely condemned, their being aſſigned to purgatory accounted for, i. 271.
Fanaticiſm, ill effect reſulting from Butler's ſatire againſt fanaticiſm, i. xvi.
Fataliſts, the influence of the principles on the conduct of, compared with that of the Atheiſts, i. 104.
Fathers, Chriſtian, enquiry into their ſentiments of the human ſoul, ii. 207.
Fiction, from what motive employed by the antient lawgivers, ii. 732.
Figurative expreſſions, origin of, ii. 445, 448.
Firſt philoſophy, according to Sancho Panca, i. 340.
Firſt-philoſophy, according to Lord Bolingbroke, i. 338.
Fleetwood, Gent. his character, ii. 178.
Fool, its import in the Old Teſtament language, iii. 278.
Forfeitures, remarks on the laws of, in caſes of high treaſon, iii. 141.
Forgery, marks of, in antient writings, i. 152.
——— oppoſed to forgery by the primitive apologiſts for Chriſtianity, ii. 130.
Foſter, his notions of the Jewiſh theocracy examined, iii. 25.
Fourmont, M. his miſtake of the identity of Abraham with Cronos corrected, ii. 717.
Fraud, oppoſed to fraud by the primitive apologiſts, ii 129.
—— and enthuſiaſm, the union of accounted for, ii. 176.
Free gift and claim of right, the difference between, iii. 650.
Freethinkers, proper eſtimation of that character, i. vi.
——— their complaints of the want of liberty ill-founded, i. vii.
——— their principal abuſes of liberty pointed out, i. ix.
——— in claſſic times would have been ſtyled enemies to their country, i. xix.
——— their abuſe of the clergy, i. xix.
——— this abuſe the evidence of a weak cauſe, i. xxiv.
——— their profeſſions and their practice compared, i. xxv.
——— the multifarious characters they aſſume, i. xxviii.
——— both dogmatiſts and ſceptics, i. xxx.
Funeral rites, the great attention paid to them by the antients, i. 262.
——— of the Egyptians, deſcribed from Herodotus, ii. 384.
Future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, the doctrine of, neceſſary to the well-being of civil ſociety, i. 50, 66.
——— the importance of the doctrine of, to the well-being of ſociety believed by all the wiſeſt part of mankind, i. 127.
——— how taught in the myſteries, i. 171.
——— the antient legislators unanimous in the propagating the belief of, i. 451.
——— the ſages as unanimous in propagating the belief of, i. 451.
——— the ſages as unanimous in thinking the doctrine of, neceſſary to the well-being of ſociety, ii. 1.
——— Lord Shafteſbury's opinion of, ii. 6.
——— ſentiments of theiſtical philoſophers on, ii. 8.

Future ſtate, ſentiments of antiquity on the uſe of to ſociety, ii. 9.
——— Cæſar's diſbelief of, with Cato and Cicero's anſwers to him, ii. 28.
——— of all the antient Greek philoſophers only believed by Socrates, ii. 31.
——— from what cauſes diſbelieved by the antient Greek philoſophers, ii. 85.
——— conſidered as a moral deſignation, as neceſſarily implying puniſhments as rewards, ii. 92.
——— its being diſbelieved by the wiſeſt of the antients, no diſcredit to the Chriſtian doctrine of, ii. 141.
——— not of the number of thoſe doctrines taught by natural religion, ii. 142.
——— the benefits of that doctrine to the Gentile world, ii. 220.
——— ſupplied to the Jews by an extraordinary providence, ii. 221.
——— no part of the Moſaic diſpenſation, ii 457.
——— purpoſely omitted in the Moſaic diſpenſation, iii. 134.
——— the want of how ſupplied, iii. 137.
——— ſtrongly inculcated by the Suevi and Arabs, iii. 147.
——— poſitive declarations againſt the expectation of, inſtanced from the Jewiſh writers, iii. 148.
——— corroborated by the New Teſtament writers, iii. 154.
——— examination of Lord Bolingbroke's notion on the omiſſion of that doctrine in the Moſaic diſpenſation, iii. 168.
——— the doctrine of deducible by natural reaſons, iii. 184.
——— a review of the prejudices which have induced to the belief that it was taught in the Moſaic diſpenſation, iii. 233.
——— that taught by natural religion to be diſtinguiſhed from that taught by the Chriſtian Revelation, iii. 234.
——— its mention by Moſes and by the following writers to be diſtinguiſhed, iii. 239.
——— A review of thoſe paſſages in ſcripture urged to prove that it was taught in the Moſaic diſpenſation, iii. 317.
——— a liſt of texts urged by the rabbins in proof of its being taught under the Moſaic law, iii. 343.
——— an examination of the arguments founded on the 11th chapter of the Hebrews, to ſhew that it was taught by Moſes, iii. 355
——— that it was not taught in the Moſaic law, confirmed by the authorities of Grotius, Epiſcopius, Arnaud, and Bp. Bull, iii. 366.
Future ſtate, not contained in the Moſaic diſpenſation, iii. 470.
——— this omiſſion a proof of its divine origin, iii. 470.
——— Dr. Rutherforth's opinion, of Moſes not being ſtudious to conceal this doctrine, examined, iii. 542.
——— brought to light by the goſpel alone, iii. 611.
——— the origin and progreſs of that opinion enquired into, iii. 630.
——— a free gift not a claim of right, iii. 650.

G.

Gathered to the people, that phraſe explained, iii. 319.
Gaul, antient, enquiry into the deities of, ii. 516.
Geometry, on the origin of, ii. 551.
Germany, antient, Cæſar's account of the Gods of, ii. 711.
Glycho, account of the myſteries of, i. 295.
God, note on the various opinions of the human nature of, i. 373.
—— examination of Lord Bolingbroke's notions of the divine attributes, i. 338.
—— the diſbelief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments founded by the Greek philoſophers on his immutability, ii. 87.
—— whether endowed with human paſſions, ii. 90.
—— the diſtinction made by philoſophers between the *good* and the *juſt*, ii. 91.
—— a cenſure of thoſe who eſtimate his decrees by the ſtandard of their own ideas, ii. 177.
—— Eleuſinian myſteries, the only means of preſerving the doctrine of his unity, iii 3.
God of Iſrael, why repreſented with human affections, ii. 24, 568.
——— why he gave himſelf a name to the Jews, ii. 568.
——— the relation in which he ſtood to the jewiſh people, iii. 21.
——— not leſs benign to man under the Law, than under the Goſpel, iii 25.
——— how conſidered by the neighbouring nations, iii. 30.
——— his character as the God of Abraham, of Iſaac, and of Jacob explained, and the

the miſtakes concerning this text pointed out, iii. 345.
Gods of the Pagans, bad conſequences of the vicious examples of, i. 182.
——— who they were explained, i. 184.
——— three ſyſtems concerning, i. 186.
——— the fear of amongſt the Romans, ii. 3.
——— the neceſſity of a fear of to ſociety, ii. 7.
——— how ſo many immoralities came to be recorded of them, ii. 483.
——— account of the origin of local tutelary ones in Greece from Plato, ii 513.
Golden aſs of Apuleius, the moral of, i 252.
——— the foundation of that allegory, i. 313.
——— ſtory of, i. 313.
Golden Bough, in the Æneis, meaning of, i. 251.
Golden calf, account of it omitted by Joſephus, iii. 208.
Good, natural, requires human induſtry to prepare and apply it, i. 401.
Goſpel, the moral precepts of, the ſame with thoſe of natural religion, i. 117.
——— no juſtification by works under, iii. 362.
——— its nature and genius conſidered, iii. 612.
Grace, enquiry into the ſyſtem of, iii. 597.
Greece, when dead men firſt began to be deified there, i. 135.
——— the learning of, derived from Egypt, ii. 21.
——— much given to ſpeculative legiſlation, ii. 23.
——— remarks on the ſpecies of philoſophy cultivated there, ii. 23.
——— the religion of traced down to its original, ii. 512.
——— what it borrowed from Egypt, ii. 514.
——— the three diſtinguiſhed periods in the religion of, ii. 527.
——— charged by the Egyptians with ſtealing their Gods. ii. 529.
——— ignorant of the uſe of cavalry at the time of the Trojan war, ii. 539.
Grecian hiſtory, their accounts no otherwiſe to be credited than as corroborated by ſcripture, ii. 354.
——— an enquiry into the validity of their teſtimony concerning the antiquity of the Egyptian monarchy, ii. 353.
——— the confuſed chronology of the early part of, remarked, ii. 497.
Greek-philoſophy, a two-told doctrine taught in, external and internal, ii. 14.
Greek-philoſophy, account of from Macrobius, ii. 16.
——— progreſs of, ii. 21.
Greenland women, their language a refinement on that of the men, ii 600.
Grey, Dr. his notions concerning the book of Job controverted, iii. 261.
——— examination of his objections to the author of the D. L. account of the book of Job, iii. 524.
Grotius, his fatal miſinterpretations of the Jewiſh prophecies ſhewn, iii. 457.

H.

Hades, its different ſenſes in the Old and New Teſtaments pointed out, iii. 224.
Hagar, why ſhe named the angel who appeared to her Elroi, ii. 567.
Hardouin, his remarks on the ſtyle of the Chineſe language, ii. 449
Happineſs, the purſuit of, not the obligation to morality, i. 88.
Hare, Bp. his tract on the difficulties and diſcouragements which attend the ſtudy of the ſcriptures miſunderſtood, i. viii.
——— character of him, ii. 297.
——— his cenſure of Joſephus, iii. 108.
Hebrew, the uncertainty of that language, iii. 513.
Hebrew Alphabet, whence derived, ii. 437.
——— when the points were added to it, ii. 438.
Hebrews, the argument of St. Paul's epiſtle to, ſtated, iii. 355.
Hecate of the Greeks, account of, i. 261.
Heliopolis, the moſt famous college of the antient Egyptian prieſts, ii. 361.
——— the worſhip eſtabliſhed there, ii. 363.
Hell, its different meanings in the Old and in the New Teſtaments, iii. 335.
Hercules, ſtory of his interview with Jupiter, ii. 466.
——— the antient Egyptian, account why they were ſo many of that name, ii. 502.
Hereſies, Tertullian's account of the origin of, ii. 135.
Hermes Trismegiſtus, hiſtory of the books forged in the name of, ii. 127.
Hero-worſhip, the origin of traced, ii. 188.
——— complicated in its rites, ii. 489.
——— ſource of the low date of, ii 527.
Herod, the cauſe of his ſuppoſing jeſus to be John the Baptiſt riſen from the dead, explained, iii. 692.

Herodotus, his opinion of the origin of geometry, ii. 551.
Heroe, lives of, compared, ii. 499.
Heroes of antiquity, their characters compounded of enthuſiaſm and craft, ii. 75.
Heræ, (aſſemblies of the primitive Chriſtians), the nature of, explained, when and by whom ſuppreſſed, ii. 331.
Hezekiah, the name he gave to the brazen ſerpent accounted for, ii. 716.
——— detail of God's dealing with him, iii. 256.
Hieroglyphics, the firſt eſſay towards the art of writing, ii. 387.
——— found in uſe amongſt the Mexicans by the Spaniards, ii. 388.
——— found in Siberia, ii. 391.
——— this picturesque method of expreſſion abridged by the Egyptians, ii. 391.
——— brief view of their types and alluſions, ii. 392.
——— mythologic account of the origin of, ii. 392.
——— improved in the Chineſe language, ii. 395.
——— ſource of the different genius of, from the Chineſe characters, ii. 399.
——— ſtood for things and not for ſounds, ii. 402, 462.
——— uſed by all nations, ii. 403.
——— how they came to be applied by the Egyptians to conceal their learning, iii. 414.
——— their influence on language, ii. 449.
——— the origin of brute worſhip, ii. 459, 462.
——— on the origin and progreſs of, iii. 555.
Hierophant, of the myſteries, his office, ii. 468.
Hippocrates, his opinion of the Cnidian ſentences, ii. 378.
——— deductions from, as to the antient practice of phyſic, ii. 379.
——— author of the diætetic part of medicine, ii. 382.
Holy Spirit, enquiry into the nature, office, and operations of, iii. 701.
Homer, excelled by Virgil in the deſcription of Elyſium, i. 284.
——— his repreſentations of the antient Greek phyſicians aſcertained and accounted for, ii. 376.
Homer, whence he collected his materials, ii. 713.
Hooker, his cenſure of thoſe who eſtimate the diſpenſations of Providence by the teſt of their own conceptions, ii. 177.
——— his ſentiments of the practical uſe of religion, ii. 211.
Horace, the double ſenſe in his famous ode, "*O navis referent*," &c. pointed out, iii. 436.
Horeb, conſequences of the contract there between God and the Jewiſh people, iii. 22.
Horſes, not in uſe at the Trojan war, ii. 539.
——— Egypt abounded with, before the conqueſt of Lybia, ii. 540.
——— Iſraelites forbid to fetch horſes from Egypt, ii. 541.
——— motives for the prohibition, ii. 542.
——— Solomon's violation of the law puniſhed, ii. 542.
——— Judea not a proper country for the uſe or breeding of, ii. 544.
Hoſea, his repreſentation of the Jewiſh idolatry, iii. 49.
Hurt, his conjectures of the corruption of ſacred hiſtory into Pagan fables, ii. 44.
Human ſacrifices, the origin of, inquired into, iii. 667.
——— Bryant's opinion of the origin of exploded, iii. 739.
——— Voltaire's opinion confuted, iii. 743.
——— the command that "*none devoted ſhall be redeemed*," examined, iii. 747.
Hyde, Lord Chancellor, how brought into diſgrace, i. xvii.
Hymn, that ſung by the Hierophants at the celebration of the Eleuſinian myſteries, pointed out, i. 201.

I.

Jablonſki, notes on a paſſage in, contending that the Egyptian Gods were not dead men deified, i. 376.
Jacob, his expreſſions to Pharaoh, Gen. xlvii. 9, explained, iii. 328.
—— his ejaculation to his ſons, Gen. xlix. 18, explained, iii. 329.
—— his wreſtling with an angel, what intended by, iii. 393.
—— ſhewn to be of a tolerating diſpoſition, iii. 509.

Jamblichus, his opinion of the antient myſteries, i. 334.
——— note on a paſſage of, i. 374.
——— his account of the origin of brute worſhip controverted, ii. 473.
James, his and St. Paul's account of juſtification on faith reconciled, iii. 695.
Iapis, his character in Virgil not deſigned for Antonius Muſa, i. 302.
Idolaters, the firſt intolerants, iii. 510.
Idolatry, account of the riſe of the three ſpecies of, from Sanchoniatho, i. 195.
——— the progreſs of traced, ii. 184.
——— enquiry where idolatry was puniſhed, except under the Jewiſh œconomy, iii. 507.
Idolatry of the Aſſyrians, tranſplanted into the holy land in the room of the captive Jews, how puniſhed, iii. 43.
——— view of the early ſpread of by Calmet, iii. 200.
Idolatry Jewiſh, under what figures repreſented in the prophecies, ii. 717.
——— never proceeding from matters of conſcience, iii. 23.
——— the extent of that crime and how legally puniſhable under the Jewiſh theocracy, iii. 23.
——— the ſources of pointed out, iii. 39.
——— in what it conſiſted, iii. 44, 51.
Jehovah, explanation of that name, ii. 569.
Jephthah, the ſtory of his vow conſidered, iii. 750.
Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the ſigns added by them to illuſtrate their prophecies accounted for, ii. 406.
——— his repreſentation of the Jewiſh idolatry, ii. 46.
——— a paſſage in, predictive of the new diſpenſation, iii. 137.
——— paſſages quoted from, predictive of the new diſpenſation, iii. 452.
Jeruſalem, the deſtruction of, as propheſied by Chriſt figuratively, in a literal ſenſe importing the deſtruction of the world, iii. 426.
Jews, how differently repreſented by Freethinkers, i. xxxii.
—— their religion, dogmatic theology, i. 436.
—— why they became hated by their neighbours, i. 438.
—— character of, by Tacitus, i. 441.
—— how long they continued ignorant of a future ſtate, ii. 222.
—— their religion ſyllogiſtically proved to be ſupported by an extraordinary providence, ii. 224.
Jews, a ſummary view of their religious hiſtory, ii. 229.
—— obſervations on their ritual or ceremonial law, ii. 236.
—— on the change of diſpenſation, propheſied by Jeremiah and other prophets, ii. 231.
—— dedication of books, 4, 5, 6, to them, ii. 276.
—— an examination into the motives which withold them from receiving Chriſtianity, ii. 279.
—— arguments adapted to invalidate them, ii. 279.
—— the repeal of the Naturalization Bill juſtified, ii. 289.
—— the ſubject of their naturalization argued, ii. 286.
—— the folly of deriving all arts, laws, and religion from them, or denying them the production of any, ii. 551.
—— fond of Egyptian manners and ſuperſtitions, ii. 565.
—— their obſtinate attachment to the Egyptian cuſtoms and ſuperſtitions hiſtorically traced, ii. 571.
—— their expulſion from Egypt by Pharaoh denied, ii. 574.
—— reproached in a ſignal manner for their perverſeneſs and diſobedience, Ezekiel. chap. xx. ii. 617.
—— explanation of this celebrated chapter, ii. 621.
—— their propenſity to idolatry accounted for, ii. 642.
—— under what figures their idolatry was repreſented, ii. 717.
—— why their policy was ſeldom under ſtood, iii. 1.
—— in what light their ſeparation from the reſt of mankind, to be conſidered, iii. 3.
—— ſummary view of deliverance from Egypt in order to be ſeparated, iii. 16.
—— their theocracy eſtabliſhed, iii. 18.
—— their idolatry, not a rejection of the God of Iſrael, iii. 44.
—— how long their theocratic form of government ſubſiſted, iii. 69.
—— their firſt kings the viceroys of God, iii. 69.
—— when their theocratic government was aboliſhed, iii. 80.
—— at the coming of the Meſſiah, iii. 81.
—— their ignorance of a future ſtate under the Moſaic diſpenſation illuſtrated by the New Teſtament writers, iii. 155.
—— whether ſubject to puniſhment in a future

ture ſtate under the Moſaic diſpenſation, iii. 185.
Jews how long they continued ignorant of a future ſtate, iii. 226.
—— whence their obſtinate adherence to their aboliſhed rites proceeds iii. 236.
—— a ſummary view of their hiſtory, iii. 264.
—— the bad conſequence of their propenſity toward marrying idolatrous women, iii. 279.
—— their hiſtory ſuppoſed to be contained in the hiſtory of Job, iii. 262.
—— reflexions on the moral diſpenſations of God toward them, iii. 293.
—— totally ignorant of a future ſtate under the Moſaic diſpenſation, iii. 483, 494.
Ignatius Loola, remarks on his character, ii. 179.
Increaſe and multiply, that command conſidered, iii. 617
Infanticide, remarks on the cuſtom of, among the antients &c. i. 269
———— on the practice of, i. 398
———— the origin and practice of, examined, iii. 667.
———— the origin and progreſs of conſidered, iii. 741.
Infants, and men falſely condemned, why conſigned by Virgil to purgatory, i. 268.
Infernal regions, a comment of Virgil's topography of, i. 267.
Infidelity, proſpenſity of the preſent age to, i. vi.
——— an indiſcriminate averſion to all the principles advanced by, ii. 350.
——— prejudicial to the defence of true religion. ii. 350.
——— the proper method of diſputing with, ii 350
Inſtinct in mankind, how different from that quality in brutes, i. 97.
Invocation of the dead, enquiry concerning, ii. 543.
Job, Book of, a critical enquiry into, iii. 240.
———— a dramatic compoſition, iii 242.
———— when written, ii. 249, 262, 264.
———— obſervations on the imagery of, iii. 253.
———— a continual alluſion to the Moſaic law throughout, iii 259.
———— ſuppoſed to contain the hiſtory of the Jews iii. 262.
———— the language of, compared to that of the American Indians, iii. 263.
———— the purpoſe of its compoſition pointed out, iii. 267.
Job, Book of, examination of the characters in the piece, iii. 269, 283, 298.
———— allegory of the ſtory explained, iii. 270.
———— reflections on the character of Satan, iii. 290.
———— enquiry concerning the author, iii. 304.
———— ſuppoſed to have been written by Ezra, iii. 304.
———— enquiry whether "*I know that my Redeemer liveth*," &c. refers to a reſurrection, or temporal deliverance only, iii. 306.
———— appendix concerning the, iii. 507.
———— examination of Grey's objections to the author of the D. L. account of the, iii. 524.
———— enquiry into the antiquity of, iii. 538.
Job, his real exiſtence aſſerted, iii. 247.
—— his exemplary patience not founded on his written ſtory, iii. 269.
—— reflexions on the character of his wife, iii. 277.
—— reflections on the character of his friends, iii. 283, 298,
—— his perſecution renewed by modern critics, iii. 515.
—— enquiry whether he put away his wife, iii. 538.
—— his opinion of Providence enquired into, iii. 539.
Joel, the double ſenſes in his prophecy pointed out, iii. 422, 427.
John the Baptiſt, his miſſion and character explained, iii. 691.
Joſeph, prime miniſter of Egypt, married to a daughter of the prieſt of On, ii. 363.
——— vindicated from the charge of rendering the government of Egypt deſpotic, ii 386.
——— inference drawn from his entertainment of his brethren. concerning the uſe of animal food in Egypt, ii 548.
——— procures the property of all the land for Pharaoh, ii. 550.
——— did not make the government of Egypt deſpotic, ii. 660.
——— an eminent inſtance of the ſtrength of natural affection, iii. 244.
Joſephus, his character of the Jewiſh religion, with a reference to the Pagan myſteries, i. 193.
——— defended from the charge of diſbelieving the miracles he relates, iii. 103.

Joſephus, the circumſtances under which he wrote his hiſtory, iii. 104.
——— his deviations from ſcripture accounted for, iii. 106.
Joſhua, clear ſtate of the debate between him and the Jewiſh people on the article of worſhip, iii. 45.
Jotham's parable, an inſtance of inſtruction by apologue or fable, ii. 410.
——— obſervations on the ſtory of, ii. 680.
Irony, ill conſequences of the indiſcriminate uſe of it, i. xxvi.
Iſaiah, his denunciations againſt the Iſraelites for bringing horſes from Egypt in violation of the Moſaic prohibition, ii. 543.
——— his repreſentation of the Jewiſh idolatry, iii. 46, 48.
——— double ſenſes, in his prophecies, explained, iii. 444.
——— his figurative prediction of the goſpel diſpenſation, iii. 452.
Iſiac Table. See *Bembine Table*.
Iſis, who, i. 319.
— and Oſiris, under what ſimilitudes worſhipped, ii. 366.
—— why adopted by the Athenians as the patroneſs of their myſteries, ii. 522.
—— the ſeveral attributes and characters aſcribed to her, ii. 523.
—— and Oſiris, the patrons of the primitive arts, ii. 537.
—— and Oſiris, their myſteries deſcribed in Ezekiel's viſions, ii. 578.
—— the ſacred boat being worſhipped under the figure of a galley, ii. 661.
Iſraelite, why ſubject to few natural diſeaſes, ii. 370.
——— forbid by their law to fetch horſes from Egypt, ii. 541.
——— this law violated by Solomon and puniſhed, ii. 542.
——— treated by God as moral agents, ii. 602.
——— Fleury's account of the ſtate of the arts among, in the time of Moſes, ii. 695.
Judaiſm, its characteriſtic diſtinction from all other religions, ii. 343.
Judea, Voltaire's account of, examined, iii. 11.
——— not a proper country for the uſe of cavalry in, ii. 544.
Judgment, Chriſt's account of it examined, iii. 697.
Judgment of Hercules, an allegoric piece to excite the youth of Greece to virtue, iii. 534.
Julian, Emperor, his obſervations on the double doctrines of the Greek philoſophers, ii. 67.
——— the miracle of his being defeated in his attempt to rebuild the Temple conſidered, iii. 721.
Jupiter, only one deity though known by many local tutelar appellations, i. 457.
——— a local deity, ii. 344.
——— the ſtories of his adulteries founded in truth, ii. 483.
Jupiter Ammon, moral of the Egyptian fable concerning, i. 168.
Juſtice, the pure ſtream of in England, ii. 273.
Juſtification by faith, explained, iii. 689.
——— St. Paul's and St. James's accounts reconciled, iii. 695.

K.

Kings of the Jews, the viceroys of God, iii. 69.
Kircher, characteriſed as a writer, ii. 488.
——— his opinion concerning the Egyptian characters, iii. 420, 672, 697.

L.

Lactantius, an examination of the argument of his treatiſe, *De ir. Dei*, ii. 89.
Lamb, Paſchal, a type of the future ſacrifice of Chriſt, iii. 412, 414.
Lambert, his character, ii. 178.
Language, a deduction of the origin of ii. 405.
——— upheld at firſt by a mixture of words and ſigns, ii. 406.
——— its improvement by apologue or fable, ii. 409.
——— its advance to elegance by the metaphor, ii. 411.
——— the revolutions of traced, ii. 440.
——— Diodorus Siculus's account of the origin of, ii. 676.
——— firſt taught by God, ii. 676.
Law, the two great ſanctions of, i. 58.
Lawgiver, heroic, diſplayed in the character of Æneas, i. 234.
——— from what motive induced to have recourſe to fiction, ii. 732.

Lawgiver, ſummary view of their conduct in the propagation of religion, ii. 475.
Law Moſaic, the objections brought againſt the ſufficiency of it, in obtaining its end, equally valid againſt the law of nature, iii. 55.
——— its proviſion againſt idolatry, iii. 58.
——— cauſe of its inefficacy, iii. 59.
——— its divine inſtitution manifeſt in the diſpenſations of providence toward the Jewiſh people, iii. 65.
——— the primary intention of, iii. 66.
——— the temporal ſanctions of not transferred into the goſpel, iii. 124.
——— illuſtrations from the prophets of the temporal nature of its ſanctions, iii. 131.
——— the Chriſtian doctrine ſhadowed under the rites of, iii. 238.
——— in what ſenſe typical or ſpiritual, iii. 320.
——— not ſuppoſed by St. Paul to offer a future ſtate to its followers, iii. 364.
Laws penal, to enforce opinions only equitable under a theocracy, iii. 19, 24.
Lazarus, paſſages in the parable of explained, with reference to arguments founded on them of a future ſtate being taught by Moſes, iii. 349.
Legiſlation antient, a divine interpoſition the very ſpirit of, i. 231.
Legiſlators, placed by Virgil in Elyſium, i. 285
——— and their pretended miſſions, an enumeration of, i. 141.
——— an inquiry into their motives, i. 142.
——— however different from each other in other points unanimous in propagating the belief of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, i. 451.
——— compared with modern miſſionaries, i. 455.
——— always enthuſiaſts, ii. 175.
——— never found a people without religion, ii. 210.
Letters, whether intitled to patronage of the great, i. xliii.
——— the hiſtory of, ii. 387.
——— the antiquity of, among the Egyptians inferred from their mythologic derivation of them, ii. 436.
——— the invention of, by Atoſſa, fabulous ii. 692.
Lex Sacra, what, i. 393.
Liberty, civil, too great an attention to the ſecurity of ſubverſive of religion, ii. 265.
Life, the promiſes of, under the Moſaic law, how to be underſtood, iii. 331, 338.
Livy, his character of Scipio Africanus, ii. 260
Locke, M. his memory injured by his friend Collins, i. xxi.
——— his laſt word to Collins, i. xxi.
——— his obſervations on the Jewiſh theocracy, iii. 21.
Lord's Supper, the anti-type of the paſchal lamb, iii. 675.
——— the inſtitution of, examined from St. Paul's ſenſe of it, iii. 679.
——— Boſſuet's objections to the proteſtants' opinion of the figure of *This is my body* by thoſe of *I am the vine*, *I am the door*, examined, iii. 768.
Lot, his ſtory ſuppoſed to be allegoriſed by Ovid in Beucis and Philemon, ii. 45.
Love, Plato's account of the origin of, iii. 615.
Lucian, his opinion of death, ii. 71.
——— his account of the origin of brute worſhip controverted, ii. 470.
Lucius, ſtory of his transformation, from the Golden Aſs of Apuleius, i. 314.
Luxury, obſervations on the vague meaning of that word, i. 115.
——— true definition of, i. 118.
Lycanthropy, a Grecian diſorder, account of, ii. 47.
Lycurgus, his chief aim in the laws of Sparta, ii. 646.
Lyte, anecdote relating to his conjectural notes touching the origin of the Univerſity of Oxon, &c. ii. 251.

M.

Macrobius, his account of the doctrines of Greek philoſophers, ii. 16.
Magiſtrates, civil, their inducement to an alliance with the Church, i. 406.
——— two concluſions drawn by believers and unbelievers from his large ſhare in the eſtabliſhment of antient national religions, ii. 150.
Mahomet, the abſurdity of his imitating Moſes in the diſtinction of meats, pointed out, ii. 606.
——— his imitation of Moſes in the union of civil and religious policy, iii. 22.
——— the plan on which his religion was framed, iii. 38, 67.
——— to what his ſucceſſes were chiefly owing, iii. 131.

Mahometan writers, a character of, iii. 34.
Man, how determined to action, i. 103.
—— in ſociety deſcribed, i. 109.
—— an enquiry into the moral conſtitution of, as an individual, and in ſociety, i. 344.
Man and woman, examination of the Moſaic account of, iii. 614.
—— examination of the Command to increaſe and multiply, iii. 617.
—— Moſaic account of their ſpecific nature examined, iii 619.
—— their admiſſion into Paradiſe, iii. 622.
—— their firſt religion acquired naturally, iii. 623.
—— their early acquiſition of ſpeech, iii. 623.
—— religion revealed to them in Paradiſe, iii. 625.
—— their condition under natural religion enquired into, iii. 629
—— their condition under revealed religion enquired into, iii. 634.
Manaſſeh, detail of God's dealings with him, iii. 258.
Mandeville, examination of his principle of private vices being public benefits, i. 113.
—— his argument reduced to an abſurdity, i. 118.
Manicheans, art. vii. of the Church of England directed againſt them, iii. 369.
Mansfield, Lord, Dedication of books 4, 5 and 6, to him, ii. 263.
Mead, Dr. his opinion of Demoniacs examined, iii 774.
Medicine, the parts of, and when each obtained in uſe, ii. 381.
—— indication of the great antiquity of, ii. 381.
Melchizedec, obſervations on the ſtory of, iii. 510.
Metempſychoſis, why taught in the myſteries, i. 288.
—— the doctrine of, how employed by the antients, ii. 46.
—— and metamorphoſis, difference between, ii. 46.
—— Pythagorean notion of, ii. 53.
—— came originally from Egypt, and believed by all mankind, ii. 54.
—— Plato's notion of, ii. 62.
—— the doctrine of, not the origin of brute-worſhip, ii. 470.
Mexicans, remarks on the religion of, i. 132.
—— their uſe of hieroglyphic writing illuſtrated by their manner of painting their prayers, ii. 389.
—— account of a Mexican hiſtory in the hieroglyphic ſtyle, ii. 390.
Mhhoket, the proper ſignification of that word pointed out, iii. 81.
Middleton, remarks on his Life of Cicero, ii. 249.
—— his arguments of the derivation of Popiſh from Pagan rites examined, ii. 736.
—— his opinion of the gift of tongues expoſed, iii. 771.
Mileſian fables, what, i. 313.
Milton, remarks on the ſpecies of poetry in his Paradiſe Loſt, i. 242.
Mind and intellect, the Ariſtotelian diſtinction, ii. 112.
Minerva, expoſition of a famous hieroglyphical inſcription on her temple at Saïs, ii. 420.
Miracles, evidences of an extraordinary providence over the Jewiſh nation, iii. 103, 112.
—— a neceſſary confirmation of the ſecondary ſenſes of the Jewiſh prophecies, iii. 442.
—— the uſe to be made of them in diſputes, iii. 581.
—— the teſtimony required for the belief of, iii. 704, 724.
—— what to be accounted miracles, iii. 706.
—— the only proof of a doctrine proceeding from God, iii. 708.
—— of the reſurrection of Chriſt, conſidered, iii. 711.
—— of caſting out devils or evil ſpirits, conſidered, iii. 714.
—— of healing natural diſeaſes, conſidered, iii. 716.
—— deſigned to defeat the deſigns of men, conſidered, iii. 721.
Mirth, an enemy to chaſtity, i. 316.
Miſſionaries, Catholic and Proteſtant, reaſons of the ill ſucceſs of their miſſions, i. 451.
—— compared with antient Law-givers, i. 455.
Miſſions, pretended by antient Legiſlators, liſt of, i. 121.
Moloch, the meaning of giving ſeed to him, iii. 335.
Monteſquieu, extract of a letter from, to the author, ii. 237.
Moon, its various ſymbols and attributes as repreſented in the Pagan mythology, from the Golden Aſs of Apuleius, i. 210.
Moral ſenſe, the foundation of, i. 75.
—— Plato the patron of, i. 81.
Morality and faith, ſummary view of the diſputes concerning, ii. 255.

Moſes, a liſt of Pagan Gods and heroes ſuppoſed by Huet to have ariſen from the corruption of his hiſtory, ii. 44.
—— his account of the Egyptian prieſthood, a confirmation of thoſe of the antient Greek hiſtorians, ii. 361.
—— corroborates their account of the religious rites of Egypt, ii. 364.
—— of the funeral rites of Egypt, ii. 385.
—— of the diviſion of the lands of Egypt, ii. 386.
—— the former of the Hebrew alphabet, by an improvement of the Egyptian characterrs, ii. 437.
—— the difference between contradicting the aſtronomy and the hiſtory wrote by him, ii 493.
—— characters in the Pagan mythology ſuppoſed by ſome to be intended for him, ii. 503.
—— one intention of his law, to prohibit all intercourſe between the Hebrews and the Egyptians, ii. 541.
—— his motives explained, ii. 542.
—— the reaſon of his unwillingneſs to undertake his miſſion, ii. 570.
—— his laws accommodated to the prejudices of the Jews, in favour of the Egyptian cuſtoms, ii. 583.
—— this no objection to the divinity of his miſſion, ii. 590.
—— his knowledge in the Egyptian learning, and the laws by him inſtituted, a confirmation of the divinity of his miſſion, ii. 642.
—— his anſwers to deiſtical objections againſt the divinity of his miſſion, ii. 644.
—— vindicated from the ſuppoſition of having had recourſe to fiction in certain caſes, ii. 732.
—— his injunctions to the Jews againſt the local idolatry of the Cutheans, iii. 42.
—— his injunctions to the Jews againſt the local idolatry of Canaan, iii. 48.
—— the omiſſion of a future ſtate in his law, intended, iii. 134.
—— two periods obſervable in his hiſtory, iii 134.
—— the ſenſe of his expreſſions relating the creation of man aſcertained, iii. 317.
—— the veil over his face explained, iii. 392.
Moſaic diſpenſation, not a compleat religion, ii. 221.
———— logically proved to be ſupported by an extraordinary providence, ii. 224.
———— on what principles the proof of it conducted, ii. 224.
Moſaic diſpenſation, its limitation to a particular people no impeachment of the impartiality of God towards mankind in general, ii. 228.
———— ſummary eſtimate of, ii. 230.
———— its divinity logically proved, iii. 470, 489.
Moſaic ritual, the cauſe of the admiſſion of ſacrifices into it conſidered, iii. 67.
Moſaic ſacrifices, had types and alſo a moral import, iii. 664.
Moſes, Divine Legation of Demonſtrated, the medium employed to eſtabliſh his Divine Legation, i. 48.
———— propoſition on which this demonſtration depends, i. 50.
———— ſummary view of the oppoſition this performance met with, ii. 292.
———— recapitulation of the argument proving his Divine Legation, iii. 467.
———— the length of it accounted for, iii. 472.
———— argument deſigned for the ſubject of books 7, 8 and 9, of the Divine Legation (never publiſhed), iii. 504, 612.
Muſa Antonius, not depicted by Virgil under the character of Iapis, i. 302.
Muſquets, humourous ſtory of a parcel of, with a logical inference, iii. 503.
Myſteries, of the Pagan religion, for what purpoſe inſtituted, i. 167.
———— what the original ones, i. 168.
———— the Eleuſinian, i. 170.
———— arguments in favour of, i. 177.
———— who the firſt inſtitutor of, i. 223.
———— the abuſe of them in the Chriſtian religion, i. 388.
———— explanation of that term, i. 390.
———— Pagan, marks of their Egyptian original, ii. 363.
———— ſummary view of, iii. 476.
Mythology, antient, explanation of, ii. 185.
———— the teſtimony not to be truſted, in aſcertaining times and facts, ii. 526.
———— ſources of the confuſion in, ii. 526.
Mythras, prieſts of, explanation of their names, i. 187.
———— probationary trials previous to initiation into the myſteries of, i. 258.

N.

Nebuchadnezzar, enquiry into his diſorder, ii. 47.

Nature, ſtate of, and civil ſociety, difference between, i. 58.
——— enquiry into the ſyſtems of, iii. 604.
Nero, Emperor, how deterred from attempting to intrude upon the Eleuſinian myſteries, i. 173.
Newton, Sir Iſaac, his account of the origin of idolatry, i. 136.
——— his ſyſtem of idolatry controverted, ii. 183.
——— his character as a natural philoſopher, ii. 492.
——— miſled by Greek mythologiſts, ii. 492.
——— the argument of his Egyptian chronology, ii. 493.
——— his reaſons for the identity of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, ii. 494.
——— his miſtake in this illuſtrated by a caſe ſtated in ſimilar terms, ii. 499.
——— the ſource of his miſtake, ii. 506.
——— his hypotheſis ſupported principally by two mythologic fables, ii. 528.
——— miſtakes the times of the Pagan deities, compared with the æra of the Trojan war, ii. 530.
——— his ſyſtem of chronology contradictory to ſcripture, ii. 536.
——— his chronology refuted by deduction, ii. 536.
——— his account of Vulcan, compared with that of Homer, ii. 539.
——— his aſſertion of the conqueſt of Libya furniſhing Egypt with horſes, invalidated, ii. 540.
——— his opinion of the time when the Egyptians introduced animal food, refuted, ii. 546.
——— his period of the diviſion of the lands of Egypt, diſproved, ii. 549.
——— his obſervations relating to the populouſneſs of Egypt, examined, ii. 552.
——— his account of the firſt introduction of letters into Egypt, rejected, ii. 552.
——— makes Seſoſtris to be Hercules, ii. 555.
——— Quotes Æſculapius as the firſt who built with ſquare ſtone, ii. 556.
——— ſummary view of the diſpute concerning the identity of Oſiris with Seſoſtris, ii. 557.
Nile, the happy effects of its annual overflowings, ii. 356.
Niſus, and Euryalus, remarks on the epiſode of, in the Æneis, i. 239.
Noah, his character found to anſwer that of the Indian Bacchus, ii 712.
Nocturnal aſſemblies, of the primitive Chriſtians, firſt occaſion of, ii. 304.
——— their antiquity among Pagans, ii. 329.
Norden, Capt. his miſtaken concluſion from a view of the Pyramids concerning the antiquity of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, corrected, ii. 688.

O.

Oaths, of the citizens of Athens, i. 422.
——— of the prieſteſſes of Bacchus, i. 423.
——— ſolemnly regarded by the Romans, ii. 3.
——— Cicero's opinion of the obligation to fulfil, under the belief of the immutability of the deity, ii. 87.
Obeliſks, of the antient Egyptians, the public records of the times, ii. 418.
Obligation, duties of perfect and imperfect, how diſtinguiſhed, i. 57.
Ombites and Tentyrites, occaſion of the intolerant proceedings of, i. 434.
Omens, their admiſſion into antient hiſtory, accounted for, i. 138.
——— two kinds of, i. 231.
On, ſome account of the prieſts of, ii. 363.
Oneirocritic art, explained, ii. 455.
——— whence the art of decyphering borrowed, ii. 458.
Oracles, the original motive of conſulting them, ii. 516.
Origen and Celſus, comparative characters of, i. 169.
——— his account of the ſtoical renovation, ii. 72.
——— his miſunderſtandings of the promiſes of the Jewiſh law pointed out, iii 540.
Oſiris and Seſoſtris, their identity controverted againſt Sir Iſaac Newton, ii. 495.
——— who, ii. 504.
——— and Seſoſtris diſtinguiſhed, ii. 504, 509.
——— account of, and his Cortege, from Diodorus Siculus, ii 505.
——— his ſymbols, ii. 511.
——— proof of his antiquity equal to Moſes, ii. 511.
——— his ſuperior antiquity to Seſoſtris aſcertained, ii. 511.
——— his various characters at different places, as expreſſed in an epigram of Auſonius, ii. 524.
——— repreſented in the Golden Calf of the Egyptians, ii. 573.

Orpheus, ſaid to have been ſtruck dead by lightning, i. 218.
—— where placed in Elyſium by Virgil, i. 285.
Ovid, remarks on his Metamorphoſis, ii. 42.
—— that work a popular hiſtory of providence, ii. 48.
—— Metamorphoſis founded on the Metempſychoſis, ii 52.
—— key to his poem, ii. 51.
—— his account of Typhon's war with the Gods, ii. 465.
Oxyrynchitæ and Cynopolitæ, Plutarch's account of the religious conteſt between, i. 434.

P.

Paganiſm, chiefly founded in the deification of dead men, i. 134.
—— antient, the religion of the civil magiſtrate, i. 137.
—— favourer of myſteries, i. 228.
—— the genius of, conſidered as oppoſed to the true religion, i. 430.
—— intercommunity of worſhip general in, i. 431.
Pan, how painted by the Egyptians, ii. 467.
Pantomime, hiſtorical anecdote of the great expreſſion of one, iii. 401.
—— ſtory of a famous one at Rome, iii. 555.
Parable, the origin and nature of, ii. 441.
Parmenides, the philoſopher, his public and private doctrines, ii. 14.
Paſſover, Jewiſh, its typical meaning pointed out, iii. 422.
Patriarchs, Jewiſh, ſhewn to be no puniſhers for opinions, iii 509.
Patriots, where placed in Elyſium by Virgil, i. 286.
Paul, St. why brought before the court of Areopagus at Athens, i. 444.
—— why ſuppoſed not to be brought before that court in a criminal view, i. 465,
—— the ſenſe of his words in Heb. xi. v. 6, aſcertained, ii. 218.
—— for what purpoſe called to the Apoſtleſhip, ii. 601.
—— citations from, in proof that the doctrine of a future ſtate was not known under the Moſaic diſpenſation, iii. 155.
—— that its ſanctions were all temporal, iii. 160.
Paul, St. his ſentiments of perſecution before and after converſion, iii. 201.
—— his definition of faith, iii. 356.
—— a ſeeming contradiction in, between Acts xiii. 32, and Heb. xi. 39, reconciled, iii. 360.
—— an important paſſage in his Epiſtle to the Romans, chap. viii. ver. 3, 4, expounded, iii. 362.
—— his account of the inſtitution of the Lord's Supper, examined, iii. 679.
—— his account of juſtification by faith reconciled to that of James, iii. 695.
Pelaſgians, account of their adoption of the names of the Egyptian Gods, and application of them to their own deities, from Herodotus, ii. 517.
—— communicate them to the Greeks, ii. 518.
Perfection, the doctrine of, enquiry concerning it, iii. 693.
Peripatetics, their notions of Providence, ii. 95.
Peripatetics and *old academy*, their conformity, ii. 244.
Perſecution, for religious opinions, the origin of, traced, ii. 299. iii. 510.
—— enquiry into the nativity of, ii. 317.
—— frequently an engine of ſtate, ii. 321.
—— diſcountenanced by the goſpel diſpenſation, iii. 201.
Perſians, why they had no ſtatues of their Gods, i. 135.
—— their ſuperſtition deſcribed in Ezekiel's viſions, ii. 581.
Peruvians, remarks on the religion of, i. 132.
Peter, his viſion of the clean and unclean beaſts, explained, ii. 605.
—— his double ſenſe, pointed out, iii. 436.
Pharmacy, general diviſion of, ii. 382.
Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the ſcripture account of, ii. 357.
—— promotes Joſeph, ii. 363.
—— an illuſtration of the oniroeritic art, drawn from Joſeph's interpretation of his two dreams, ii. 458.
—— his chariots and cavalry in the purſuit of the Iſraelites, ii. 540.
Pherecydes Cyrus, the firſt advancer of the notion of the τὸ ἓν, ii 122.
Phenician ſuperſtition, deſcribed in Ezekiel's viſions, ii. 580.
Philoſophy, the ſtudy of, not the only buſineſs for which man is ſent into the world, i. 455.

Philoſophers, Greek, legiſlative, always profeſſed belief in a future ſtate, mere philoſophers the contrary, ii. 26.
——— the cauſes which induced them to diſbelieve a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, ii. 85.
——— their conceptions of the ſoul, ii. 101.
Phyſic, a critical enquiry into the ſtate of, in antient Egypt, ii. 365.
Pirithous, account of the fable of his deſign to ſteal Proſerpine from hell, i. 278.
Planet-worſhip, the earlieſt ſpecies of idolatry, ii. 185.
——— the firſt religion of Greece, ii. 512.
Plants, worſhipped by the Egyptians, ii. 459.
Plato, his definition of ſacrilege, i. 164.
—— the proem to his laws, i. 164.
—— the firſt of his laws, i. 166.
—— his public writing ſhewn to differ from his private ſentiments, ii. 15.
—— a character of his politics and philoſophy, ii. 58.
—— Cicero's remarks on his Phædo, ii. 61.
—— in what ſenſe an advocate for the immortality of the ſoul, ii. 62.
—— his ſentiments concerning the ſoul, ii. 110.
Platoniſts, their notions of providence, ii. 96.
Pleaſure, allegorical view of the dangers attending an indulgence in, i. 314.
Pliny, the reaſon of his perſecuting the Chriſtians, ii. 301.
—— his doubts reſpecting the manner of proceeding againſt Chriſtians, ii. 310.
—— the reaſon of his perſecuting the Chriſtians, ii. 310.
Plutarch, his opinion of two principles, i. 159.
——— his deviation of ſuperſtition, i. 270.
——— his notion of death, ii. 82.
——— obſervations on his recital of the opinion of the philoſophers concerning the ſoul, ii. 115.
——— an examination of his compariſon between ſuperſtition and atheiſm, ii. 155.
——— his famous exclamation to his countrymen, ii. 162.
——— accuſes the Jews of worſhipping ſwine, ii. 703.
Pococke, his account of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, ii. 663.
——— objections to his account, ii. 664.
Poiſons, the virtue of, i. xl.
Policy, human, Critias of Athens, his hiſtory of, ii. 149.
Political romances, the common errors they have all fell into, i. 62.
Polybius, his teſtimony in favour of the piety of the Romans, ii. 3.
——— his opinion as to the means by which ſtates are brought to ruin, ii. 4.
——— remarks on the character, ii. 5.
Polytheiſm, in what it conſiſted, explained, i. 319.
Pomponatius, ſome account of, i. 65.
——— his opinion of a future ſtate defended againſt Bayle, i. 67.
Pope, A, his obſervations on Lord Bolingbroke, i. 372.
Poppy, why the juice of uſed in the ceremonial of the ſhews in the Eleuſinian myſteries, i. 266.
Porphyry and Clemens Alexandrinus, their accounts of the Egyptian characters and writing, ii. 414.
——— his account of the origin of brute-worſhip, controverted, ii. 472.
Poſterity, why the puniſhments of the Moſaic law extended to them, iii. 137.
——— the caſe argued, iii. 139.
Poſthumius, extract from his ſpeech on the introduction of foreign worſhip to Rome, i. 423.
——— his intention only to prevent the exerciſe of unlicenſed religion, i. 447.
Pre-exiſtence of the ſoul, enquiry into the ſentiments of the antients concerning, ii. 104.
Preſs, liberty of, the propenſity of the preſent age to infidelity, not to be aſcribed to, i. vi.
——— the complaints of its being reſtricted diſingenuous, i. vii.
Prideaux, his account of the deification of heroes controverted, ii. 480.
Prieſts, pious and virtuous, where placed in Elyſium by Virgil, i. 286.
Priſcilian, the firſt ſufferer for opinion, ii. 321.
Principles, good and evil, the belief of, how guarded againſt by the writer of the book of Job, iii. 294.
Prodigies, &c. their admiſſion into antient hiſtory accounted for, i. 138.
Prophecies, ſcripture, defended from the inſinuations of Dr. Middleton, iii. 419.
——— their primary and ſecondary ſenſes diſtinguiſhed, iii. 444.
——— miſunderſtood by the Jews, and why ſo ordained, iii. 454.
——— the uſe to be made of them in diſputes, iii. 581.
Prophecy, what a neceſſary confirmation of their reference to the Meſſiah, iii. 442.

Prophecy, an evidence of a doctrine proceeding from God, iii. 726.
——— considerations on, iii. 726.
Prophets, reason of the institution of a school for, ii. 593.
Prophets Jewish, an enquiry into the nature of the divine commission to, ii. 230.
——— rational account of their illustrating their prophecies by signs, ii. 406.
Propitiatory sacrifice, origin and nature of it, explained, iii. 657.
Providence, the doctrine of, the great sanction of antient laws, i. 147.
——— the spirit of legislation depends on the doctrine of a, i. 231.
——— the inequalities of, how rectified by the antients, ii. 46.
——— what kind of, believed by the antient Theistic philosophers, ii. 95.
——— administration of, at various times, considered, ii. 262.
——— extraordinary, a necessary consequence of the Jewish theocracy, iii. 98.
——— extraordinary, illustrated from Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple, iii. 113.
——— ——— from Ezekiel, iii. 114.
——— ——— from Amos, iii. 114.
——— ——— evidences of its ceasing, iii. 118.
——— ——— the ease with which the pretension to it might have been carried on, iii. 118.
——— ——— the mention of the inequalities of, by the sacred writers, accounted for, iii. 120.
——— remarks on the different reception of its adverse dispensations, in antient and modern times, iii. 537.
——— Job's opinion of the equality and inequality of, iii. 539.
——— revival of an equal, to the chosen race, iii. 647.
——— considerations on God's using human instruments in the dispensations of, iii. 756.
——— considerations on God's using temporary plagues in the dispensations of, iii. 764.
Psammitichus, his scheme to establish an intercourse between Egypt and the Grecian states, ii. 435.
Psyche, the antient story of, explained, i. 328.
Punishments, how applied in civil society, i. 60.
——— of the crimes of parents on their children on what principle only to be vindicated, ii. 283.
Purgatory, remarks on Virgil's account of, i. 268.
——— the inhabitants of, i. 268.
Pyramids of Egypt, probable reasons why they exhibit no hieroglyphic inscriptions, ii. 687.
——— the Egyptian architecture formed on the idea of, ii. 688.
——— not temples, but sepulchres, ii. 689.
——— alluded to in the Book of Job, iii. 253.
Pyrrhonians, and Academics, their principles compared, ii. 26.
——— their origin, ii. 34.
Pythagoras, his knowledge in physics established in late experience concerning earthquakes, ii. 26, 241.
——— his legislative fame, ii. 41.
——— an enquiry into the principles of his philosophy, ii. 38.
——— taught several doctrines which he did not believe, ii. 53.
Pythagoreans, their notions of Providence, ii. 96.
——— their tenets concerning the human soul, ii. 109.

Q.

Quakers, their motives for rejecting the institution of baptism examined into, iii. 235.
Quaternion, philosophic, their opinion of the soul, ii. 109.

R.

Rachel, the story of her stealing her father's Gods, examined, iii. 509.
Rainbow, first creation and reason of, ii. 722.
Reason, the only test of truth, i. xviii.
——— the use of, in the discovery of truth, i. xxxvii. iii. 596.
——— why discredited in religious controversy, ii. 90.
Redemption by Christ, had a retrospect from the fall, iii. 649.
——— an act of grace, not of debt, iii. 650.
——— the means employed in that great work enquired into, iii. 652.
Regulus, Cicero's inquiry into his obligation to return to Carthage, ii. 87.

Religion, the protection of, neceſſary in all governments, i. xliv.
——— reply to Bayle's opinion, that a man devoid of religion may be ſenſible of honour, i. 98.
——— always the peculiar care of the magiſtrate, i. 130.
——— the neceſſity of uniting it to the ſtate, i. 399.
——— brief view of the ſtate of, in the antient world, i. 424.
——— ſuppoſed by the Sages to be calculated only for the ſervice of the ſtate, ii. 12.
——— the double doctrine of the antients conſidered, ii. 16.
——— its truth manifeſted by its uſe to ſociety, ii. 146.
——— if admitted to have been invented by ſtateſman, not therefore falſe, ii. 151.
——— an enquiry into the firſt origin of, ii. 183.
——— no people ever found without one, ii. 210.
——— Hooker's ſentiments on the political uſe of, ii. 211.
——— too great an attention to civil liberty ſubverſive of, ii. 264.
——— a compariſon of the many that have exiſted in the world, the clue to the true one, ii. 342.
——— the abſurdity of any human legiſlature enforcing it by penal laws, iii. 24.
——— Chriſtian and Moſaic, neceſſarily dependent on ſome preceding religion, iii. 37.
——— the care of legiſlators in the propagation, iii. 477.
——— acquired naturally by Adam and Eve, iii. 623.
——— firſt revealed in Paradiſe, iii. 625.
——— reaſonableneſs of a doctrine no *proof*, but a *preſumption* of its divine original, iii. 707.
——— miracles the only proof of a doctrine being from God, iii. 708.
——— prophecy an additional evidence, iii. 726.
Religion eſtabliſhed, the voice of nature, i. 400.
——— the nature of, i. 400.
——— neceſſary to ſociety, i. 401.
——— danger from its deviating from the truth, i. 407.
——— neceſſity of its alliance with the ſtate, i. 408.
——— advantages to the magiſtrate from ſuch an alliance, i. 408.
——— advantages of eſtabliſhments, ii. 269.
Religion eſtabliſhed, what it receives from the ſtate, i. 414.
——— what it communicates to the ſtate, i. 416.
——— with a teſt law, the univerſal voice of nature, i. 421.
——— ſpeech of Poſthumus on the introduction of foreign worſhip at Rome, i. 423.
——— cauſes which facilitated it, i. 425.
——— good purpoſes of, i. 426.
——— diſtinction between eſtabliſhed and tolerated, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus, i. 448.
Religion, Jewiſh, of names, an Egyptian ſuperſtition, ii. 567.
——— not adopted by any of the neighbouring nations, and why, iii. 52.
Religion natural, true definition of, ii. 234.
——— the Moſaic, a republication of, ii. 234.
——— teaches God to be the rewarder of them that diligently ſeek him, iii. 629.
——— of what thoſe rewards conſiſt, iii. 629.
——— the diſtinction between natural and revealed, iii. 644.
Religions Pagan, not interfering with each other, iii. 35.
Religion revealed, its internal and external evidence, i. 45.
——— the neceſſary qualifications for treating of them, i. 47.
——— only able to enforce the ſanction of reward, i. 47.
——— condition of man under it, enquired into, iii. 634.
——— the three ſyſtems of, iii. 645.
Religion, toleration of, motives for toleration, 428.
——— danger of enforcing conformity, i. i. 428.
——— the ſenſe in which it was underſtood by the Pagan world, i. 429.
Religious truth, enquiry into what it is, iii. 595.
Religious war, one in antient Egypt, and the occaſion of it, i. 433.
Repentance, the nature and efficacy of, conſidered, iii. 691.
Reſurrection, allegorized by the Greek philoſophers, ii. 134.
Revelation, particular objections againſt, anſwered, ii. 228.
——— ſome one embraced by all mankind, ii. 337.
——— natural inferences from this general propenſity, ii. 338.
——— the uſe and neceſſity of it, ii. 341.

Revelations Pagan, one circumſtance common to all, ii. 344.
——— attributed by the primitive fathers to the devil, ii. 344.
Reward, the ſanction of, explained, i. 58.
——— to be enforced only by religion, i. 63.
Rhea, obſervations on the fable of, ii. 477.
Rhetoric, the uſe of diſallowed at the court of Areopagus, i. xi.
Riddles, propounded by the Hebrew Sages, as mutual trials of ſagacity, ii. 442.
Ridicule, the favourite figure of ſpeech among Free-thinkers, i. x.
——— Shaftesbury's juſtification of, examined, i. xii.
——— not the teſt of truth, i. xviii.
——— how far it may be ſafely made uſe of, i. xviii.
——— the defence of, by Dr. Akenſide, examined, i. xxxvi.
——— not the teſt of truth, i. xxxvii.
——— the proper detector of error, i. xxxix.
Rites, legal and patriarchal, not to be confounded, ii. 586.
Ritual law, of the Jews, made in reference to the Egyptian ſuperſtition, ii. 583.
——— this no objection to the divinity of it, ii. 602.
——— characteriſed in Ezekiel, ii. 620.
——— explained, ii. 621.
Romans, to what their ruin was owing, i. 119.
——— their law reſpecting tolerated religions, i 445.
——— excellence of their conſtitution, ii. 3.
——— their fear of the Gods, ii. 3.
——— their regard for an oath, ii. 3.
——— their uſe of ſacrifice at concluding treaties of peace, iii. 658.
Rome, Chriſtian, whether its ſuperſtitions borrowed from the Pagan city, examined, ii. 652.
Roſe, what the emblem of among the ancients, i. 323.
——— origin of the proverb, "*under the roſe*," i. 323.
Runic alphabet, when and why changed for the Roman, ii. 438.
Rutherforth, Dr. his notion of the effect the withdrawing the ſanctions of the Jewiſh law had on the obligatory force of that law, examined, iii. 100.
——— his notions of the temporal ſanctions of the Jewiſh law being continued under the goſpel examined, iii. 123.
——— his notions of inefficacy of action without ſpeech examined, iii. 553.

S.

Sabbath, a poſitive inſtitution, ii. 586.
——— the Jews breach of by circumciſion, conſidered, ii. 720.
——— its origin, ii. 721.
Sacred band of Thebans, Plutarch's remarks on the death of, i. 241.
Sacrifice, origin and nature of, explained, iii. 655.
——— made uſe of by the Romans at the ratification of peace, iii. 658.
——— Moſaic, examined, iii. 665.
——— the origin and progreſs of human, iii. 667.
——— of Chriſt on the croſs, conſidered, iii. 669.
——— the admiſſion of it into the Moſaic Ritual conſidered, iii. 670.
——— feaſt upon the Sacrifice, a type of the Lord's Supper, iii. 675.
Sacrifices, human, the command to Abraham to offer up his ſon Iſaac vindicated from the objection of giving a divine ſanction to, iii. 397, 403.
——— their origin enquired into, iii. 667.
——— Bryant's opinion of their origin, exploded, iii. 739.
——— Voltaire's opinion confuted, iii. 743.
——— the command that "*none devoted ſhall be redeemed*," examined, iii. 747.
Sages, antient, unanimous in thinking the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments neceſſary to the well being of ſociety, ii. 1.
——— did not believe in a future ſtate, ii. 11.
——— held it lawful for the public good, to ſay one thing when they thought another, ii. 11, 92.
Salluſt, his opinion of the divine nature, ii. 99.
Samuel, his conduct in eſtabliſhing the regal form of government in Judea, iii. 72.
Sanchoniatho, arguments proving that this is the hiſtory narrated in the Eleuſinian myſteries, i. 201.
——— extract from his hiſtory, i. 201.
Sanhedrim, why inſtituted, ii. 592.
——— when eſtabliſhed, ii. 598.
——— the motives of Jeſus Chriſt's evaſive reply to their interrogations, ii. 598.

Satan, reflexions on his character as repreſented by Job, iii. 290.
Saul, the phraſe of his being among the prophets, explained, ii. 594.
—— characteriſed, ii. 594.
Savages, *American*, why averſe to the arts of civil ſociety, i. 453
Scarron, his artifice in ridiculing the ſentiment of Sulpicius. i. xiv.
Scenical repreſentations, in what reſpect without moral import, iii. 401.
Scepticiſm, characterized, iii. 590.
Sceptre of Judah, the common notions of that phraſe, examined, iii. 82.
—— true ſenſe of, pointed out, iii. 94.
Scriptures, *ſacred*, a ſummary view of their contents, iii. 145
—— general rule for the interpretation of, iii. 315.
—— points recommended to the attention of commentators, iii. 343.
—— much abuſed in the ſearch after truth, iii. 595.
Self-love, the operation of in mankind traced, i. 97.
Sempiternus, the true import of that word aſcertained, ii. 123.
Seneca, his conſolation againſt the fear of death, ii. 71.
—— note on the effect of the poiſon, ii. 238.
—— accuſed by St. Auſtin of duplicity, ii. 240.
Serpent, in the fall of man, the true meaning of aſcertained, iii. 135.
—— how the ſentence paſſed on it, is to be underſtood, iii. 319.
Serpent, *crooked*, in Job and Iſaiah, the meaning of explained, iii. 295.
Seſoſtris, account of, from Diodorus Siculus, ii. 359.
—— and Oſiris, arguments againſt the identity of, in oppoſition to Sir Iſaac Newton, ii. 495.
—— and Oſiris diſtinguiſhed, ii. 504, 509.
—— who, 504.
—— divides Egypt by tranſverſe canals, ii. 548.
—— his motives for, ii 551.
Shaftesbury, *Lord*, remarks on his character, i. xxi.
—— his unfair treatment of Mr. Locke, i. xxi.
Sherlock, *Bp.* his notion of the tribal ſceptre of Judah, examined, iii. 85.
Shuckford, *Dr.* his remarks on the antient ritual law, examined, ii. 621. 718.
Sibyl, how that character in the Æneis to be underſtood, i. 249.
Signs, memorable inſtance of divine inſtruction communicated by, in the cafe of Abraham, iii. 371.
Silenus, whence Ovid derived his idea of, ii. 49.
Sleeping ſcheme, the principles of, examined, iii. 165.
Society, *civil*, the firſt invention of, and the motives to, i. 54.
—— no preſervative againſt moral diſorders, i. 55.
—— unable to enforce the ſanction of reward, i. 58.
—— which is only to be ſupplied by religion, i. 63.
—— mutual ſtipulations between magiſtrate and people on entering into, i. 59.
—— the purpoſe of its inſtitution, i. 402.
—— the extent of its care, i. 402.
—— invented for intractable ſpirits, ii. 2.
Society, *religious*, the end of its inſtitution, i. 403.
—— ſovereign, and independent on the civil, i. 405.
—— not poſſeſſed of any civil coactive power, i. 404.
—— the object of its care, i. 405.
Socinians, examination of their opinion concerning the death of Chriſt, iii. 683.
Socrates, review of the diſpute between him and Ariſtophanes, i. xvi.
—— why he declined initiation into the myſteries, i. 206.
—— remarks on the latter part of his conduct, ii. 12.
—— the firſt who called off philoſophy from the contemplation of nature to morals, ii 30.
—— the only Greek philoſopher who really believed a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments, ii. 32.
—— the method of his philoſophy, ii. 36.
Socratic, *method of diſputing*, what ſo called, ii. 36.
Solomon, alludes to the myſteries in the book of Eccleſiaſticus, chap. iv. ver. 17, 18. i. 290.
—— his violations of the Moſaic law remarked, ii. 542.
—— his prayer at the dedication of the temple illuſtrative of the particular providence over the Jewiſh nation, iii. 112.
—— in his prayer at the dedication of the temple, requeſts only a continuance of temporal rewards and puniſhments, iii. 132.
—— how perverted to idolatry, iii. 280.
Solomon's Song, a repreſentation of Chriſt's union and marriage with the church, iii. 534.

Sophiſts, Greek, ſome account of, ii. 36.
Soul, the ſeveral ſenſes in which the antients conceived the permanency of it, ii. 9.
—— its future exiſtence in a ſtate of rewards and puniſhments taught, but diſbelieved by the philoſophers, ii. 10.
—— Cicero's idea of, ii. 78.
—— an enquiry into our conceptions of, ii. 101.
—— three ſpecies of, admitted by the antients ii. 102.
—— opinions of various philoſophers, ii. 115.
—— the opinions of the philoſophers on the immortality of, ii. 253.
—— the ſentiments of the Jews concerning, under the law, iii. 163.
—— examination of the notion of the ſleep of, iii. 164.
—— the mention of its future exiſtence by Moſes, and by following writers, to be diſtinguiſhed, iii. 239.
—— immaterial, common to the whole animal creation, iii. 317.
—— living, in what ſenſe to be underſtood as uſed in the hiſtory of the creation of man, iii. 318.
—— enquiry into the nature of, iii. 631.
—— different opinions on the, iii. 736.
Speech, the origin and hiſtory of, ii. 405.
—— the early acquiſition of, by Adam and Eve, iii. 623.
Spencer, an examination of the argument of his treatiſe, De Theocratia Judaica, iii. 77.
—— examination of Sykes's defence of his argument, iii. 204.
Spinoziſts, their opinion of the human ſoul, ii. 101.
Spiritual courts, the end and uſe of, i. 410.
State, its inducements to ſeek an alliance with the Church, i. 406.
—— what it communicates to the Church, i. 414.
—— what it receives from the Church, i. 416.
—— its conduct where it includes more than one religion, i. 418.
Statues, the firſt riſe of worſhipping, in human form, ii 514.
Stebbing, Dr. an examination of his objection to the argument of the Divine Legation of Moſes, ii 216.
—— his arguments of Moſes's Divine Legation, equally applicable to Mahomet, iii. 129.
—— his expoſition of Levit. xviii. 5, examined, iii. 331
—— his notions of the trial of Abraham examined into, iii. 391, 550, 556, 558, 573.
Stebbing, Dr. an examination of his conſiderations on the command to Abraham to offer up Iſaac, iii. 544, 546
Stillingfleet, his opinion of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, ii. 420.
Stoics, their practice contrary to their principles, i. 102.
—— their notions of death, ii. 70.
—— their opinion of the ſoul, ii. 113.
Stoical renovation, what, ii. 71.
Strabo, his opinion concerning the inſtitution of the myſteries, i. 191.
—— his opinion as to the neceſſary religions doctrines by which to govern and reſtrain the multitude, ii. 7.
—— his account of the Moſaic doctrine of the Deity, ii. 117.
Stratonicean, whether the principles of, capable of diſtinguiſhing the moral difference between virtue and vice, i. 82.
Suicide, why conſigned by Virgil to purgatory, i. 263.
—— condemned in the Eleuſinian myſteries, and by Virgil, i. 301.
—— authors who have written againſt it, i. 396.
Sulpicius, his reflections on the ſight of Grecian ruins, i. xiv.
Sun, the various names under which it was worſhipped, ii. 193.
Superſtition, whence derived, and the cure of it, i. 370.
—— in antient hiſtory, accounted for, i. 138.
—— whether preferable to atheiſm, ii. 153.
—— examination of Plutarch's parallel between, ii. 155.
—— of Lord Bacon's parallel between it and Atheiſm, ii. 172.
Swift, his obſervations on Toland and Aſgill, i. 372.
Sykes, his anſwer to a cenſure paſſed on Spencer's opinion of the Jewiſh theocracy conſidered, iii. 204, 209, 211, 215.
—— his notion concerning the double ſenſes of the Scripture Prophecies, examined, iii. 421.
Symbols, and allegories of antient Paganiſm, for what purpoſe introduced, ii. 96.
—— their revolution from being employed for contrary purpoſes to their primitive deſignation, pointed out, ii. 440.
—— and type, their difference explained, iii. 671.
Synefius, *Biſhop of Ptolemais*, ſome account of ii. 133.
—— allegoriſes the reſurrection, ii. 133.

Syſtem

Syſtem and hypotheſis, the human mind naturally inclined to, ii. 351.

T.

Tacitus, his character of the Jews and Chriſtians, i. 440.
——— his opinion of the Jewiſh religion, ii. 301.
——— his account of the antient Theban monuments, ii. 419.
Tages, the Etruſcan God, how found, ii. 490.
Taliſmans, greatly venerated by the Mahometans, ii. 420.
——— what they were, ii. 451.
Tartarus, obſervations on Virgil's account of, i. 267.
——— who conſigned to, i. 276.
Taylor, Dr. examination of his account of the origin of perſecution, ii. 299.
Telemachus, why he refuſed the horſes of Menelaus, ii. 544.
Tertullian, his account of the origin of hereſies, ii. 135.
Teſt Law, whence it took its birth, i. 419.
——— copy of the teſt oath of Athens, i. 222.
Thebans, account of the ſacred band, i. 241.
Theiſtical opinion, concerning the human ſoul, ii. 102.
Theſeus, expoſition of his deſcent into hell, i. 245, 278.
Theocratic government of the Jews, the reaſons and conveniencies of, iii. 3, 24.
——— every ſubject a prieſt under, iii. 18.
——— particular enquiry into the circumſtances of, iii. 21, 61.
——— why willingly received by them, iii. 29.
——— how long ſubſiſting, iii. 69.
——— when aboliſhed, iii. 80.
——— neceſſarily including an extraordinary providence, iii. 98.
——— illuſtrated from Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple, iii. 113.
——— from Ezekiel, iii. 114.
——— from Amos, iii. 114.
——— Dr. Sykes's anſwer to the cenſure paſſed on Spencer, conſidered, iii. 204.
Theology, natural, the obligations flowing from, as given by Lord Bolingbroke, i. 364.
Theology, Pagan, three ſyſtems of, i. 186.
Theopompus, the common ſource from which both Ovid and Virgil borrowed, and wherein they erred in deviation from him, ii. 50.
Timæus, his expoſition of the antient Metempſychoſis, ii. 53.
Τὸ ἓν, not an Egyptian nôtion, ii. 118.
——— derived from Pherecydes Syrus, ii. 122.
Toland, character of his Pantheiſticon, ii. 182.
Toleration, juſter notions of it entertained by the antients than by the moderns, i. 427.
——— two principal cauſes inducing a large and full allowance of by the antient lawgivers, i. 427.
——— the Romans careful not to infringe it, in their edict againſt the Bacchanalian rites, i. 447.
——— univerſal, allowed among all the antient nations, and why, ii. 323.
Toyman, at Bath, pertinent ſtory of, iii. 468.
Traditions, miſtaken preſumption to ſtrengthen the authority of, by the church of Rome, iii. 152.
——— never made uſe of by Chriſt in ſupport of his character, iii. 377.
Treaſons, high, obſervations on the laws of forfeitures in caſes of, iii. 141.
Triſmegiſtus, hiſtory of the books forged in the name of, ii. 127.
Truth, whether poſſible to be made ridiculous, i. xiii.
——— reaſon the beſt teſt of, i. xviii.
——— reaſon and ridicule conſidered in the trial of, i. xxxviii.
——— reaſons for veiling it, in myſteries, i. 178.
——— and utility, their coincidence, and the mutual proof they afford of each other, ii. 147.
——— enquiry into what it is, iii. 590.
Turnus, remarks on the character of, in the Æneis, i. 235.
Type and ſymbol, their difference explained, iii. 671.
——— the meaning of aſcertained, iii. 411.
——— derivation of, iii. 414.
——— in religion, argument deduced from the general paſſion for, iii. 465.
——— retained by Mr. Whiſton's opinion whilſt he rejects double ſenſes, iii. 578.
Typhon, the fable of, explained, ii. 465, 503.
Tyrants, antient, great encouragers of religion, and from what motives, i. 143.

U. V.

Vane, Sir Harry, his character, ii. 178.
Vedam, the antiquity of it, ii. 654.
Vine tree, Ezekiel's prophecy of it, explained, iii. 5.
Virgin, ſuppoſed to have originated from the Eleuſinian myſteries, i. 214.
—— ſuppreſſed on the ſame account, i. 214.
Virgil, an expoſition of his allegory of the deſcent of Æneas to the ſhades, i. 228.
—— an enquiry into the nature of the Æneid, i. 229.
—— remarks on his deſtroying the myrtle which dropped blood, i. 231.
—— remarks on his making ſhips become deities of the ſea, i. 233.
—— remarks on the character of Turnus, i. 235.
—— remarks on the character of Dido, i. 236.
—— remarks on Voltaire's criticiſm on this ſtory, i. 237.
—— remarks on his account of the court of Evander, i. 238.
—— remarks on the Epiſode of Niſus and Euryalus, i. 239.
—— recommends adoption, i. 240.
—— explanation of the Golden Bough, i. 251.
—— his account of the myſteries of Mythras, i. 258.
—— expoſition of his character of Charon, i. 264.
—— explanation of the dog Cerberus, i. 265.
—— comment on his topography of the infernal regions, i. 267.
—— remarks on the epiſodes of Dido and Deiphobus, i. 275.
—— his deſcription of Elyſium compared with that of Homer, i. 284.
—— infected with Spinoziſm, i. 288.
—— remarks on his deſcription of the ſhield of Æneas, i. 296
Virtue, three different excitements to, i. 76.
—— natural and moral obligations to, diſtinguiſhed, i. 84.
—— an enquiry into the nature of, under a diſpenſation of rewards and puniſhments, ii. 193.
Unity of the deity, taught in the Eleuſinian myſteries, i. 287, 285.
Univerſality, the want of no objection againſt the truth of the Moſaic diſpenſation, ii. 228.
Voltaire, remarks on his criticiſm on the Dido of Virgil, i. 237.
—— examination of his method of accounting for the perſecuting ſpirit among Chriſtians, i. 461.
—— examination of his objections to the argument of the Divine Legation of Moſes, ii. 214, 233.
—— his account of the Chineſe method of printing, ii. 674.
—— his account of the Moſaic diſpenſation, examined, iii. 5.
—— his miſrepreſentation of Judea, refuted, iii. 11.
—— ſome miſtakes in his treatiſe on toleration noted, iii. 221.
—— his opinion of the origin of human ſacrifices, confuted, iii. 743.
—— his accuſation of the Jews ſacrificing a whole nation, examined, iii. 760.
Voice of the ſign, origin of, ii. 406.
Voſſius, his account of the origin of idolatry, refuted, ii. 474.
Vows, the origin and obligation of, conſidered, iii. 748.
—— the command that "*none devoted ſhall* "*be redeemed*" examined, iii. 747.
—— Jephthah's raſh vow conſidered, iii. 750.
Utility, indicative of truth, ii. 147.
Vulcan, Sir Iſaac Newton's account of, ii. 538.
—— compared with that of Homer, ii. 539.

W.

Wants of mankind, real and fantaſtic, enquiry into, and the effects of, i. 110.
War, the different ſituations of countries for the uſe of infantry and cavalry, ii. 544.
Warburton, anſwer to the objections of the chancellor of Gottingen, ii. 137.
—— motives for writing "The Alliance between Church and State," ii. 269.
Will, the foundation of morality, i. 87.
William the Conqueror and King Arthur, the ſimilarity of the outlines of their characters, ii. 499.
William of Newburg, his character of Pope Gregory VIII. iii. 472.
Witſius, his arguments for the Egyptian ritual being borrowed from the Jews, examined, ii. 585.

Witſius, critique on his Ægyptiaca, ii. 609.
Wives, ſtrange or idolatrous, bad conſequences of the fondneſs the Jews had for them, ſhewn, iii. 279.
Wollaſton, his miſtake in eſtabliſhing the principles of morality, explained, i. 91.
Words, miſchief attending the improper uſe of them, i. 92.
Writing, hiſtory of the art of, ii. 387.
Writings, antient, marks of forgery in, i. 152.
Works, no juſtification by, under the goſpel, iii. 362.

Y.

Youth, adopted, the ſtrength of antient ſtates, i. 240.

Z.

Zaleucus, the real exiſtance of Zaleucus, and the authenticity of his remains, defended againſt Bentley, i. 148.
——— extract from his preface, i. 160.
——— notes on a paſſage in, i. 375.
Zeno, his philoſophic character, ii. 69.
Zoroaſtes, the various opinions of the learned who he was, ii. 654.
——— of Hyde and Prideaux, diſcredited, iii. 34.
Zozimus, his relation how the Eleuſinian myſteries came to be excepted in Valentian's edict againſt Nocturnal aſſemblies, i. 211.

A N Alphabetical Liſt of AUTHORS, &c. quoted in the DIVINE LEGATION; which quotations are not referred to in the Index.

ABENEZRA, ii. 382, 432. iii. 135.
Abennephi, ii. 488.
Abraham Ekill, iii. 513.
Abul-Feda, i. 393, 397.
Acoſta, ii. 277, 388, 389, 395, 398.
Addiſon, i. xii, 231, 275, 307, iii. 579.
Adrian the Sophiſt, ii. 48.
Ælian, ii. 20, 25, 58, 123, 461, 506.
Æſchylus, i. 130, 373, 445, 660.
Æſop, iii. 518.
Ætius, iii. 777.
Africanus i. 390, 392.
Agelius, ii 35.
Ahijah, iii. 400.
Akenſide, i. xxxv.
Albinus, i. 304, ii. 60, 61.
Albo, Rabbi Joſeph, iii. 449.
Alcoran, ii. 547.
Alembert, d', i. 112, 385.
Ambroſe, i. 413.
Ammianus Marcellinus, i. 158, 221, ii. 120, 418, 579.
Amos, ii. 447, 574, 627. iii. 122, 259, 446.
Anaxagoras, i. 352, 364, ii. 17.
Andocides, i. 146.
Andocles, i. 218.
Antoninus Marcus, Emperor, i. 441, 465. ii. 70, 88, 114.
Antonius Liberalis, ii. 466.
Apion, iii. 203, 207, 208.
Apollodorus, i. 141, 295. ii. 659.
Apollonius, i 261, 266. ii. 362.
Apollonius Rhodius, i. 244.
Apollonius Tyaneus, i. 218.
Apuleius, i. xi, 176, 204, 205, 222, 223, 228, 248, 253, 284, 294, 299, 303, 304. 386, 398. ii. 73, 98, 126, 193, 377, 399, 419, 426, 440, 523, 662, 692. iii. 477.
Arateus, ii. 472.
Arbuthnot, i. xviii.
Arioſto, i. 133.
Ariſtides, i. 170, 176, 213, 281, 283, 285, 287, 294, 296.
Ariſtophanes, i. xl. 81, 130, 172, 175, 178, 179, 202, 223, 225, 246, 282, 322, 445. ii. 193, 274.
Ariſtotle, i. 54, 55, 81, 143, 148, 183, 230, 340, 402, 408. ii. 15, 23, 27, 65, 68, 95, 97, 111, 120, 446, 506. iii. 111, 133.
Arnauld, iii. 368.
Arnobius, i. 46, 168, 308. ii. 107, 110, 199, 240.
Arrian, i. 174. ii. 113, 506.
Artemidorus. i. 319. ii. 455.
Aſtruc, ii. 569, 694.
Athenæus, ii. 210.
Athenagoras, i. 204, 205, 378.
Atterbury, Biſhop, i. 302.
Atticus, i. 106.
Auguſtin, St. i. 103, 138, 175, 178, 183, 186, 316, 389, 469. ii, 13, 40, 84, 109, 136, 205, 240, 315, 429, 482, 706. iii. 370.
Aulus Gellius, ii. 534.
Aurelius Marcus, i. 302, 304.
Auſonius, ii. 247, 524.

B.

Bacon, Lord Chancellor, i. 53. ii. 43, 167, 169, 172, 335, 732. iii. 482, 602, 609, 632.
Bacon, Roger, iii. 542.

Banier,

Banier, i. 201, 252, 373. ii. 45, 52, 707.
Barbeyrac, i. 396.
Barnes, ii. 259.
Baronius, i. 226, 388.
Barrow, Dr. i. 362.
Barthius, i. 304.
Baſilius, i. 389.
Bate, Julius ii. 293.
Baxter, ii. 699. iii. 166, 317, 620, 736.
Bayle, i. 66, 82, 97 111, 128, 137, 150. 264, 270, 446. ii. 118, 154, 257. iii. 474, 482.
Beauſobre, ii. 129, 697.
Behmen, iii. 737.
Bellarmine, i. 214.
Bembine Table, ii. 423, 426, 474, 661, 704.
Bentley i. 148, 154, 374, 375, 457. ii. 15, 245. 693, 713.
Berkley, iii 153.
Bernier, i. 435, 460.
Beroſus, i. 259.
Blackwell, ii. 201.
Blanchine, i. x.
Bleterie, ii. 710.
Blount, ii. 146. 148.
Bochart, ii. 432, 702, 707, 712.
Boeotius i. 200, 266.
Boeus. ii. 18
Bolingbroke, Lord, i. xxiii, 120, 337. ii. 215, 237, 270, 589, 655. iii. 16, 25, 54, 61, 63, 145, 218, 348, 354, 492, 582, 739.
Boſſu, i. 230.
Boſſuet, iii. 768.
Bouiller, iii. 553, 583.
Boulan Villiers, Comte de, i. 133.
Bryant, iii 739.
Buckingham, Duke of, i. x.
Bull, Bp. iii. 367, 515.
Bullet, ii. 696.
Burlamaqui, i. 90 92.
Burnet, ii. 21, 121, 556, 722.
Butler, i. xvi, 340, ii. 556.

C.

Cæcilius, i. 221.
Cæſar, ii. 28, 709.
Caliſthenes, ii 48.
Callimachus, i. 208. ii. 534.
Calmet, iii. 143, 200, 269, 302, 304, 516.
Capitolinus, i. 303, 304.
Cardan, i. 66, 108, 173.
Careri, ii. 388.
Carteſius, ii. 121.
Caſaubon, i. 226, 388. ii. 114, 131, 238, 506.
Caſſiodorus, ii. 451.
Caſſius, i. 106.
Caſtellio, iii. 339.
Cato, ii. 28, 241.
Catron, ii. 51.
Caylus, ii. 672.
Celſus, i. 220, 259, 267, 386, 438. ii. 66, 69, 72, 92, 121, 133, 247, 314, 371, 375. 376. iii. 41, 208, 540.
Cervantes, i. 340. ii. 261.
Chæremon, ii. 658.
Charlevoix, i. 394, 470. ii. 46, 391.
Chillingworth iii. 264.
Choiſi, Abbé de, i. 460.
Chryſippus, i. 191. ii. 65.
Chryſoſtom, i. 389, 465. iii. 386, 418, 710, 713.
Chubb, iii. 214.
Cicero, i. xi, xxvii, 58, 101, 108, 130, 134, 148, 151, 157, 162, 170, 171, 172, 188, 189, 192, 197, 207, 209. 211, 214, 217, 229, 238, 240, 243, 249, 267, 288, 295, 298, 377, 379, 380, 385, 388, 393 396, 428, 429, 444, 446, 459, 469. ii. 13, 31, 32, 34, 37, 38, 41, 57, 58, 61, 68, 69, 72, 92, 96, 103, 104, 108, 122, 132, 146, 182, 211, 241, 243, 245, 247, 248, 249. 261, 314, 325, 327, 332, 381, 404, 429, 445, 469, 693, 703, 706, iii. 142, 148, 219, 468.
Clarius, iii. 311.
Clarke, i. xviii, 91, 340, 356, 357, 362. ii. 254. iii. 166, 186, 230, 317, 327, 620, 736.
Claudian, i. 65, 254.
Clemens Alexandrinus, i. 150, 178, 182, 190, 191, 202, 204, 217, 219, 228, 246, 253, 384. ii. 25, 73, 119, 121, 193, 375, 392, 409, 414 423, 431, 504, 587, 604, 675, 681, 683, 692, 699, 706.
Clerc, le, i. 204, 387, 390, 462. ii. 55, 282. 406, 683, 707. iii. 26, 71, 135, 164, 339, 345, 614.
Cocceius, ii 362. iii. 279.
Codrus, i. x.
Codurcus, iii. 255.
Collins, i. xviii, xxviii, xxx. ii. 279, 680. 724. iii. 32, 135, 166, 378, 409, 442, 497 500, 578, 581, 583, 737.
Compte, M. le, ii. 396, 692.
Condamine, i. 454. ii. 695.
Condillac, ii. 693, 696.
Cornelius Nepos, i. 383.
Cotta, i. 380.
Coward, ii. 146, 166.

Craig, i. 46.
Crinitus, P. i. 395. ii. 695.
Critias, ii. 148, 186, 257.
Croze, M. la, ii. 131.
Creſiphon, ii. 109.
Cudworth, ii. 104, 111, 115, 121, 131, 145. 203. ii. 473, 655. iii. 476.
Cumberland, ii. 526, 656, 662.
Cuper, i. 49.
Cyprian, i. 188. ii. 706.
Cyrillus, i. 306, 431.

D.

Dacier, Mr. i. 292, 395. ii. 55, 88.
Daniel, ii. 443, 447. iii. 386, 728.
Daſſovius, ii. 282.
Daubuz, ii. 491, 699, 701. iii. 376, 545.
David, King, ii. 443. iii. 42, 121, 149, 151, 211, 337.
Davies, ii. 75.
Demetrius Phalareus, i. 178. ii. 442, 672.
Democritus, ii. 254, 432.
Demoſthenes, i. 423.
Diagoras, i. 106.
Diodorus Siculus, i. 141, 142, 148, 149, 168, 198, 207, 221, 223, 224, 225, 243, 262, 270, 274, 379, 390, 433, 442. ii. 2c. 175, 187, 192, 358, 360, 362, 368, 384, 418, 421, 424, 427, 431, 445, 465, 467, 470, 501, 502, 507, 512, 525, 529, 537, 564, 587, 659, 690, 696, 702, 706, 716.
Diogenes Laertius, i. 158, 203, 218. ii. 24, 38, 41, 54, 60, 107, 109, 124, 130, 198, 244, 432, 528, 529.
Dion Caſſius, i. 450.
Dion Chryſoſtom, i. 202, 203, 253.
Dionyſius, the African, i. 170.
Dionyſius, Halicarnaſſus, i. 182, 208, 239, 297, 386, 388, 389, 437, 448. ii. 184, 251, 533.
Dionyſius, Thracicus, i. 253.
Dodwell, ii 208, 724. iii. 39, 596.
Donatus, ii. 122.
Dorotheus, ii. 48.
Druſius, iii. 164, 311.
Dryden, i. vii. iii. 518.
Dudley, ii. 241.

E.

Edmund Norro, ii. 483.
Edwards, i. 394.
Egede, i. 470. ii. 690, 696.
Ekell, iii. 513.
Elihu, iii. 256, 257.
Eliphaz, iii. 252, 255.
Enfant, l', i. 463.
Epicharmus, ii. 57. iii. 597.
Epictetus, i. 172, 173. ii. 26, 70, 113.
Epicurus, i. 106. ii. 51, 57, 121.
Epiphanes, i. 168.
Epiphanius, ii. 656.
Epiſcopius, iii. 345, 366.
Eraſmus, ii. 207, 274. iii. 368.
Euclid, ii. 119.
Euhemerus, i. 189, 206. ii. 182, 195, 198, 484, 786.
Eunapius, i. 187. ii. 19.
Eupolemus, ii. 685.
Euripides, i. 130, 170, 175, 178, 182, 213, 246, 250, 263, 291. ii. 257. iii. 372, 522.
Euſebius, i. 192, 195, 206, 374, 381, 391, 433, 441, 458, 462. ii. 15, 59, 60, 93, 110, 126, 129, 186, 192, 197, 240, 302, 337, 341, 343, 393, 422, 432, 433, 481, 486, 506, 663, 694, 703, 706. iii. 406, 477, 667.
Euſtathius, ii. 662, 675.
Evemerus, i. 106.
Evremont, St. i. 234.
Ezekiel, ii. 349, 406, 412, 441, 571, 574, 589, 617, 705, 721. iii. 3, 5, 11, 50, 52, 98, 112, 114, 121, 138, 141, 143, 211, 219, 221, 290, 348, 411, 455, 489, 495, 562, 746.
Ezra, iii. 109, 264, 265, 271, 280, 281, 285, 286, 288, 512, 522, 535.

F.

Fabricius, i. 217, 385, 463. ii. 61, 97.
Fauſtus, iii. 194.
Felton, iii. 312.
Fenton, iii. 534.
Fermicus, i. 17.
Ficinus Marcilius, ii. 145.
Fleuri, i. 304. ii. 695.
Fontinelle, ii. 19, 86, 176.
Foſter, ii. 202.
Fourmont, ii. 433, 459, 487, 671, 707, 712, 717.
Freind, iii. 777.
Freret, ii. 401, 710. iii. 543.

G.

Gagnier, i. 397.
Gale, i. xxxiii. ii. 655, 686.
Galen, i. 192. ii. 15, 27, 380.
Gareillaſſo, ii. 708.
Gaſſendi, ii. 106.
Gataker, ii. 114.
Gaubil, ii. 401.
Gaudentius, i. 389.
Geddes, ii. 246.
Gellius, Aulus, i. 279.
Geoffry of Monmouth, ii. 696.
Gordon, i. xii. ii. 661.
Grævius, ii. 245.
Gregorius Nazien, i. 175. ii. 42, 676.
Gregorius Magnus, i 388.
Grey, iii. 261, 520, 521, 524, 538.
Gronovius, ii. 16.
Grotius, i. 406. ii. 259, 444, 612. iii. 141, 248, 260, 261, 303, 326, 345, 366, 444, 450, 489, 533, 738.
Gruter, i. 468.
Guignes, ii. 670.

H.

Habakkuk, ii. 447. iii. 331, 357.
Haggai, iii. 80, 272, 301, 310.
Halde, M. du, ii. 395, 449, 454.
Hales, iii. 541.
Hammond, ii. 656. iii. 338.
Hardovin, iii. 511, 512.
Hare, Bp. i. viii. ii. 444. iii. 108, 339, 540.
Hecateus, i. 373.
Heliodorus, ii. 433.
Hellanicus, ii. 692.
Hennepin, i. 470.
Heraclitus, i. 145. ii. 409.
Herbelot, iii. 237, 321.
Herbert, Lord, i. 65.
Hereclides Ponticus, ii. 198.
Hermapion, ii. 421.
Hermes Triſmegiſtus, i. 378. ii. 127, 129, 421.
Hermias, ii. 110.
Hermippus, i. 141.
Herodotus, i. xxxiii. 135, 157, 199, 221, 262, 373, 432. ii. 20, 41, 122, 184, 187, 192, 349, 361, 365, 366, 372, 380, 385, 409, 431, 435, 438, 457, 461, 464, 466, 505, 510, 516, 517, 525, 529, 533, 548, 551, 567, 573, 659, 677, 690, 711. iii. 554.
Heſiod, i. 101. ii. 479, 518, 657, 679, 691.
Heſychius, i. xxxiv. ii. 362.
Hezekiah, iii. 149.
Hiceſius, i. 311.
Hierocles, ii. 125.
Hieronymus, i. 439.
Higden iii. 102.
Himerius, i. 289.
Hippocrates, ii. 27, 367, 375, 378, 382, 383.
Hippollitus, i. 279.
Hippon, i. 106.
Hilpala, i. 217.
Hoadley, ii. 269.
Hobbes, i. xxxiii, 53, 86, 144. ii. 295. iii. 102, 177, 472, 509.
Holſtenius, ii. 681.
Homer, i. 109, 142, 229, 230, 263, 284, 291, 393. ii. 41, 122, 198, 367, 371, 479, 518, 532, 534, 657, 675, 681, 693, 713. iii. 227.
Hooke, iii. 585.
Hooker, i. 52, 54, 87. ii. 211, 222. iii. 128, 487, 614.
Horace, i. 256, 292. iii. 436, 514, 532.
Horapollo, i. 177, 272. ii. 126, 188, 391, 417, 422, 424, 440, 447, 702.
Hoſea, ii. 596. iii. 49, 74, 138, 279, 375, 573.
Houbigant, ii. 730. iii. 259, 388, 524.
Houteville, iii. 84.
Hudibras, iii. 167.
Huet, ii. 44, 707, 712.
Huntinton, ii. 425.
Hurd, iii. 580.
Hutchinſon, ii. 677.
Hyde, ii. 654. iii. 34.
Hyginus, i. 279. ii. 555.

I. J.

Jablonſki, i. 376. ii. 702.
Jackſon, i. 335. ii. 690.
Jamblicus, i. 155, 156, 158, 215, 283, 313, 334, 374, 389. ii. 25, 39, 40, 61, 119, 128, 129, 131, 378, 392, 473, 700.
James, iii. 695.
Jamieſon, ii. 657, 659.
Jarchi, iii. 135.

Jeremiah, ii. 231, 365, 406, 410, 577, 582, 735. iii. 42, 46, 52, 122, 133, 137, 142, 149, 219, 264, 281, 387, 340, 444, 453, 495, 745.
Jerom, i. 220, 250. ii. 41, 81, 91, 109, 177, 692, 705. iii. 259, 282, 390, 601.
Job, iii. 148.
John, iii. 387, 430, 560, 562, 654, 701, 728, 749.
Johnſon, ii. 209.
Jonſon, Ben, iii. 535.
Jonville, i. 154.
Jortin, ii. 408.
Joſephus, i. 171, 391, 443. ii. 58, 443, 533, 658. iii. 54, 65, 111, 200, 203, 208.
Joſhua, ii. 574. iii. 45.
Jotham, ii. 441.
Irenæus, ii. 108, 433, 656. iii. 224.
Iſaiah, ii. 657, 662, 700. iii. 46, 48, 51, 114, 122, 132. iii. 253, 257, 295, 313, 417, 444, 445, 447, 731, 747.
Iſocrates, i. 209, 213, 409. ii. 26.
Jude, iii. 165.
Julian, i. 431, 441, 444, 466. ii. 67, 303. iii. 426.
Julius Firmicus, i. 190. ii. 706.
Juſtin, i. 383. ii. 533, 658.
Juſtin Martyr, i. 228, 306. ii. 108. iii. 30.
Juſtinian. ii. 251.

K.

Kaimes, Lord, i. xxxv.
Kircher, ii. 395, 420, 424, 451, 473, 475, 579, 660, 661, 671, 682, 691. iii. 464.
Kimchi, ii. 620.
Kuſter, ii. 681.

L.

Lactantius, i. xxiv. ii. 46, 69, 89, 91, 93, 95, 100, 240, 567. iii. 247, 580.
Lafitau, ii. 695.
Lampridius, i. 463.
Lardner, iii. 773.
Lavaur, ii. 45.
Law, ii. 334. iii. 737.
Leland, iii. 338.
Leonard, ii. 657.
Libanius, i. 173, 226.
Liberalis, ii. 48, 51.
Licinius Mucianus, ii. 693.
Limborch, ii. 277, 280. iii. 208, 221, 602.
Linus, i. 130.
Livy, i. 216, 239, 280, 300, 386, 393, 423, 429, 445, 446, 469. ii. 13, 175, 260. iii. 658.
Locke, i. xx, xxix, xxxvi, 54, 96, 227, 402. ii. 488. iii. 514, 522, 638, 706, 736.
Lucan, ii. 452.
Luke, iii. 715, 717.
Lucian, i. 131, 176, 190, 206, 208, 220, 226, 256, 257, 276, 295, 314, 457, 459. ii. 33, 71, 465, 471, 503, 702. iii. 2.
Lucillus, i. 38.
Lucretius, i. 99. ii. 8, 57, 81.
Lucullus, i. 217. ii. 248.
Lyſias, i. 224.

M.

Mabillon, i. 464.
Machiavel, i. 144, 408.
Macrobius, i. 198, 239, 244, 303. ii. 185, 193, 455, 733.
Magaillans, ii. 402.
Mahomet, i. 393.
Maimonides, ii. 280, 282, 351, 407, 584, 613, 651, 736. iii. 116, 244, 247, 268. 519, 535.
Malachi, iii. 80, 122, 272, 274, 279, 281, 286, 299, 301, 310, 443.
Malebranch, i. 116.
Manaſſah Ben Iſrael, iii. 311, 328, 343.
Mandeville, i. 80, 113. iii. 475.
Manetho, i. 391, 392. ii. 374, 433, 439, 647, 730.
Mann, ii. 495.
Manutius, ii. 75.
Marcilius Ficinus, ii. 697.
Marinus, ii. 14.
Mark, iii. 559.
Marſham, i. 199, 263, 382, 391, 392. ii. 352, 359, 438, 451, 506, 585, 604, 685, 731. iii. 203, 404, 548, 740.
Martinius, ii. 398.
Matthew, iii. 125, 333, 570, 714, 717.
Maximus Tyrius, i. 145. ii. 315.
Mead, ii. 724, iii. 774.
Mede, ii. 491.
Melampus, ii. 375.
Melanthus, i. 311.
Menage, ii. 694.
Menander, i. 311.
Mercurius Triſmegiſtes, i. 257.

Metrodius, ii. 198.
Meurſius, i. 205, 224.
Micah, ii. 447. iii. 741, 758.
Middleton, i. xviii. 248. ii. 243, 278, 732, 736. iii. 248, 419, 583, 640, 642, 705, 729, 730, 771.
Milton, i. 243, 302, 457, 459. ii. 522.
Minutius Felix, i. 378, 458, 459. ii. 196, 320. iii. 506.
Moliere, iii. 214.
Montaine, i. 99.
Monteſquieu, i. 46, 457. ii. 237.
Moor, ii. 113.
Morgan, ii. 278, 654. iii. 577.
Moſheim, i. 398. ii. 242, 243. iii. 543.
Moyle, i. 464. ii. 241.
Muret, ii. 711.
Muſæus, i. 130, 287.

N.

Needham, ii. 668, 671.
Nehemiah, iii. 109, 264, 273, 280, 281, 284, 304.
Nemeſius, ii. 113.
Nevochim, ii. 407.
Newton, Sir Iſaac, i. 136, 342, 369. ii. 118, 120, 183, 349, 479, 492, 506, 508, 521, 524, 526, 534, 655. ii. 708, 719. iii. 133, 430, 476, 487, 675, 707, 735.
Nicander, ii. 48.
Nicanor, i. 106.
Nicephorus, Greg. i. 177.
Nonnus, i. 208, 258. iii. 399.
Norden, ii. 687.
Numenius, ii. 60.

O.

Ocellus Lucanus, i. 154, 375.
Oldmixon, i. 150.
Origen, i. 169, 215, 220, 259, 386, 438. ii. 21, 23, 34, 66, 69, 72, 73, 92, 102, 121, 239, 314. iii. 41, 143, 208, 463.
Oribaſius, iii. 777.
Orobio, ii. 219, 280, 283, 284.
Orpheus, i. 155, 202, 218.
Otter, Tom, ii. 472.
Outram, iii. 162.
Ovid, i. 232, 246, 253, 284, 306, 397. ii. 42, 45, 48, 50, 465, 483, 533. iii. 480.

P.

Pacuvianus, ii. 103.
Palæphatus, ii. 43, 51.
Parennin, ii. 401.
Parthenius, ii. 48.
Paſchal, iii. 407.
Paſquier, i. 154.
Paterculus, i. 393. ii. 48. iii. 521.
Paul, i. 362, 386. ii. 133, 190. iii. 3, 9, 115, 124, 149, 166, 199, 208, 213, 230, 235, 304, 312, 318, 320, 331, 382, 406, 430, 629, 639, 653, 679, 693, 695, 711, 735, 739, 770.
Pauſanias, i. 170, 200, 203, 266, 278, 307, 319.
Pearce, iii. 614.
Pericles, i. 270.
Perſius, iii. 663.
Petavius, iii. 84.
Peter, iii. 125, 235, 336, 430, 436, 560, 649, 685, 711, 729, 735.
Peters, iii. 227.
Petit, de la Croix, i. 142.
Petit, S. i. 205, 468.
Pettit, ii. 257.
Phaedrus, iii. 464.
Phalaris, i. 375.
Pherecydes Syrius, ii. 409.
Philo, ii. 154, 663, 703. iii. 111, 404, 616, 704.
Philo-Biblius, i. 384. iii. 432, 667.
Philo-Judæus, iii. 318.
Philoſtratus, i. 174, 218, 311.
Phoronis, ii 194.
Photius, i. 314. ii. 112.
Pindar, i. 250, 281. iii. 147.
Plato, i. 81, 95, 130, 142, 162, 165, 172, 183, 185, 206, 209, 229, 243, 249, 262, 267, 268, 269, 271, 276, 285, 287, 301, 337, 376, 396. ii. 2, 13, 14, 16, 24, 27, 31, 35, 58, 78, 80, 92, 96, 105, 109, 121, 145, 187, 197, 252, 273, 404, 428, 446, 513, 530, 682. iii. 29, 41, 111, 182, 183, 385, 615.
Pletho, i 259, 284.
Pliny, i. 106, 313, 440. ii. 7, 82, 260, 301, 309, 374, 376, 378, 382, 421, 690, 693.
Plotinus, ii. 254.
Pluche, Abbe de la, i. 380. ii. 208, 261, 471, 488, 707.
Plutarch, i. x, 81, 128, 130, 147, 148, 159, 173, 187, 188, 190, 215, 221, 227,

227, 232, 241, 244, 300, 370, 376, 379, 383, 390, 434, 444 ii. 20, 25, 27, 57, 65, 69, 72, 82, 94, 98, 109, 115, 120, 124, 154, 199, 210, 246, 252, 254, 257, 392, 393, 409, 418, 422, 461, 479, 483, 485, 503, 515, 578, 659, 699, 706, 713. iii. 147, 482.
Pococke, ii. 562, 663. iii. 347.
Polo, i. 397.
Polybius, i. 149, 150. ii. 2, 4, 6, 27.
Pompey, i 108.
Pomponatius, i. 66, 108, 162.
Pomponius Mela, ii. 463.
Pope, i. 136, 350. ii. 482, 532, 534, 714.
Porphyry, i. 122, 145, 153, 173, 181, 187, 208, 251, 252, 288, 311, 334, 375, 384. ii. 19, 23, 41, 116, 131, 254, 414, 424, 460, 472, 681, 700.
Poſidonius, i. 108, 121.
Port-Royal, iii 368.
Prades, Abbe de, iii. 583.
Prætextatus, i. 212.
Prideaux, ii. 475, 479, 485, 654, 655, 699, 702. iii. 34, 305, 476.
Proclus, i. 261, 269. ii. 198, 419, 421, 700.
Pſellus, i. 283.
Ptolemy, ii. 375.
Purchas. ii. 389, 424.
Puffendorf, i. 396.
Pythagoras, i. 319. ii. 59, 96, 367, 414.

Q.

Quintilian, i. 143, 257. ii. 42, 74, 76. ii. 312, 412, 683, 696, 697, 701. iii. 437.

R.

Rabelais, ii. 208, 271.
Ramſay, ii. 122.
Reineſius, ii. 694.
Renaudot, ii. 438.
Rimius, iii. 372.
Rogers, ii. 278.
Romaine, ii. 293.
Rouſſeau, ii 148, 256.
Rowe, i. 459.
Rubruguis, Father, i. 460.
Rucæius, i. 291.
Rufinus, ii. 450.
Rutherforth, iii. 100, 123, 212, 335, 402, 493, 507, 541, 542.

S.

Sacheverell, ii. 265.
Salomo, ii. 282.
Salluſt, ii. 28, 73, 95, 99.
Sanchoniatho, i. 192, 195, 201, 384. ii. 129, 185, 189, 190, 192, 204, 393, 422, 432, 457, 481, 656, 662, 663, 703. iii. 667.
Sauvage, i. 154.
Saxo-Grammaticus, ii. 709.
Scævola, i. 186. ii. 13.
Scaliger, i. 229. iii. 110.
Scarron, i. xiv, 280.
Schultens, iii. 261, 269, 279, 282, 524, 532.
Scott, iii. 376, 392.
Scribonius Largus, ii. 238.
Selden, i. 89, 395. iii. 433.
Seneca, i. xxvii, 57, 130, 278, 389. ii. 26, 62, 71, 99, 115, 185, 238.
Serranus, ii. 145.
Servetus, iii. 11.
Servius, i. 249, 264, 271, 291, 298, 395. ii. 48, 49, 64, 502, 661. iii. 311, 579.
Settle, ii. 669.
Severus, i 304.
Seward, i. 182.
Sextus Empericus, i. 34, 99, 131. ii. 57, 109, 195, 244, 246, 257, 381.
Silhouette, i 381.
Simon, Father, i. 384. ii. 676. iii. 71, 110, 152.
Shateſbury, Lord, i. xii, xxvi, xxxi, xxxvi, xxxvii, xlii, 79, 341, 429, 432, 464. ii. 6, 162, 167, 597. iii. 191, 403, 548, 567, 576.
Shakeſpeare, ii. 448, 691.
Shaw, ii. 689, 699.
Sherlock, ii. 256, 269, 680, 715. iii. 85, 190, 316, 348, 493, 578, 579, 583, 640, 730.
Sheringham, i. 141. ii. 438.
Shuckford, ii. 366, 433, 621, 655, 682, 686, 712, 719. iii. 200, 489, 660.
Smallbrooke. ii. 293.
Smith, ii 407, 598. iii. 449.
Socinus, iii. 414.
Socrates, i. xl. ii. 31, 59, 132, 339.
Solomon, i. 290. iii 113.
Sopater, i. 184, 228, 244.
Sophocles, i. 130, 171, 175, 250 263, 282. iii. 41.
Sotades, i. 311.

Spencer, ii. 193, 350, 584, 609, 612, 621, 630, 634, 650, 718, 729, 731. iii. 71, 202, 204, 256, 489, 740.
Spinoſa, i. xli, 106, 153. ii. 593, 724. iii. 103, 120, 138, 218, 221, 750, 754.
Stanley, i. 373. ii. 57, 69, 111, 241. 685.
Stebbing, ii. 281, 293, 734. iii. 128, 150, 202, 218, 225, 229, 330, 336, 391, 393, 407, 493, 499, 541, 544, 545, 549, 550, 556, 579, 580, 583.
Stephen, ii. 349, 590.
Stilbngfleet, ii. 420, 433, 526, 655. iii. 476.
Stobæus, i. 147, 148, 154, 161, 222, 277, 289. ii. 58, 111, 113.
Strabo, i. 144, 149, 167, 170, 191, 200, 223, 294, 297, 313, 444, 466. ii. 7, 20, 27, 66, 117, 238, 362, 367, 419, 476, 506, 659, 661, 690.
Strahlenberg, ii. 391.
Suarez, iii. 586.
Suetonius, i. 173, 211, 232, 244, 256, 393, 427, 457, 458.
Suidas, i. 149, 205. ii. 124, 700.
Swift, i. xiii, 61, 372.
Sybylline Oracles, i. 378.
Sykes, ii. 84, 239. iii. 98, 176, 204, 209, 211, 213, 215, 432, 441, 493, 541, 583, 773.
Symmachus, i. 435.
Syncellus, i. 259, 390. ii. 374.
Syneſius, i. 177. ii. 16, 73. iii. 776.
Syrianus, i. 177.

T.

Tachard, i. 460.
Tacitus, i. 225, 270, 427, 438, 440, 442, 450. ii. 178, 301, 404, 419, 421, 479, 488, 502, 579, 661, 690, 706, 709.
Tanaquil Faber. iii. 347.
Tanchum, Rabbi, iii. 343.
Taſſo, iii. 333.
Tatian, ii. 108, 123, 692.
Tavernier, i. 400.
Taylor, ii. 300.
Taylor of Norwich, iii. 165.
Teles, ii. 58.
Temple, Sir W. i. 141.
Tenniſon, ii. 296.
Terence, i. 95, 176, 182, 397. ii. 123.
Tertullian, i. 174, 179, 203, 215, 250, 258, 266, 458, 462. ii. 108, 134, 135, 198, 310, 314.
Themiſtius, i. 261, 283, 239, 240. ii. 14.
Theodoret, i. 168, 215, 222, 363, 390, 433.
Theodorus, i. 106.
Theophilus, i. 384.
Theophraſtus, i. 141, 148. ii. 15, 48, 171.
Thomas, iii. 586.
Thoth, ii. 129.
Thraſyllus, ii. 432.
Thucydides, i. 383. iii. 278.
Tibullus, i. 222.
Timæus, i. 148, 150, 222. ii. 2, 27, 53, 56.
Tindal, i. xx, 52, 74, 371. ii. 25, 143, 340, 677, 678, 679, 722. iii. 139, 142, 218, 378, 408, 497, 738.
Toland, i. 52, 74. ii. 19, 25, 117, 146, 182, 184, 200. iii. 103, 166.
Tournemine, iii. 83.
Trajan, ii. 310, 331.
Triſmegiſt, ii. 567.
Trogus Pompeius, ii. 658.
Turnebus, i. 163. ii. 684.
Turner, ii. 296.
Tzetzes, i. 278, 282.

V.

Valla, i. 373.
Vanini, i. 106. iii. 214.
Varro, i. 178, 185, 207, 379. ii. 13, 39, 75, 84, 180, 502.
Velleius, i. 380, 459.
Velly Abbe, i. 394.
Venn, ii. 298.
Victorius, i. 211, 385.
Virgil, i. 161, 219, 228, 386, 395, 444, ii. 48, 49, 126, 252, 661. iii. 435, 440, 445, 477, 579, 749.
Vitruvius, i. 294, ii. 676.
Vizzanius, i. 374.
Voltaire, i. 112, 201, 236, 461. ii. 374, 404, 654. iii. 221, 743, 749, 750, 753, 757, 760.
Voſſius, ii. 201, 473. iii. 345.

W.

Walker, ii. 408.
Walter, i. 470.
Waterland, ii. 293, 609. iii. 489, 640.
Webſter, ii. 293, 295.
Wheatly, ii. 724.
Whitby, iii. 111.
Whiſton, ii. 730. iii. 108, 110, 208, 224, 337, 421, 449, 578, 640.
Wilkins, ii. 660.

William of Paris, ii. 73.
William of Newbourg, iii. 472.
Winckelman, i. 215. ii. 704.
Witſius, ii. 585, 604, 609, 640, 729. iii. 489.
Wollaſton, i. 91, 406.
Wood, Anthony, ii 254.
Woolſton, i. xi.
World, ii. 668.
Wycherley, ii. xii.

X.

Xenophon, ii. 26, 31, 35, 59.

Z.

Zabara, ii. 282.
Zacynthus, ii. 19.
Zaleuchus, ii. 375. iii. 292.
Zecheriah, ii 411. iii. 80, 117, 133, 271, 272, 276, 287, 290, 301, 310.
Zeno, i. 81. ii. 26. 69.
Zeuxis, iii. 2.
Zephaniah. ii. 232. iii. 122, 266, 451.
Zinzendorf, Count, iii. 372.
Zophar, iii. 252.
Zoroaſter, i. 261, 283, 284.
Zozimus, i. 170, 211.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

ERRORS OF THE PRESS IN VOL. III.

P. 11. read the firſt note thus—" Ezekiel. See Vol. IV. p. 79, & ſeq. ed. 8vo. [Vol. II. p. 621, of this ed. in 4to.]"
13. *l.* 2. from the bottom, that Judæa did *not* ſupport, r. did ſupport.
16. *n.* * after *third edition*, add, Vol. VI. p. 732, of this ed. in 4to.
41. *l.* 2. for ſuperſtitio*us*, r. ſuperſtitio*ns*.
3. *their* being. r. *there* being.
54. 2d paragraph, *l.* 3. *Deity. He then*, &c. r. *Deity, He* then.
172. *l.* 21. to believe *than*, r. *that*.
202. *n.* [D], perſecutions for opinions, r. *perſecution*.
206. *l.* 2. from the bottom, will *not* ſhew, *r.* will *now* ſhew.
247. *l.* 8. from the bottom, that ſay*s*, r. that ſay.
278. *l.* 6. from the bottom, an adultreſs, r. a proſtitute.
282. *n.* ‡. *l.* 3. *err*are, r. *orn*are.
309. 2d paragraph, *l.* 9, God does govern by equal laws, r. God does *not* govern, &c.
316. *l.* 1. miſlaneous, r. miſ*cel*laneous.
319. *l.* 7. after moſt early, add mortals.
398. *l.* laſt, *uſe of the word*, r. uſe of the word*s*.
437. *l.* 22. *and* the critics on Horace not apprehending—dele *and*, and point thus—the critics on Horace, not apprehending &c.
472. *l.* 6. inolev*et*, r. inolev*it*.
508. *l.* 6. Prælectio*nem*, r. Prælectio*num*.
523. *n.* [P]. *l.* 13. nemo eſſe, r. nemo eſſ*et*.
527. *l.* 25. *it* varies, r. *he* varies.
589. *l.* 2. for *vain*. *When*, r. vain; when
591. *l.* 7. for *made him*, r. was ready to.
593. *l.* 2. diſcovery of men's backwardneſs, r. diſcovery, *and* of men's backwardneſs.
600. *l.* 9. *have* thrown, r. *hath* thrown.
760. *l.* 5. from the bottom, traver*ſies*, r. traver*ſes*.

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